

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

Source Material for a History of The Freedom Movement

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

1920-21

Vol. X

GAZETTEERS DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
1982

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GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

Source Material for a History of The Freedom Movement

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT 1920-21

Vol. X

(Collected from the Maharashtra State Records)

EDITED BY

K. K. CHAUDHARI, M.A.

Executive Editor and Secretary

GAZETTEERS DEPARTMENT
GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
BOMBAY
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Source Material for a History of The Freedom Movement

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SOURCE MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT (1920-21)

Vol. X

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FOREWORD

It is a matter of pleasure to publish this book on Khilafat Movement in the series " Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement in India.". It is my cherished belief that the students of the History of Freedom Movement in India and of the ardent agitation of the Indian Muslims and their Hindu brethren against the grim betrayal of the solemn assurances on the Khilafat issue by the British Government, will welcome the publication. It will be of particular interest to the students of the Pan-Islamic Movement and the genesis of Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of Non-co-operation which he very effectively used as a unique instrument for attaining Indian Independence. The material presented in the volume is a saga of the Indian efforts, and particularly, Mahatma Gandhi's crusade for achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity and emotional integration for the larger good.

The Khilafat problem had its genesis in Turkey's entry into the First World War as an ally of Germany against British and the Allied Powers, which invited the wrath of Great Britain. The Indian Muslims with their natural sympathy and love towards the Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph or religious head was in conflict with their loyalty to the British. The British Government gave solemn assurances of sympathetic treatment of Turkey at the end of the War. The assurances of the British Crown as well as the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, that the Allied Powers were not fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which were predominantly Turkish in race, were interpreted to assure independence of Turkey and her territorial integrity. However the terms of Armistice which concluded the First World War came as a rude shock, a thorough disappointment and deep indignation to the Indian Muslims. Thrace was presented to Greece, and the Asiatic territory of the Turkish Empire was brought under control of Britain and France under guise of the Mandates. Turkey was thus dismembered and dispossessed of her homelands. The Sultan of Turkey, the Caliph, was deprived of his authority over the rest of the dominions also, and he was placed under control of the High Commission appointed by the Allied Powers.

This came as an injury to the cherished religious sentiments of the Muslims who regarded it as an unjust usurpation of their religious rights. The fate of the Khilafat was a matter of life and death for the Muslims in India. Their vital interests were at stake. Above all it was a betrayal of the solemn assurance of the British Crown. The storm of indignation led to a vigorous agitation by Indian Muslims, in early 1920, to bring pressure upon the British Government to change her policy towards the Caliphate and Turkey. This was known as the Khilafat Movement.

Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mahammad Ali, popularly known as the Ali Brothers, were the most vigorous champions of the Khilafat cause. Their release from internment, of four years, on the eve of the Indian National Congress Session at Amritsar towards the end of December, 1919, further intensified the Khilafat agitation which was already existing. There was an outburst of a movement all over the Indian continent, the same being more intense in Sind, Bombay, Lucknow, Allahabad, and some other pockets. The arrival, in Bombay, of the Ali Brothers alongwith

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Maulana Abdul Bari and others on the 29th January 1920 was a memorable event. Large crowds swelling into thousands at the Victoria Terminus Station greeted the above visitors. The premises of the station and the roads in the vicinity were impassable. There was a huge procession from Victoria Terminus to Muzzaffarabad Hall at Grant Road. The leaders were profusely garlanded and the roads throughout were decorated. They were accorded a tremendous reception by Muslims and Hindus alike. The procession was a triumph for those who organised it. B. G. Tilak had a private conference with the Ali Brothers. The keynote of the speeches of the Hindu leaders in the next day meeting was that the Khilafat had ceased to be a Muslim question, and had become a matter of grave concern to United India. This was one among several events in the movement.

Mahatma Gandhi had a soft corner for Ali Brothers. The leaders of the Congress and the Khilafat Movement decided to organise the agitation under the guidance of Gandhi. The All India Khilafat Conference, held at Amritsar after conclusion of the Congress Session, decided to send a deputation, representative of Hindus and Muslims, to the Viceroy of India. The deputation presented the address to the Viceroy on 19th January 1920. The reply of the Viceroy thereto and the reaction of Lloyd George was disappointing. Mahatma Gandhi issued a manifesto, on 10th March 1920, embodying his *modus operandi* of the movement. This manifesto is of ominous historical importance as it contained the first definite elaboration of Gandhi's doctrine of Non-violence, Non-co-operation which was shortly to play a dominant role in Indian politics. The Mahatma felt that the Khilafat movement was a just cause and threw his weight behind it for the due fulfilment of the pledge that the British Government had given to the Indian Muslims during the war. He went to the extent of placing the Khilafat problem on the same level of political importance as the Home Rule for India. He looked upon it as a matter of life and death to the Muslims. He justified it on grounds of Hindu-Muslim unity and political expediency.

On announcement of the peace terms offered to Turkey by the Allied Powers on 15th May 1920, Mahatma Gandhi urged upon the Muslims to adopt Non-co-operation as the only effective remedy. The Central Khilafat Committee, in a largely attended public meeting in Bombay on 28th May 1920, adopted Non-co-operation as the only practical policy. The Hunter Committee Report, published on the same day, spread a wave of profound indignation throughout India, and lent support to the anti-British as well as pro-Khilafat movement. The Central Khilafat Committee which met at Allahabad (June 1st and 2nd) was attended by Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru, T. B. Sapru, B. L. Pal, Malaviya, Rajgopalachari, Satyamurti, Chintamani and Muslim leaders. The Committee unanimously reaffirmed the principle of non-co-operation and appointed an executive committee to lay down and enforce a detailed programme. The launching of the Swadeshi Movement in right earnest was also decided.

A petition was sent to the Viceroy urging redressal, failing which co-operation with Government in all matters would be withdrawn from 1st August 1920. The Non-Co-operation Sub-Committee appointed by the Khilafat Committee, published a manifesto, in July 1920, outlining the programme of the demonstration planned for 1st August. A complete All-India *hartal* was observed on 1st August under the guidance of Gandhiji. It was a magnificent successs, particularly in Bombay. A movement was launched to surrender titles and honorary posts, lawyers were requested to

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suspend practice in Courts, *swadeshi* was intensified, and complete boycott of Councils was advocated. Mahatmaji renounced all the medals which were awarded to him by the British for his war services " in pursuance of the scheme of Non-co-operation inaugurated today in connection with Khilafat movement.".

Bombay was a centre of the movement in this part of India. Maulana Shaukat Ali had great influence on the protagonists of the movement. Among the leaders of the movement in Bombay may be mentioned Mian Mohammad Chhotani, Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Khatri and many others whose names can be found in the pages of this book. A number of branches of the Khilafat Committee were organised at district places, and towns with considerable Muslim population. The Hindus pledged their support to the cause of the Khilafat, while Muslims reciprocated by stoppage of cow-slaughter.

It is against this background that the source material and the fund of information pertaining to Khilafat Movement available in records of the Maharashtra Government and some other sources is being published for the benefit of the studious persons and students of history. The entire material is collected mainly from Maharashtra Government records and files, many of which being of a secret and confidential nature were never before accessible to the public.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the late Prof. N. R. Phatak, Shri H. M. Joshi and Shri B. N. Phatak who had collected most of the material from the Government records. I received a good deal of encouragement from Shri N. V. Sundara Raman, Additional Chief Secretary to Government of Maharashtra, during the course of the work. I am thankful to my predecessor Dr. B. G. Kunte, who had also worked for the project.

I am also thankful to Dr. V. N. Gurav, Deputy Editor, Shri M. H. Ranade, Shri S. K. Khilare, Shri P. N. Narkhede and Mrs. M. S. Modikhane (Research Officers) ; Sarvashri K. Z. Raut, D. J. Nawadkar, R. S. Urade, S. S. Gaikwad, R. S. Kumbhar (Research Assistants), D. A. Tendulkar, Assistant, for the execution of this work at various stages.

My thanks are also due to the Secretary, to the Government of Maharashtra, Home Department, and the Commissioner of Police for allowing kind access to the Government records but for which this volume would not have seen the light of the day. The Director of Government Printing and Stationery (Shri R. B. Alva) and the Manager, Government Central Press (Shri B. B. Bracken) and other officers and staff of the press also deserve many thanks for expeditious printing of the volume.

K. K. CHAUDHARI,
Executive Editor and Secretary.

Bombay,
September 2, 1982.

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KHILAFAT MOVEMENT 1920

(January to June 1920)

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Bombay, December 29th 1919.*—An urgent meeting of the Central Caliphate Committee was held on the 22nd instant in the office of Mirza Mahomed Ali Khan.

The undernoted members were present :—

(1) Mia Mohamed Jan Mahomed Chhotani.
(2) Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, Solicitor.
(3) Honourable Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji.
(4) Ahmed Haji Sidik Khatri.
(5) Badruddin Abdulla Koor.
(6) Moulvi Abdul Rauf.
(7) Hakim Abu Yusuf Isphani.
(8) Rafai.
(9) Khan Bahadur Mahomedali of Taher and Company.
(10) Mahomed Abba Juma.
(11) R. M. Chinoy.

The suggestion of the Caliphate Conference at Delhi to the effect that British goods should be boycotted and that Muhammadans should refuse to co-operate with Government was discussed. With the Exception of Koor and Rauf, those present were averse to adopting the suggestion and it was quite clear that the sense of the meeting was opposed to the idea. At the same time many of those present had not the courage to say so openly. It was finally decided to appoint a Sub-Committee to draft a reply which should be sent to the Caliphate Conference to be held at Amritsar. This reply was to point out in clear terms that, in the opinion of the Central Caliphate Committee of Bombay, the two resolutions passed by the Caliphate Conference at Delhi were neither feasible nor workable. The Members of the Sub-Committee are as follows :—

(1) Chhotani.
(2) Honourable Mr. Sheriff.
(3) Faiz Tayabji.
(4) Hadi Tayabji.
(5) Khatri.
(6) Rauf.
(7) Isphani.
(8) Haji Ismail Haji Muhammad.
(9) Oomer Sobhani.
(10) Khan Bahadur Muhammadali of Taher and Company.

It was announced at the meeting that Abdulla Khan Khasmandi had brought a letter to Chhotani from Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari. This letter announced that it was being arranged that a deputation should wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy in connection with the Caliphate question and that it was being considered whether that deputation should

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represent the Central Caliphate Committee of India or the Muhammadans of India. It was decided by the meeting that the question of the desirability or otherwise of sending such a deputation should be left to the discretion of the Amritsar Conference.

Chhotani came to see me a few days ago and he mentioned that Abdulla Khan was now taking part in the Caliphate question and Chhotani expressed some doubt as to whether he really was the emissary of Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari as he claimed or whether he was an agent of Government who was running with the hare and hunting with the hounds.

The second meeting of the Central Caliphate Committee was held on X'mas day at Chhotani's house ; the following nine persons were present :—

(1) Mia Mahomed Chhotani.
(2) Mia Ahmed Chhotani.
(3) Badruddin Abdulla Koor.
(4) Abdul Karim Essa Fazla.
(5) Abdul Gani.
(6) Maulvi Abdul Rauf.
(7) Hakim Syed Abu Yusuf Isphani.
(8) Ahmed Haji Siddik Khatri.
(9) Hajee Ismail Hajee Ahmed Lakdawalla.

Sir Fazulbhoy Kurrimbhoy also attended but did not stay until the termination of the meeting.

The question of boycott and non-co-operation with Government was again discussed and a letter was drafted to the address of the Chairman of the Caliphate Committee at Amritsar. I attach, for your information, a copy of this letter (reproduced below).

I saw Sir Fazulbhoy Kurrimbhoy the day after this meeting and he told me that he had spoken very strongly against the suggestion of boycott. I am informed, however, that the strongest opponent of the movement, although he did not attend this particular meeting, was Sheriff Devji Kanji.".

CHHOTANI HOUSE, KHADAK,
Bombay, 24th December 1919.

To

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CALIPHATE COMMITTEE
AT AMRITSAR.

Dear Sir,

By the Direction of the Central Caliphate Committee of India, Bombay, and with reference to the Resolutions passed at the last All-India Caliphate Conference held at Delhi on the 23rd November 1919, regarding progressive boycott and progressive withholding of co-operation from Government, we have the honour to address you as follows :—

Our committee have carefully ascertained the views of the Mussalmans of the city on the resolutions aforesaid. The general opinion appears to be that the resolutions are impracticable. The reasons for holding this opinion are as follows :—

1. The boycott cannot succeed even if our Hindu brethren join us wholeheartedly in the movement.

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2. More than 76 per cent of the Bombay Mussalman merchants have dealings in English goods and if the boycott is enforced it would spell ruin to them all, and believe that they will not agree with boycott. Thus, there may be a split which is most undesirable at this juncture.

3. The costs of the Indian goods made to replace the goods boycotted would increase to such an extent as to make it impossible for the poorer classes including the lower-middle class to purchase such goods instead and thus they would be deprived of some of the necessaries of life. It will take years to bring down sufficient machinery and build a sufficient number of mills to produce cotton goods of the quality and quantity requisite in India. Labour difficulty will also arise.

4. Our experience shows that boycott has not succeeded in the past. Take the case of the boycott of the Italian goods when Italy went to war against Turkey. It failed miserably and if that boycott could not sustain, *a fortiori,* the boycott of the English goods will not succeed.

The Bengal boycott with far better organisation than the Moslem boycott of Italian goods met with the same fate. The report of the Sub-Committee appointed on this subject by the Delhi Conference is not before us, nor has the Secretary of the Delhi Conference sent us a copy of the resolutions passed at the last Delhi Conference, although he was repeatedly requested by us to do so. Our committee suggests, under the circumstances, that no final decision should be arrived at at the Amritsar Conference, but that the present committee may be enlarged and made more representative of the commercial classes to reconsider the whole question and consult, if necessary, the Hindu brethren and to make a final report at an early date. Facts, figures and full details will be put forth by us in this committee.

As for withholding co-operation from Government the matter needs serious and careful attention and consideration. In our committee's opinion success in this also is impossible of attainment. The logical result of the carrying out of such a resolution would be that the Mussalmans would be reduced to a low-level and will cease to occupy that position in Indian affairs which their numbers and past history entitle them to do.

We are desired by our committee to invite the next Caliphate Conference to Bombay.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants.

Mirza Ali Mohamed Khan.
Badruddin Abdulla Koor.
Ahmed Hajee Siddick Khatri.

Honorary Secretaries,
Central Caliphate Committee of India, Bombay.

(*b*) *Bombay, December, 12th 1919.*—The following letter addressed to Chhotani was noticed in the Censorship.

THE LONDON MUSLIM LEAGUE,
33, Palace Street, Westminster,
London, S. W., 13th November 1919.

Dear Sir,

His Highness the Aga Khan has received a cablegram from Mian Muhammad Chhotani of Bombay asking his advice as to whether deputations from India should be sent to London and Washington to place the views of Indian Muslims on the Turkish question before the proper authorities.

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His Highness has replied approving of the idea of Muslim deputations to London, which should be arranged with the cognizance and co-operation of all the Muslim members of the various Legislative Councils in India. The Turkish settlement rests entirely with the Statesmen of Great Britain and it would serve no useful purpose if deputations went to America, whose Statesmen have entirely washed their hands of commitments in any part of Europe or the Middle East. It is, therefore, highly desirable that the London deputations should be immediately despatched. With this object in view we have addressed to yourself a telegram, copy of which we attach (reproduced below).

Yours Sincerely,
M. K. ISPAHANI,
G. M. BHURGRI,
MUSHIR H. KIDWAI.

Copy of the telegram.—" Recommend urgent despatch Muslim Deputation London on Turkish question. Secure co-operation all Muslim Council members. ".

BHURGRI, KIDWAL, ISPAHANI,

(*c*) *Bombay, December 24th, 1919.*—The following were noticed in the censorship.—Telegram, dated the 12th December 1919, from D. R. D. Sethna, 137, Esplanade Road, Bombay, to Sir Fazulbhoy, C/o Majestic, Calcutta :—

" Urgent letter Caliphate Committee want reply their letter whether willing join deputation or not, wire reply, Chhotani. "

Telegram, dated the 13th December 1919, from Fazulbhoy Kurrimbhoy, Calcutta to Mia Muhammad Haji Jan Muhammad Chhotani, Bombay :—

" If you can oblige me by letting me know who are going on deputation I can let you know about my joining at present here, I am not well. ".

Telegram, dated the 19th December 1919, from the Secretary, Caliphate-Amritsar to Caliphate-Bombay :—

" Caliphate Conference on 30th, 8 P.M. reception of guests on 27th inform Caliphate Committee, Sind no delegates names up to 25th. ".

Telegram, dated the 20th December 1919, from Ansari, Delhi, to Chhotani, Bombay :—

" Your letter of twelfth received to-day regret my inability proceeding to England in Caliphate Deputation. ".

(*d*) *Sholapur, December 16th, 1919.*—The Deputy Superintendent of Police reports that a meeting was held by certain Muhammadans of Sholapur City in the Mangawada Masjid on the 5th instant with the object of forming a Caliphate Committee. The following office-bearers were appointed :—

President.—Abdulbub Walad Abdul Rajak, leather merchant.

Vice-President.—Shet Kurbanhusen Walad Gulamali, merchant.

Secretaries.—(1) Hussensaheb Rangrej, master servant in the Old Mills.
(2) Shaikh Gulamali walad Dawood, Stationery merchant.
(3) Shaikh Ladlesaheb walad Khatal Saheb Manivar, cloth merchant, and some nine members none of whom seem of any importance.

A resolution was proposed by Ladlesaheb to the effect that a Caliphate Committee should be formed at Sholapur, and it was passed. The President then read the *Khutba* prayers. In putting the resolution mentioned above,

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Ladlesaheb mentioned that letters in the name of the President had been received from Delhi, Lucknow and Bombay asking him to establish a Committee.

So far the leading Muhammadans of the town seem to have taken no outward interest in the Committee and have all subscribed to the Peace festivities.

The District Magistrate remarks.—" The Caliphate Committee in Sholapur has been a failure as regards the Peace celebrations, in which all the leading Mussalmans took an enthusiastic part. The poorer Mussalmans also enjoyed themselves, especially on the free dinner day ! "

The Circle Inspector, Pandharpur, reports that a protest meeting attended by about 200 persons took place at Pandharpur on the 7th instant. Ganesh Eknath Kowlegi presided and Allabaksh Shabuddin, pan-leaf seller, and Ganesh Shankar Bidkar spoke in the usual strain regarding the treatment of Turkey by the British Government. Resolutions were passed condemning Governments behaviour and also that of the Municipality in subscribing to the Peace celebrations.

(*e*) *Sholapur, November 26th, 1919.*—An Urdu notice, a translation of which is reproduced below, was found pasted to a wall near the cinema theatre on the 23rd November and other such notices were pasted up in the town. The notice is a call to Muhammadans to attend a Caliphate meeting at Delhi. An eye is being kept on certain Muhammadans of the town who are reported to be interesting themselves in the question of the Caliphate and who are said to be trying to stir up some interest amongst the Muhammadans here.

Translation of the Notice :—

Call to the Way of God.

Come to Delhi on the 23rd November 1919. There will be a big gathering of the Caliphate Committee Meeting.

Delegates of the Caliphate, Anjuman Islam and Political societies should be deputed to go there. A Caliphate Committee should be formed in each village, town and taluka. Wake up the sleeping Muhammadans and send them to Delhi on the 23rd November.

Come to Delhi and help us.

Religious heads and the learned should also come to Delhi. Men of all castes, creeds and occupations are requested to send their leaders to Delhi, so that there shall be a " union " of Islam. Therefore, comply with the request and come to Delhi for the " common cause ". Being proud of your religion, come to Delhi by putting aside all your domestic affairs. If you fail to do so, you will regret it.

All followers of Islam should come to Delhi. Delhi will show the way of calling God.

Come ! Come ! Come !

HAZIQ-UL-MULK HAKIM
MUHAMMAD AJMALKAN,
President, Caliphate Committee.

MOULANA HAFEEJ AHMAD SAYEED,
Y. J. ISLAM.
ASAFALI, Bar-at-Law,
Secretary, Caliphate Committee.

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This notice has been printed at J & Sons Press, Delhi.

Peace celebration.

(*a*) *Bombay, December 19th, 1919.*—Following on the Decision arrived at by the All-India Caliphate Committee at Delhi at the end of November and in furtherance of the movement to dissuade the people from joining in the celebrations, an Anti-Peace Celebration Publicity Board was established at Delhi. This board worked in conjunction with the members of the Caliphate Committee in Bombay in producing propaganda designed to secure the object in view. On the 5th of December a poster published by the Delhi Board came to notice in Bombay. It was headed "The Order of Mahatma Gandhi; the *fatwa* of Abdul Bari", and called on Mahommedans and Hindus to refrain from joining the Peace celebrations and to remember the martyrs (*Shahid*) of the Punjab, Delhi and Ahmedabad. Another *fatwa*, signed by a number of Moulvis in Upper India declaring participation in the Peace Celebrations to be unlawful, was also published at the same time. Five thousand copies of these *fatwas* were printed in Bombay by Ahmed Siddick Khatri as well as a thousand posters warning Mahommedans not to take part in the Peace celebrations. On the 10th of December, Ahmed Siddick Khatri published another leaflet to the same effect. About the 6th of December, Dhirajlal Ghelabhai Banker and Kanayyalal Maneklal Munshi gave orders at the Karnatak Press for 10,000 copies of a leaflet in Marathi and 5,000 copies of a leaflet in Gujarati, while Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker gave orders at the Juana Sagar Litho Press for 250 wall posters in Marathi and 750 copies of the same in Gujarati. The latter were published in the mill districts where they gave rise to a number of rumours. It was believed, for instance, by illiterate people who were unable to read them that it was stated in the posters that for Hindus to take part in the Celebrations was equivalent to eating cow's flesh and, for Mahommedans, to eating swine's flesh.

The members of the Anjuman-e-Zia-ul-Islam also published "An appeal to Moslem brothers" in the form of leaflet asking them to hoist black flags as sign of mourning during the days of the Peace Celebrations, and to attend special prayers, and also to refrain from showing lights in their shops and houses.

The members of the Caliphate Committee and the Anjuman Zia-ul-Islam arranged for daily lectures to be given at the old Sonapur Masjid in Grant Road on the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th.

On the 13th, Haji Ahmed Khatri was President. A resolution was passed announcing the confidence of the meeting in Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani as President of the Central Caliphate Committee. Moulvi Abdul Rauf made a speech urging parents to exercise control over their children to prevent them from falling into temptation on this occasion. A Hindu *satyagrahi* named Nanabhai Upadhya made a speech in which he stated that he did not understand why Mahommedan members of the Celebration Committee who had resigned their seats had not attended the meeting. He said that his heart was torn over the Caliphate question as much as if he had been a Mahommedan. Mahommed Noor Mahomed criticised Government for spending money on the Peace Celebrations when prices were high.

On Sunday the 14th instant the meeting was held at Mahim instead of at Sonapur. Ahmed Khatri, Abdul Rauf, Abdul Halim Haji, Syed

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Muhammed Munshi, Nanabhai Upadhya and Nur Muhammed Mojawala delivered speeches. For the most part they repeated the usual arguments about the Caliphate and the Peace Celebrations. There were the usual attacks on Government and its highest officers.

At the meeting of the 15th December, Abdul Karim Haji Usuf Fazla presided. Moulvi Abdul Rauf, Hakim Faizul Hasan and Nanabhai Upadhya were the speakers. The speeches were on the usual lines.

On the 16th Umar Sobhani presided. The Raja of Muhamudabad was present for a short time. He as well as Chhotani and Umar Sobhani were greeted with cries of "*Allah-ho-Akbar*". Umar Sobhani left the chair after a short time. He was followed by Luxmidas Tairsee. A number of wellknown Home Rulers were present as well as the same Mahommedans who had taken part in previous meetings. Among the Home Rulers were K. M. Munshi, Mowji Govindji, Nanabhai Upadhya, R. N. Mandlik, Dr. Savarkar and Kanji Dwarkadas. Moulvi Abdul Rauf explained the object of the meeting. He announced that the boycott of British goods would be gradually brought into practice by the Mussalman community as a set off against the defiant attitude of the British Government. He referred to the comments made in the *Times of India* on the conduct of the Anti-Celebrationists, and regretted that the paper had chosen such a time to make such comments which, he said, were likely to act as a red rag to a bull in view of the state of the feelings of the Mahommedan community. He feared that the policy adopted by the *Times of India* might have consequences similar to those which followed the remarks of the *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta which had indirectly caused the death of several innocent persons. Dr. Savarkar stated that he regretted that force had been used in tempting the children of the people of Bombay City, both Hindus and Mahommedans, to attend schools and receive presents and sweets in honour of the Peace celebrations. He also said that both races had given assistance to their rulers in the war but that they would not do so in future because their rulers made promises so long as they wanted India's help and broke their promises the moment they found that they were "out of the wood".

The following resolutions were unanimously passed :—

(1) That this meeting is of opinion that the Mussalmans should go in for a policy of boycott, that should be done gradually, of British goods, whenever they find that the British Government are opposed to their requests and desires.

(2) That this meeting of the Mussalmans of Bombay expresses its indignation at the fact that the members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay had recently spent nearly Rs. 50,000 of the Bombay tax payers' money for the Peace Celebrations. Full reports of these meetings will follow in due course.

Haji Mahomed Khatri's remarks at the close of the meeting on the 8th December reported in my above-mentioned letter of the 12th, indicated that the idea of bringing pressure to bear on leading Muhammadans to back out of any part they might have taken in the arrangements for the celebrations had been mooted. It was brought into action during the week preceding the celebrations, attempts being made to persuade individual Muhammadan members of the Peace Celebration Committee to resign.

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In the absence of Sir Fazulbhoy Kurrimbhoy at Calcutta, Sardar Saheb Suleman Cassim Mitha was tacitly chosen as the leader of those to be convinced, but made the excuse that he was too unwel to see anybody and meanwhile sent an emissary over to me to ask for advice as to what course of action he should pursue. I advised him to see Chhotani and his followers and to announce to them boldly that he could not see his way to resigning because (1) we were primarily celebrating peace with Germany and not peace with Turkey, and (2) he did not consider that it would be in the best interests of the Moslem race the impression to gain currency in England that the Muhammadans of India did not rejoice at the downfall of Germany. The—Sirdar, so far as I can ascertain, made this announcement, but said that he would be prepared to sign if all the other Muhammadan members of the Peace Celebration Committee would also sign, and he demanded that their signatures should be shown to him before he should again be asked to sign. He had meanwhile impressed upon his followers on the Peace Celebration Committee that they should on no account append their signatures.

After making another abortive effort to carry his point, Chhotani decided that it would be wiser to change his plan of action. A meeting of the Caliphate Committee was accordingly summoned at which were present sixteen persons whose names are as follows :—

Mia Mohamed Haji Jan Mohamed Chhotani, Esquire, J. P. ; the Honourable Sheriff Deoji Kanji ; Mirza Ali Mohammed Khan, M. A., LL.M., J. P. ; Badruddin Abdulla Koor ; Ahmed Haji Siddick Khatri ; Karimbhoy Adamji Pirbhoy, J. P. ; Rahimtullah M. Chinoy, J. P. ; Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan ; Haji Mohammed Jalauddin ; Abdul Karim Haji Isa Fazla ; Haji Nur Mohammad Haji Jan Mohammed Latif, J. P. ; Mohammed Abba Juma, J. P ; Haji Ismalji Haji Ahmed ; Mohammed Mian Khandwani ; Hakim Maulvi Saiyed Abu Yusuf Asphani and Hussainbhoy Abdulabhoy Lalji.

Five of these persons were members of the Peace Celebrations Committee. There were, however, ten other members of the Caliphate Committee who were also members of the Peace Celebrations Committee who were not present. Those assembled at this meeting decided, in the name of the Caliphate Committee, that those members of the Peace Celebrations Committee who were also members of the Caliphate Committee should resign and it was resolved that a letter to this effect should be sent to the Chairman of the Peace Celebrations Committee, to which should be attached a list of the names of the members of the Central Caliphate Committee. It is of course obvious that this meeting was not empowered to speak for the absent members of the Caliphate Committee, who were also members of the Peace Celebrations Committee. I attach a cutting (printed below) from the *Bombay Chronicle* of Saturday giving the resolution passed at the meeting and the list of the members of the Caliphate Committee. This questionable ruse has undoubtedly succeeded in throwing dust in the eyes of many who were not in the know and in causing them to assume that all the members mentioned in the list had actually resigned. In spite of this fact, not one of those primarily concerned has yet had the moral courage to come forward to denounce the manoeuvre or to disassociate himself from the resolution.

While the extensive propaganda which I have mentioned above undoubtedly had a depressing effect, the result of the celebrations may be described as highly successful. The limited nature of the influence of the

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political agitators has been demonstrated. It is true that there were no decorations or illuminations in the central parts of the city, but that is perhaps only what might normally be expected. The influence of the propaganda was most noticeable in the fact that considerable numbers of children did not attend the schools to receive the presents of sweets. Very large crowds turned out to see the fire works. The numbers are generally estimated as not far short of those which were seen on the occasion of the illuminations in connection with the King's visit. All classes and all communities were well represented. The crowds were good tempered and there was a general air of holiday making. It is even reported that many Mahommedans who attended the meeting at the Sonapur on Monday night were seen to forsake the meeting under the attraction of the fire works, while the eyes of the speakers and the audience that remained wistfully followed the rockets that appeared over the housetops. These Mahommedan meetings were attended by crowds which varied from 2,000 to 5,000 and were probably generally nearer the former figure. Very few shops closed in the evening in consequence of the speakers' propaganda. My reports show that no more than six shops were closed in Bhendy Bazar on the 13th and that even these remained open on the subsequent days. One or two devout Mahommedan shopkeepers hoisted black flags, and a number of sympathisers made themselves conspicuous by wearing bands of crepe."

Cutting from the "*Bombay Chronicle.*"

The following resolution was unanimuosly passed at a meeting of the Central Caliphate Committee of India, Bombay held at Chhotani House, Khadak, on 12th December at 3 p.m. :—

"Feeling very strongly with our community on the still pending question of Caliphate and the future of Turkey and the holy places, and in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Central Caliphate Committee held on the 14th November 1919, as well as the confirmatory resolution passed at the All-India Caliphate Conference held at Delhi on the 23rd November 1919, and the subsequent *fatwa* of the leading Ulmas of India, the Chairman of the Peace Celebration Committee be informed that the members of the Caliphate Committee regret their inability to join the forthcoming Peace Celebration and that such of their members as have been put on the Celebration Committee do also regret their inability to serve on them and that this resolution and also the names of the members of the Caliphate Committee be communicated at once to Sir Thomas W. Birkett, Kt., Chairman, Peace Celebration Committee.".

NAMES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL CALIPHATE COMMITTEE

Mian Mahommed Haji Jan Mahommed Chhotani, Esq., J. P.; the Honourable Sir Fazulbhoy Karimbhoy, Kt., C. B. E.; the Honourable Mr. Sheriff Deoji Kanji; Mr. Mirza Ali Mahommed Khan, M.A., LL.B., Mr. Badruddin Abdullah Koor; Mr. Ahmed Haji Siddick Khatri; Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law; the Honourable Mr. Salebhoy Karimji Barodawala, J. P.; Mr. Karimbhoy Admji Pirbhoy, J. P.; Mr. Rahimtulla M. Chinoy, J. P.; Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla, B.A.; Mr. M. J. Shastri; Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan; Dr. Abdul Sattar A. Gaya; Mr. Haji Isa Haji Osman Poonawala; Mr. Haji Soleman Abdul Wahid; Sirdar Sahib Soleman Kassim Haji Mitha, C. I. E., J. P.; Mr. Haji Ali Mahommed Jalaluddin; Mr. Abdul

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Karim Haji Isa Fazal ; Mr. Haji Nur Mohammed Haji Jan Mohammed Latif, J. P. ; Mr. Saiyad Ghulam Mohammed Rafai Pirzada ; Mr. Haji C. Tayabji ; Mr. Mohammed Abba Joma, J. P. ; Mr. Haji Ismail Haji Ahmed ; Mr. Kazi Kabiruddin, Barrister, J. P. ; Mr. Haji Ahmed Mohammed Bhimriwala, J. P. ; Mr. Mohammed Mian Khandwani ; Khan Bahadur Haji Abdul Rahman Kadwani, J. P., Honourable Mr. Mohammed Hajibhoy J. P. ; Hakim Maulvi Saiyad Abu Yusuf Asphani ; Mr. Haji Habib Haji Karim, J. P. ; Khan Bahadur Hakim Mohammed Daim, J. P. ; Mr. Mohammed Rahimtulla Sayani ; Maulvi Rafuddin Ahmed, Barrister ; Munshi Mohammed Hussain Maqba, J. P. ; Maulvi Abdul Munim, Ba-Aqza ; Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali Abdulkadir ; Mr. Haji Ali Mohammed Haji Kassim Agbotewala, J. P. ; Mr. Hussainbhoy Abdullabhoy Lalji ; Mr. Mian Ahmed Haji Jan Mohammed Chhotani.

Bombay, December 12th, 1919.—I attach a copy not reproduced of a booklet and a pamphlet intercepted in Chhotani's post today. The pamphlets appear to be on the same lines as those already distributed in Bombay but the booklet contains a strong attack on the British Government and its good faith. I therefore, send them to you in case you think it desirable to have them carefully examined before we allow them to be distributed as propaganda at the present juncture. There are 100 copies of the booklet and 245 copies of the pamphlet.

Copy of opinion of the Oriental Translator to Government, dated the 19th December 1919 :—

"The accompanying Urdu booklet entitled "*Masalae Khilafat wa Jashne Suleh*", i.e., "The question of the Caliphate and the Peace Celebrations". is printed at the Jai and Sons Press, Delhi, and published by the Anti-Peace Celebrations Committee of Delhi. It seeks to dissuade the Hindus and Mussalmans from participating in the Peace Celebrations and publishes instructions as to what should be done and what should not be done on the occasion. These are more or less similar to those published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated the 6th instant. It also states that force should not be used against those who wish to celebrate the peace. This advice of non-participation in the Peace Celebrations is offered on the authority of Moslem theologians like Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow and public men like M. K. Gandhi. It also declares that the poor people of India gave money freely for the prosecution of the war, that Indian Mussalmans shed blood on the strength of promises made to them about the safety and integrity of their holy places and the Caliphate, and that the British made a *volte face* as soon as the tide of war turned in their favour. They do not value India's assistance and do not care for their promises.

The handbill on a white sheet of paper is a reprint of parts of the above booklet and aims at dissuading the public from celebrating the Peace. It is signed by Dr. Ahmed Hukhtar Ansari, Lala Shankar Lal, Secretary, Home Rule League, Delhi ; Tajuddin, Editor, Taj, Jabbulpore ; Professor Indar, Editor ; Vijaya, Honorary Secretaries, Anti-Peace Celebrations Committee, Delhi.

Some of the notable passages in the above booklet are as follows :—

(1) But when India was asked to help Government in a war which was not to her benefit, she placed all her means at her disposal and helped her rulers beyond her power notwithstanding the fact that India was half dead owing to starvation.

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(2) The task before the Muslim soldiers was harder. They had to kill their brethren. They had to fight against the forces of their own Calipha ..... They did all this, because they had full faith in the promises and pledges held out by Lord Hardinge regarding the safety of the Holy places of Islam and non-interference with the question of the Caliphate.

(3) So long as the (War) situation remained critical, and the parties were evenly matched, the Mussalmans were continuously comforted.

(4) But now these pledges are not worth anything. No respect is shown to them. The success of might has destroyed the very principles of right and justice.

(5) The trend of the British diplomacy is now a days against the (former) promises and declarations. It appears that the British Government are openly determined to destroy the prestige of the Caliphate.

(6) The object, which Mr. Gladstone was not destined to realise, is going to be achieved by his successors, that is, it has been decided upon to exterminate the power and prestige of Islam from the face of the earth.

(7) Such was not the case with the British diplomacy in the beginning. But the truth is that, that was not its true colour. It has now disappeared and British diplomacy has shown itself in its true colours.

(8) In fact it is not a peace. It is the funeral of the Muhammadan greatness which is 1,300 years old ..... We have been asked, in the form of Peace Celebrations, to trample the corpse (of Islam) under our feet and to bury it with our own hands in the grave already made, by discharging fireworks and showing all signs of happiness.

Note.—Government have decided to take no action and the Commissioner of Police has been instructed to release the copies held up. (Secretary, S.D.).

(*b*) *Larkhana, December 8th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "There have been some efforts made by the pro-Turkish party from Sukkur and Karachi to put pressure on people in this district not to take

"The method pursued has been to get *fatwas* from some Pir or Mulla (the things can be brought for money, it is in fact a wellknown religious scandal in Sind, like the 'pardons and indulgences' in the later Middle Ages) and use these to threaten the most ignorant superstitious elements of the population with eternal damnation if they do not do exactly as the pro-Turkish party wish them to.

"An excellent pamphlet has been written by Najamaldin Ansari of Naushahro Feroz exposing all the tricks of the Home Rule Leaguers in these matters and Ghulam Muhammad Isran of Khairpur Juso (Kambar Taluka) has I hear ordered about 1,000 copies of it for distribution.

Except in Larkhana town with the small clique headed by Ghulam Ali, pleader, the pro-Turkish Caliphate agitation has not had very much effect and there are no signs that the Peace Celebrations will be at all dimmed in this district.".

(*c*) *Sukkur, December 13th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "A printed notice was posted in Rohri that an Anti-Peace Celebration Meeting would be held in the chief mosque on the 11th instant. I inquired whether the managers of the mosque were going to allow it or had given permission. They had not and the Hindus and a few Muhammadans who came to hold the meeting were sent away. The meeting was held in a private house.

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"The injunction application filed against the Sukkur Municipality to prevent it spending Rs. 3,000 on Peace Celebrations was dismissed with costs by the Sub Judge, Sukkur, on 12th instant.

"Anti-Peace Celebration meetings have had very little effect anywhere.

"The Editor of the Al-Haq gave Anti-Peace Celebration notices to four Mahommedan boys of the High School, Sukkur. Fifty-two Mahommedan boys of the Sukkur High School made an application to the Headmaster that they would not join in the celebrations as it was against their religion. The Headmaster refused to accept it and told them to attend.

"I shall see the Headmaster about these occurrences as soon as possible.".

(*d*) *Ahmedabad, December 21st, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "The Peace Celebrations in Ahmedabad went off quietly though the fireworks and illuminations were boycotted by all, but a few subscribers and shops within sight of the Government illuminations were deliberately closed. Some efforts were made by the Satyagrahis to get shops closed generally but without success. The school treat had to be abandoned owing to the defection of the Municipality at the eleventh hour. The feeding of the poor was a success. Many thousands came to be fed.

"In Viramgam and Mandal the celebrations went of well and were attended by Hindus and Mussalmans alike. There seems to have been no propaganda work there against the celebrations. At Dholka, however, which is a Muhammadan stronghold and where many of the leading Hindus and Muhammadans are ill-disposed towards Government, the celebrations were poorly attended though not boycotted altogether. I have not yet received reports from other centres further afield, generally speaking the anti-celebration movement does not appear to have spread much beyond Ahmedabad itself.

"The handbills circulated in the City by the *satyagrahis* were moderate in tone, merely asking people to abstain from having anything to do with the celebrations as a sign of sympathy with Muhammadans and to show their disapproval of events in the Punjab.".

(*e*) *Kaira, December 21st, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "The Peace Celebrations passed off everywhere in this district quietly and satisfactorily. Every precaution was taken to avoid friction, and we had none. As regards Nadiad the Mahommedan children (as already reported by me) mostly kept away from the sports on Saturday, but with very few exceptions they all came to get their sweets at their schools on Monday. The 'feeding of the poor' was also largely attended at Nadiad, and we finished with a really fine display of fire works, witnessed by large crowds. The leading Home Rulers seem to have held aloof throughout, but most of the local people of importance participated in the celebrations.

"At other places also in the district, all went well. At Kapadvanj, the large Bohra community participated enthusiastically. Good celebrations were held at Kaira, Ahmedabad, Borsad, Anand and elsewhere, though I understand that at Borsad some of the Mahommedans kept away. Cambay, a Mahommedan State, also "celebrated" well. On the whole I think the *tamashas* have done good, and helped to re-establish friendly feelings to some extent.

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(*f*) *Panch Mahals, December 26th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "The Peace Celebrations passed of without incident in Dohad.

In Kalol V. S. Mukadam made a great effort to prevent the celebrations from being a success. The usual notices and posters were distributed and affixed and on the night of the 15th Maulvi Muhammad Ismail of Delhi addressed a meeting. He is possibly the "good Muhammadan speaker" asked for in Mukadam's letter. He referred to the help given by Hindus and Mussalmans during the war and said that the Rowlatt Act, Martial Law in the Punjab and the division of Turkey was their reward. He urged his audience therefore to take no part in the celebrations. The local Mullas also spoke. There were about 300 men at the meeting. V. S. Mukadam came from Godhra on the morning of the 16th and held another meeting, and stated that the people of Godhra had not taken part in the celebrations.

An attempt was made by 200 persons, Home Rulers and others to question the authority of the manager of a play to be performed in a certain enclosure (the Lad Vanias' Vadi) to have the performance there. They refused to leave the Vadi until the signed authority of the caste leaders was produced. They then dispersed. The public garden party held in the afternoon was a failure, no one attended it, except presumably a few officials. The procession in the evening was started with difficulty as the drummers arranged for could not be obtained and others had to be sent for. Further the contractor refused to supply Kitson lights. A stone was thrown at the procession and though it was the only one, arrangements had been apparently made by some boys to throw others. This was stopped by the action of the police, when the stone was thrown. It hit a boy taking part in the procession, the son of R. S. Manvantrai, Honorary Organiser. The play referred to above was eventually performed in the *kacheri*. The attendence was mainly from the villages. A rumour was in circulation that the huts of the drummers who had come with the procession would be burnt but nothing happened.

"The procession through Godhra town mentioned in my last note was carried out exactly as originally proposed. The warning was obviously the work of an alarmist."

(*g*) *Nawabshah, December 24th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "In this district, as elsewhere, endeavours were made to prevent people from participating in the Peace Celebrations. At Nawabshah and Kandirao, no Mulla was found to lead prayers at the mosque on the 14th morning. At Nawabshah, a Munshi of my office officiated. Practically no non-official Mussalmans attended at the Tikana. Attendance was better though not good. The pleaders as a body kept away. But the other functions of the celebrations were all very well attended ; on the whole the celebrations were successful. At Kandirao, the prayers in the mosque had to be given up. At other places in the district no dissentient voices seem to have made themselves heard. It is not sure that the Mussalmans of Moro kept aloof, though some newspapers say they did. An effort was made by Hakim Mohammed Siddiq and others to keep back the Mussalmans from participating, but the celebrations of Moro seem to have been particularly successful.

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"The usual leaflets were distributed, placards put up etc., by the Provincial Caliphate Committee and others. No action was taken to oppose this, as any action would only mean further advertisement for these activities., I am convinced that 95 per cent of the Mussalmans as did keep away did so from fear of what others might say, not from conviction. There are no leaders of note whose names may be worth mentioning.".

(*h*) *Bombay, December 17th, 1919.*—The following is a copy of telegrams, dated the 15th December 1919, from Tajuddin, Delhi, to Chhotani, Bombay, and Ahmed Khatri, Hilal Manzil, Abdul Rehman Street, Bombay :—

"If procession organised suspend business for whole day, and if illumination arranged suspend business after 5 p.m.".

(*i*) *Broach, December 20th, 1919.*—The Anti-Peace Celebrations posters have been widely and freely circulated and distributed in all villages and towns, but the occasion passed off without a hitch.

At Jambusar, *hartal* was observed by the shopkeepers on the 15th and 16th instant when all shops were closed. The *hartalists*, nevertheless, enjoyed the celebrations, illuminations, etc., from every nook and corner of their balconies and top floors.

The District Magistrate remarks, "The attempt to interfere with the Government illuminations failed. The work was done in spite of the opposition. In fact, the celebrations have been nowhere spoilt by the opposition of the Muhammadans and extremist Hindus.

"I have heard of only one instance of refusal to accept sweets. This was among the weavers of one of the Mills, where several declined to take the sweetmeats distributed by the management."

"This Mill has decided to make a general increase of 10 per cent. in wages, and has seized on the Peace celebrations as an occasion for making the change. The Manager told the men that the increase was optional, and that any Muhammedan who did not want it need not take it!".

(*j*) *Surat, December 22nd, 1919.*—The Peace Celebrations terminated on the 16th December with a fireworks display which was witnessed by a fairly large crowd, notwithstanding the exertions of the anti-celebration section who held a meeting that evening with the object of keeping the public away. Muhammadans closed their shops early on the evening of the 16th.

Reports have been received from the Sub-Inspectors throughout the district to the effect that celebrations have taken place in all the taluka headquarters, but that the Muhammadans did not take part.

(*k*) *Thana, December 11th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "In connection with the Peace Celebrations there are many keen helpers in Thana and opposition has appeared only in a few places of the district so far, Bhivandi may have to be careful not to offend. No one actually meets appears to oppose ; but certain Hindus and Muhammadans are, admittedly, led from outside.".

(*l*) *Thana, December 19th, 1919.*—The Sub-Inspector, Kurla, reports that an Anti-Peace Movement Meeting was held in Kurla on the 11th instant at

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the instance of Hussein Shariff and Khoja Nura. The following persons, among others, were invited from Bombay and attended :—

(1) Dr. Savarkar.
(2) Dr. Gosavi.
(3) Sandhuri.
(4) M. Abdul Rufiya Moulvi.

It was decided that no part be taken in the Peace Celebrations.

The Sub-Inspector, Thana Town, reports that posters had been placarded on the walls in Thana Town containing Gandhi's order and the *fatwa* of Moulana Abdul Bari and joint conference of Delhi Hindus and Muhammadans.

The District Magistrate remarks, "The Peace Celebrations in Thana have been a glorious success, every community joining in.".

(*m*) *East Khandesh, December 15th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, "A notice printed at J. & Sons Press, Delhi, requesting all Muhammadans. and Hindus not to take part in the Peace Celebrations was noticed posted up in the Juma Masjid at Chopda. This is the only thing of the kind that has come to notice so far.".

(*n*) *East Khandesh, December 20th, 1919.*—The Muhammadans of Chopda assembled in the Jumma Masjid on the 12th December to offer prayers after which one Chunilal Motiram Agarwalla of Chopda came into the mosque and exhorted them not to take part in the Peace celebrations. Rahimatkhan, Headmaster of the Urdu School at Chopda, took a copy of the *Kesari* from Chunilal, and read out some lines to the effect that the Muhammadans should not take part in the Peace Celebrations. A leaflet in Urdu under the signature of M. K. Gandhi and Moulvi Abdul Bari was also found pasted to the wall inside the mosque. It asked the Muhammadans not to join in the Peace Celebrations.

(*o*) *Nashik, December 8th, 1919.*—At a meeting of the members of the Peace Celebration Committee held in the Nashik Municipal Office on the 7th instant for settling the detailed programme, Waman Keshav Datar and Kisan Chakrapani, both Municipal Councillors, tendered their resignation as members of this Committee saying that many of their brethren would not be sharing their joy owing to the Punjab affair and the Caliphate question. Some Muhammadan members were present but refused to follow this lead. The work of the Committee progressed satisfactorily.

Waman Keshav Datar is Secretary of the Home Rule League, Nashik Branch, and Kisan Chakrapani is his slave.

(*p*) *Nashik, December 18th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate, writes, "People at Nashik attended the Peace Celebrations in thousands, chiefly, probably, because any *tamasha* will attract, and the kind of *tamashas* provided, *i.e.*, feting school-children, feeding the poor and fireworks, are always popular. The absence of a few among so many was hardly noticeable, and there was nothing in the way of anti-peace demonstrations.".

(*q*) *Poona, December 16th, 1919.*—The feeling regarding the Celebrations is, I think, one of complete indifference. No one mourns for the Caliphate, but, on the other hand, no one rejoices for anything else. The Muhammadans have decided to remain neutral and the Extremists do not propose to do anything.

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(*r*) *Poona, December 16th, 1919.*—The *Lokasangraha* of the 12th instant remarks, anent the resolution regarding the peace Celebrations passed by the Municipality, that the members were all against it, but had to vote for it for fear of having their income-tax raised. It notes that the Assistant Collector made a point of being present and remarks that the Municipality is a farce of local self-government.

(*s*) *Satara, December 15th, 1919.*—Sadashiv Khando Altekar, pleader of Karad, intended to hold an Anti-Peace Celebration Meeting but did not do so for reasons unknown. Many of the pleaders in Karad are against the Peace Celebrations but are taking no active part in opposing them.

(*t*) *Satara, December 21st, 1919.*—Generally speaking, the Peace Celebrations throughout the district went off without a hitch. At Satara and Karad posters issued by the Anti-Peace Celebration Committee were found.

(*u*) *Belgaum, December 14th, 1919.*—The Anti-Peace Celebration movement so far affected Belgaum City only in this district, with the exception of the Chikodi pleaders.

The District Magistrate remarks.—" The posters and leaflets which were obtained from individuals were collected from them by the police on information that they had been received by them.

" Nothing disturbed the harmony of the Peace Celebrations in spite of the absentation of almost all the Muhammadans. The Urdu schools of the city all turned up for the children's sports on Monday morning, but I believe those of the Cantonment did not. Very few Muhammadans attended the sports, but the Chairman of the Cantonment Celebrations Committee was a Muhammadan and took a prominent part in their management.

" I heard yesterday on very good authority that an attempt was made by some Mussalman shopkeepers of the Camp to have a closing of their shops, but it was a failure. ".

(*v*) *Dharwar, December 14th, 1919.*—Leaflets and posters in Urdu, Hindi and Kanarese, purporting to emanate from the Anti-Peace Celebration Publicity Board, Delhi, have been published at Hubli and Dharwar through the good offices of the local Home Rulers as well, apparently, as through the Secretary of the Belgaum-Anjuman-i-Islam.

(*w*) *Kanara, December 21st, 1919.*—Peace Celebrations were celebrated throughout the district with enthusiasm. There were no anti-Peace demonstrations.

(*x*) *Kolaba, December 9th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, " The Muhammadans of Uran are taking no part in organising Peace Celebrations."

(*y*) *Kolaba, December 21st, 1919.*—Peace Celebrations in the principal towns in the district passed off quietly and almost all the people, except Muhammadans at Uran and Pen, joined in.

(*z-1*) *Kathiawar Agency, December 17th, 1919.*—The Superintendent of Police reports, " Anti-Peace Celebration pamphlets from Delhi and signed by Dr. Ansari have been received at Wadhwan, Rajkot and Limbdi. These leaflets made no impression in Kathiawar. ".

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The Agent to the Governor writes.—" The leaflets arrived in Kathiawar late in the day and, so far as I can learn, little notice was taken of them."

(*z-2*) *Karachi, December 15th, 1919.*—The Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee held a public meeting in the Khalikdina Hall last evening. About 1,500 persons were present. Haji Abdulla Haroon presided. The hall and dais were draped in black. The president referred with satisfaction to the few entries for the motor car procession. He said that few Indians had attended the celebrations on Saturday. He had noticed one Shikarpuri topi. Sheikh Abdul Majid said Hindus have never driven Mussalmans out of their homes, hence they are friends. But according to the *Koran*, Mussalmans should not be friendly with those who are trying to drive them out of their homes and holy places. When Moslem women hear about the Caliphate and its impending fate and of the holy places, they implore the men to leave their homes and sacrifice themselves. There is yet no peace with Turkey ; peace is being celebrated before it exists. This is treachery to Moslems. The Prime Minister wishes to show the other Powers that the Hindus and Moslems of India have participated in the Peace Celebrations.

Narsinglal pointed out that those who subscribed and took part in the celebrations were not friends of Government but were trying to conceal the state of feeling among the people. He then endeavoured to rouse the audience against the C.I.D. reporters.

Pandit Amersen who wore a black band round his arm, made some strong remarks about the conduct of the Punjab officials during the disorders. The other speakers were Devi Saraswati, who was dressed in black, Tarachand, Mirza, a pleader whose sanad has been cancelled, Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Ali Muhammad. The Makar Memons closed their shops early on Saturday owing, it is reported, to the endeavours of the last named.

(*z-3*) *Karachi, December 20th, 1919.*—On the 16th instant the Home Rule League (All-India) held a public meeting in the Khalikdina Hall. Fida Hussain Quettawala presided. The hall was draped in black.

(*z-4*) *Thar and Parkar, December 24th, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, " The Peace Celebrations went quite well.".

(*z-5*) *Nawabshah, December 17th, 1919.*—Some placards and notices received from the Anti-Peace Celebration Committee, Delhi and the Caliphate Committee, Karachi, were put up during last week at Nawabshah. They contained the *fatwa* of some Muhammadan *ulemas* and the mandate of Gandhi enjoining abstention from the Peace Celebrations. Some efforts appear to have been made to dissuade the Mussalman Zamindar class from participating in the Peace Celebrations on account of contemplated dismemberment of Turkey.

The District Magistrate remarks.—"No action was taken in regard to these posters as any action would only have attracted more attention to them. They had some effect, not much, though they aroused considerable interest and discussion.".

(*z-6*) *Upper Sind Frontier, December 13th, 1919.*—Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrote, with about 30 other Maulvis and followers, came to Jacobabad on the 11th December, having been invited by Maulvi Abdul Gafur, Municipal Councillor of Jacobabad, in connection with the Anti-Peace Celebration

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movement. Posters and leaflets advocating abstention from participation in Peace Celebrations were circulated by Maulvi Abdul Gafur, and Abdul Razak, cloth merchant of Jacobabad.

A meeting was held at the Id-gah after the usual prayers on Friday the 12th, and was attended by about 600, of whom about ten were unimportant Hindus. Maulvi Abdul Gafur was voted to the chair by Maulvi Abdul Khalik, a hakim of Thul, and was seconded by Maulvi Khadim Hussain of Usto Bhalena and Naib Nesrulla of Jacobabad. Maulvi Abdul Khalik then read out a speech in Sindhi asking Moslems and Hindus not to participate in the Peace Celebrations as it would be contrary to religion. His speech was not of an objectionable nature except that the current allegations of breach of faith on the part of the British were made. His remarks were formally seconded by Maulvi Taj Muhammad. The usual resolutions were passed and wired to the Viceroy, the Governor of Bombay, Gandhi and the Muslim Caliphate Committee of Delhi.

A policeman, who asked what they were to do, was told that they had better participate if called upon to do so, otherwise they would be ruined.

Maulvi Taj Muhammad left on the morning of the 13th instant.

No particularly objectionable posters or leaflets have come to notice.

(*z-7*) *Upper Sind Frontier, December 20th, 1919.*—Anti-Peace Celebration agitation has not been entirely without effect here. Some of the school boys refused sweetmeats, the procession of the sacred book of the Hindus through the bazaar was very scantily attended ; but there were pretty good attendances for the wrestling, tent-pegging and fireworks. A good many people wondered why Peace was being celebrated again and there was also an idea abroad that the taking of Mecca and Medina from the Turks was the cause of the celebrations. I have not heard of any person publishing this lie ; it is probably an inference drawn by an ignorant and credulous populace who have no idea of the true facts.

At Thul, lectures by Maulvi Sarmar Baksh, son of Ghousbakhsh Varia of Thul, supported by nine other Maulvis of the Taluka, on the 14th and 15th advocating abstention from participation in the celebrations, resulted in the abandonment of a proposed wrestling competition on the 14th and the boycotting on the 15th of a fireworks display by the Mahommedans except the leading Zamindars and the poorer people, police, peons, etc.

The following telegram is reported to have been sent to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy :

> " Hindus and Mussalmans cannot participate in Peace Celebrations until Caliphate question remains unsettled (sic.) !

Copies of the Hyderabad Manifesto were distributed.

(*z-8*) *Sind Railways, December 15th, 1919.*—On the 8th instant Gurudinomal, editor of the *Mirpurkhas Gazette*, was noticed on the Mirpurkhas Railway Station platform distributing Anti-Peace Celebration leaflets printed by Jairam Daulatram at the Bharatvasi Press, Hyderabad, and published by Dr. Shaikh Nur Muhammad of the Caliphate Committee, Hyderabad.

(*z-9*) *S. B. Sind, Karachi, December 17th, 1919.*—The Sind Moslem of the 13th instant consists mostly of Anti-Peace Celebration propaganda.

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On the 10th Abdul Aziz sent a telegram to the Manager of the Al-Haq :— "Don't comment on Governor's council speech at all, myself coming."

The Sind Moslem comments much less than usual on the Caliphate controversy merely quoting a resolution passed by an obscure meeting at Jacobabad and the telegram sent by the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee pressing for further enquiry.

(z-10) S. B. Sind, Karachi, December 19th, 1919.—The efforts of the extreme Home Rule party in Sind to spoil the Peace Celebrations were widely organised and prosecuted with energy. The means employed were mainly the holding of meetings, the distribution of leaflets and the posting of notices, all accompanied by a vigorous press campaign.

Meetings were organised from Hyderabad in several outlying towns. The celebrations passed off without any sort of disturbance, but also with a very general absence of public enthusiasm for which these efforts must be held largely responsible. Their effects in Upper Sind were naturally much less conspicuous than in Hyderabad and Karachi.

In Hyderabad the fireworks were destroyed and in Karachi some consternation was caused on the Saturday by the refusal of shopkeepers to supply one of those responsible for feeding the poor, with the necessary cooking pots. In Hyderabad an anti-celebration procession was organised and in Karachi the Khalikdina Hall was draped in black, but for the most part purely passive measures to show disapproval were adopted.

The attendance at the display of fireworks at Karachi was very poor.

Much of the speeches and the printed matter employed in the campaign were of a very objectionable nature, though the greatest care was taken to represent the whole agitation as religious—the Muhammadans broken by sorrow for the fate of their Caliphate and wholly incapable of joy, and the Hindus impelled by brotherly love to weep in sympathy. It is extremely difficult to gauge how far the creation of this purely artificial atmosphere of religious concern, and how far genuine feeling on political grounds for the fate of Turkey, were responsible for the marked absence of any spontaneous signs of rejoicing.

(z-11) C.I.D., Delhi, December 9th, 1919.—The following is a copy of a letter, dated the 5th instant, from M. A. Ghani, Honorary Secretary to the Central Caliphate Committee of India, Bombay, to Dr. Ansari, Delhi :—

> "In compliance with your telegram, Seth Chhotani Sahib has wired to his friends at Pirankalier to use their influence to stop the Peace Celebrations there during Urs. It is hoped they will spare no pains to see that the programme announced is not carried out.".

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM.

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(d) Bombay January 1st.—The following letter was intercepted in the correspondence of Mian Muhammad Chhotani on the 30th December 1919.—Villa Maya, Gorakhpur, U. P., 27th December 1919.

* * * * *

Personal.

I hear, you are about to go to England in connection with the Caliphate deputation. The country is grateful for all that you have already done in this connection, and I trust you will be fully successful in your mission

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to England. The Caliphate questions is a question on which people (both Hindus and Muhammadans) feel, and feel keenly.

* * * * * * *

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) C. C. Das,

(*b*) *Bombay, January 5th.*—The following letters were intercepted in the correspondence of Mian Muhammad Chhotani on the 29th December 1919 :—

(1) "From the Secretary, Caliphate Committee, Saharanpur, Mohalla Qazi, dated the 24th December 1919.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Salutations.—The office-bearers of the Saharanpur Caliphate Committee have resigned and the following new office-bearers have been selected in their places.

Chairman.—Maulana Khalil-ur-Rahman Sahib.

Secretaries.—Hakim Niaz Ali Sahib and Maulvi Aqil-ul-Rahman Nadwi.

Joint Secretary.—Babu Muhammad Yusuf Sahib. Correspondence may henceforward be addressed either to the Chairman or to the undersigned.

AQIL-UL-RAHMAN NADWI,
Secretary, Caliphate Committee, Sharanpur."

"Calcutta, December 26th, 1919.

Please reply c/o Messrs. King, King and Company, Bombay 2.

Dear Mr. Chhotani,

How are you? I have not heard from you. From Hyderabad I had come to Calcutta straight by the Southern Mahratta Railway to see the Viceroy before he leaves Calcutta. I suppose you are now in Amritsar. I am sorry I am unable to come there, but I should be very grateful if you will let me know the result of your deliberations there. I am addressing this to Bombay so as to find you immediately on your return. The Moslem situation appears to be much more hopeful now. I have spoken about your business plans to Sir Ali Imam. I hope you will see him on a favourable opportunity.

* * * * * * *

Please let me know all your plans about the Caliphate deputation. I will let you know when I am next likely to visit Bombay. With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) A. YUSUF ALI,

Ibid.—Hakim Abdul Halim Behari, a member of the Central Caliphate Committee, has published an Urdu notice calling attention to the sufferings (unspecified) of the people of Medina ; and asking Mussalmans to convene meetings with the object of raising a relief fund.

(*c*) *Bombay, January 7.*—The following was noticed in the censorship.—A telegram, dated the 29th December 1919, from Chhotani, Bombay to Ahmed Siddick Khatri, care of Muhammad Dawood Ghazanavi, Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Amritsar :—

"Madras branch Committee accepting all resolutions were inability to attend request Maulana Abdul Bari to come Bombay on his return journey Lucknow if possible."

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A telegram, dated the 30th December 1919, from Chhotani, Bombay, to the following addresses :—

(1) The President, Khilafat Committee, Amritsar.
(2) Maulana Abdul Bari, Amritsar.
(3) Mahommedali Shaukatali, Amritsar.
(4) Rajasaheb Mahmudabad.
(5) Mahomedali Jinnah, Bar-at-Law, Amritsar.
(6) Hajikulmulk, Amritsar.
(7) Ahmed Siddik Khatri, Amritsar.

"Aga Khan cables fate of Constantinopole and Smyrna will be decided early next month. Please all leaders beg implore Viceroy see him beg to use influence have these and Adrianopole for Turkey also beg Montagu to be present in Paris no time to lose. Kindly consult all leaders if advisable arrange deputation our Central Khilafat Committee will communicate with Viceroy if desired.".

(*a*) *Bombay January 5.*—The following correspondence was noticed :—

THE CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE OF INDIA, BRANCH SHOLAPUR KHILAFAT COMMITTEE :

Office, Sholapur, 27th December 1919.

To.

The Honorary Secretary,
Central Khilafat Committee of India,
Branch Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I beg to submit herewith a copy of our letter sent to the Honorary Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee of India, Delhi, for your information and guidance.

Hoping an ever ready assistance from you and your guidance.

I beg, etc.,
HUSEN KASSAM,
Honorary Secretary,
Central Khilafat Committee of India,
Sholapur, Branch.

Copy of letter.

KHILAFAT COMMITTEE OFFICE :
Sholapur, 27th December 1919.

To,

The Honorary Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee of India, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 11th December 1919, and also that of the posters, leaflets and handbills, which served our purpose with the utmost utility. We had also received the *fatwas* signed by the well-known religious authorities from the Bombay Committee which did a great deal in removing the doubts of the people at large to join us in the Anti-Peace Celebration movement. We are glad and proud to inform you that we the Mahommadans never attained such a great success as the

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one which we got under adverse circumstances in this movement. Uptil now all the Mahommadans were led by some Mahommadan title-holders and Bench Magistrates who had already naturally thought that the masses would also follow them in their attempt to celebrate the occasion. When asked to give reasons to do so in the face of the *fatwas* and the strong general opposition of all the Mahommadans of India, the poor fellows told us that they could not go against the Collector Sahib or rather Sircar and that the *fatwas* did not clearly give reasons for our not joining the peace celebration ; in short, they brought the validity of the *fatwas* in question ; they tried very hard to induce to bring the masses to their side. We may here beg to inform you that these so-called leaders, who are title-holders and title-hunters cared much for what the official side asked them to do, than what the *fatwas* ordered them to do. Unfortunately for these Mahommadans who were on the official side, there has been a spontaneous "boycott" by all the Mahommadans. They have severed their connection with them, at least for these seven days. Some have stopped trading with them. Some do not want them to be in the midst of Mahommadans. At this we may point out to you that these boycotted Mahommadans were of repute. Some of them are "Khan Bahadurs" ; some are "Khan Sahibs" and others are Bench Magistrates.

There was a procession by the official side on the 16th December ; but we take pride in informing you that out of twenty-two thousand Mahommadans some thirty Mahommadans took part in it. We do not know how far they were willing to do so.

The result of these occurrences has been a keen desire on the part of the public Hindus and Mohammadans to know much of the Khilafat question. But fortunately all the Mahommadans except the title-holders and title-hunters whose number can be counted by a mere child of five—their insignificant number being seven or eight,— out of twenty-two thousand Mahommadan population of Sholapur joined us and gave a very strong opposition to the official side. The most interesting and contentious points were in the official programme : first to give *Khana* to the poor by cooking in Jumma Masjid compound and secondly to pray to God in the Jumma Masjid. But to this the Mahommadans opposed violently and the official side had to give up that idea. We do not know to what it was due to it may be perhaps rather due looking to the fore-sightedness of District Magistrates and District Superintendent of Police to avoid disturbances of peace due to the spirit of the Mahommadans than to the sympathy of the said officials towards the Mahommadans. You will do much if you procure and publish literature about importance of the existence of the Sultan as Khilafat-ul-Mussalmen and the disastrous results in the contrary event (which may God forbid). The literature should be in Urdu and English. Secondly, we beg to advise you to publish in the English leading newspapers recommending a list of books on Turkey and Khilafat to be read by the public which will show the non-Muslim and ignorant Moslem our true cause. And, thirdly, that you will please translate and publish the plea of Lords and others of England to Mr. Lloyd George published in the Islamic review of October number.

The most significant of this movement in this city, the Mahommadan population of which is nearly 22,000 but far backward in point of education and too poor and timid to come forward in any movement which is supposed to be anti-Government (though the present and others like it are always not

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so), has been that the promoters of this movement have incurred a very great displeasure of the officials and some of the "big bosses of the City" and there is rumour in the City that the promoters will have to taste something in a month or two from the hands of the officials.

We know that none should be afraid of the consequence of such a righteous cause as the present one, but also know for certain that if any of the promoters is insulted or undeservedly treated by any of the officials, nobody in future will come forward to take up the sacred cause only by want of sufficient backing and of right guidance.

Hoping an ever ready assistance from you and your valuable guidance.

We beg, etc.,

(Signed) HUSSEN KASSAM,
Honorary Secretary, C. K. Committee of India,
Sholapur, Branch.

(*b*) *Bombay, January 5th.*—The Pathare Prabhu community having arranged a religious lecture as part of the Peace Celebrations, a leaflet signed by 36 Pathare Prabhus was published on the 12th December 1919 calling on the community to stay away from the lecture as a protest against—

(1) The shooting at Jallianwala Baugh,
(2) The Punjab prosecutions, and
(3) The bombing of Gujranwala.

The signatories are of no particular influence, the chief of them being Dr. M. B. Velkar and G. B. Vaidya. Over 100 unnamed persons are alleged to have signed as well.

(*c*) *Panch Mahals, December 21st, 1919.*—There were a series of Anti-Peace Celebration Meetings held in Godhra town during the week. They were organised by the local Home Rulers headed by Waman Mukadam.

The meetings were held on the following dates :—

8th December in the Ganj Shahid Mosque under the presidentship of Moulvi Muhammad Ismail.
9th December near the Johurpura Mosque.
10th December in the Bhangi Quarter.
11th December in the Johurpura Quarter.
12th December in Ghanchiwada.

All these meetings were well attended, and the Ghanchis were present in large numbers. The principal speakers were Waman Mukadam, Moulvi Muhammad Ismail and Purshottam Shah. The subject of the lecture was the Caliphate question and the Anti-Peace Celebration campaign.

It is significant that this is the first occasion on which the Ghanchis have openly taken part in any political meeting, and it would seem that the local agitators have at last got an opportunity of getting them in their net.

Moulvi Muhammad Ismail is a comparatively new Moulvi and returned from Delhi about three years ago.

The speeches at the meeting on the 8th December were of a somewhat violent nature and contained some objectionable features. The leaders were accordingly called up by the District Magistrate and warned. The speeches at the subsequent meetings were more moderate in tone. I have not reproduced them here as they contain nothing specially worthy of notice.

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(*d*) *Thana, December 27th, 1919.*—The Sub-Inspector, Bassein, reports that at 3-30 p.m. on the 16th December a meeting of the Caliphate Committee was held at Hati Mahal Street, Bassein. About 250 persons were present, viz., 30 Hindus, six Borahs and the remainder Muhammadans. P. N. Shinde, B.A., LL.B., was voted to the chair. Discussion of the Caliphate question was the object of the meeting. The usual resolution of loyalty of His Majesty the King-Emperor was proposed and passed unanimously.

A resolution was also passed censoring the Bassein Municipality for wasting money on the Peace Celebrations. After the meeting was over a procession was formed. It marched through the streets carrying two black flags.

On the 13th December at 3-30 p.m. a procession of about 1,000 children paraded through Bassein and before they were dispersed Mr. Samant, schoolmaster, explained about the Peace to them. The following took part in the procession :—

(1) The Mamlatdar.
(2) The Aval Karkun.
(3) Dr. Abhyankar.
(4) V. M. Marathe.
(5) T. A. Dondi, District Pleader.
(6) P. S. Mahedakar, B.A., LL.B.
(7) K. R. Galwankar.
(8) S. H. Golatkar.

(*Note.*—No. 3. Dr. Abhyankar, and No. 4 Vishnupant M. Marathe, took part in a Caliphate Anti-Peace Meeting held at Bassein on the 16th December 1919).

The only Muhammadan noticed in the Peace Celebration was Isak Haji Ebrahim, grain merchant. He attended the Mamlatdar's Durbar.

The Sub-Inspector, Bhiwandi, reports that the Peace Celebrations were boycotted in Bhiwandi. Some Muhammadans went about with black crape on their arms. Lights were extinguished. The Hindus also joined the Muhammadans. Kazi Miya Fakki was the only Muhammadan who interested himself in the Peace Celebrations.

The District Magistrate remarks.—" Despite an anti-peace efforts, the Peace Celebrations, throughout the district, appear to have been an unqualified success. ".

(*e*) *Thana, January 1st.*—Muhammad Hussen Amir Saheb Falke and Krishna Pandurang Godbole, a clerk in the Audit Office, G.I.P. Railway, filed a suit in the Kalyan Court against the Municipality for donating Rs. 500 to the Peace Celebration Fund.

Note.—Will the Superintendent of Police, G.I.P., M. & S.M. Railways, please note ? (C.I.D., Bombay Presidency).

(*f*) *West Khandesh, December 22nd, 1919.*—The District Magistrate writes, " There was no opposition of any kind to the Peace Celebrations. ".

(*g*) *Nasik, December 22nd, 1919.*—The Celebrations were a success in spite of the fact that leaflets were distributed.

(*h*) *Nasik, December 29th, 1919.*—Peace Celebrations were celebrated from the 13th to the 16th. The programme of celebration was almost

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the same at all places, *viz.*, (1) offering of prayers, (2) distribution of sweets to the boys and girls and of food and clothes to the poor, (3) illuminations and fireworks, (4) processions of boys and girls.

It is learnt that the Muhammadans of Pimpalgaon-Baswant did not take part and did not illuminate the mosque as suggested by the Mamlatdar.

At Manmad some persons, especially some of the members of the Manmad Reading Club, who are mostly Railway servants were against the Peace Celebrations.

At Malegaon some of the Muhammadans did not take part in the procession on the 13th December 1919 owing to the receipt of posters from Delhi.

In Nashik City some political leaders were noticeably absent from the Peace Celebrations.

(*i*) *Sholapur, December 20th, 1919.*—The Circle Inspector, Pandharpur, reports that on the 11th and 12th December handbills urging the people to refrain from taking part in the Peace Celebrations were distributed in Pandharpur Town. Handbills of a similar nature were also pasted up in prominent places. As far as could be ascertained, it seems that Ganesh Shankar Bidkar and Balkrishna Hari Phansalkar the local Home Rule pleaders, are leaders in the Anti-Peace Celebration activities in Pandharpur.

On the 12th December Ganesh Ekanath Kowlagi, local pleader, presided at a meeting consisting of some 500 persons, mostly Brahmins, convened to protest against the action of the Municipality in voting Rs. 500 towards the Peace Celebrations and also to request the public to follow the advice of Dr. Ansari, B. H. Phansalkar remarked that though they were full of joy over the success of the British in the war, still the thought of the atrocities committee in the Punjab completely wiped out their joy and threw them into deep grief for their Hindu and Muhammadan brethren. The speaker then continued to mourn over the Caliphate question and finally concluded with remarks on the nominated members of the Municipality having voted a grant towards the Peace Celebrations. Dr. Wasudev Ramchandra Kanitkar supported the speaker and was followed by G. S. Bidkar who advised the audience to take no part in the Peace Celebrations.

On the 13th evening a meeting attended by about 100 persons, including some Hindus, took place in front of the Jumma Masjid at Pandharpur. One Khatib Basiru Jamal walad Moulvi Abdul Hadisaheb of Hyderabad, Deccan, was present and spoke in Urdu reading out the *fatwa* of Moulana Abdul Bari. His address was on the same lines as that of the speakers of the previous day, that is, advising the audience to take no part in the Peace Celebrations. One Trimbak Raghunath Joshi of Nashik supported the speaker and B. H. Phansalkar closed the meeting with a repetition of the advice to refrain from celebrating the Peace.

The Peace Celebrations passed off successfully, but a number of shops, it was noticed, were closed.

The Sub-Inspectors concerned have forwarded copies of handbills distributed and pasted up in Barsi and Sangola on the subject of the Peace Celebrations. A large amount of the same sort of literature was distributed in Sholapur, but apparently with very little result.

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So far as reports go, the Peace Celebrations in the district passed off quietly and in Sholapur all passed off well. It was rumoured that the Caliphate Committee were trying to make difficulties over the feeding of the poor near the Jumma Masjid, Sholapur, but no success apparently crowned their efforts. The pleaders generally seem to have taken very little part in the proceedings, but that was only to be expected.

(*j*) *Bijapur, December 28th, 1919.*—There is no agitation among Muhammadans or Hindus against the Peace Celebrations or questions regarding the Caliphate or Turkey.

No posters, leaflets or booklets from the Delhi Anti-Peace Celebrations Board or from other sources are reported to have been noticed and it appears that none were received in this district during the week.

(*k*) *Belgaum, December 29th, 1919.*—The Peace Celebrations throughout the district were held without disturbances. Most of the Chikodi pleaders refrained from taking part. At Bail Hongal none but Government servants took part. On the 15th December when the flag was "broken" by the Commissioner, S. D. on the Langna Maidan, only two of the 50 odd Belgaum pleaders (K. B. Kagtikar and B. K. Dalvi) were present, while two others (H. G. Sabnis and R. G. Khot) put in an appearance afterwards.

The District Magistrate remarks.—"B. K. Dalvi, the pleader reported as present at the Celebrations, is one of the Secretaries of the Belgaum Athletic Association which has recently been started and he was of much use to me in organising the sports.".

(*l*) *Belgaum, January 2nd.*—My Deputy reports that from information he has gathered, the local Mussalmans are not greatly interested in the Caliphate question and are only taking part to please the Head Committee.

The Hindus are much more interested in Tilak and the Punjab.

(*m*) *Dharwar, December 22nd, 1919.*—Preparations for the Peace Celebrations at Dharwar were lukewarm. There was a very meagre crowd at the Police Parade which inaugurated the real business of the Celebrations. A small crowd started in procession with their Majesty's portraits round the town, but gradually dwindled down to a fraction of its original size. Except a small knot of officials, no Brahmins or Muhammadans figured in the processional crowd.

The illuminations in the evening were strictly official, but attracted a crowd. With the exception of a few stray lights, the bazaar and residential parts of the town were in darkness.

The local Muhammadans some time ago arranged to feed the poor during these holidays, but, apparently, in consequence of advice from Delhi with which the town had been liberally placarded, the project was abandoned. As the Collector and various other officials had already been invited to the function, an excuse for its abandonment was found in the non-arrival of the butter ordered for the concomitant tea-party to the Sahebs.

At Hubli the effect of the Anti-Peace Celebrations movement was conspicuous. School-boys, school-masters, Government servants and persons connected with Government were the only persons who took part in the Peace Celebrations.

On the 14th December a meeting was arranged in Durgadbaili by (1) Rao Saheb Dr. Kulkarni, (2) Narayenrao Byahatta, Honorary Magistrates, and

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(3) Yellapa Pujari, a member of the Municipality, as an attempt to frustrate the efforts of the Anti-Peace Celebration meeting held about the same time in the Karnatic Factory. Many shopkeepers and others were induced to attend, in consequence of which the Anti-Peace Celebration meeting was not very crowded. This latter's meeting was convened by (1) Shrinivas Vishnu Tabib, Secretary of the Home Rule League, (2) Abdul Samad Kureshi and (3) Muhammad Husṣein. No. (1) read over the handbill at the commencement of the meeting and said that Nos. (2) and (3) had authorised him to do so as they were ill. These two men do not appear to be men of any standing. The audience was about 150, 50 of whom were Muhammadans. The usual resolutions were passed.

The whole Anti-Peace Celebrations movement appears to be the work of Hindu Home Rule pleaders. The proceedings terminated with cheers for Hindu-Moslem unity.

I enclose a cutting from the *Chronicle* (printed below).

No Anti-Peace Celebrations movement appears to have taken place at Gadag.

The District Magistrate remarks.—" As a foil to the above rather gloomy account, I have glowing reports (no doubt a little rose-coloured) from all parts of the district, especially Gadag, and there was a big Muhammadan feast at Hubli. At Dharwar, a gathering to give sweets to Moslem school-children in a main street was arranged to make up for the abandoned feast and was very well attended. ".

The cutting from the *Chronicle* :—

HUBLI REFUSES TO CELEBRATE 'PEACE'.

(From a correspondent).

Hubli, December 15th.

Yesterday a big public meeting was held under the chairmanship of Mr. Abu Bakar Haji Jaffar, merchant. The meeting adopted the Anti-Peace Celebration resolutions and solemnly expreessed inability to participate in the Peace Celebration, the reason being the unsatisfactory state of the Caliphate question. Mr. Mirza Muhammad Ali Baig proposed and Mr. Shrinivas Vishnu Tabib seconded the resolution. Wishing greater unity among Hindus and Muhammadans, the meeting terminated. ".

(*n*) *Kolaba, December 27th, 1919.*—At Uran the Peace Celebrations were held in the compound of Khan Bahadur Hormusjee M. Bhiwandivalla. No Muhammadans took part and only a few Hindus besides Government servants, school-children and villagers, Agris and Kolis. No Muhammadans made any attempt to illuminate their houses on the occasion and the under-mentioned leading members of the community succeeded in inducing the shop-keepers to close their shops on the 15th December—

(1) Muhammad Amin Muhammad Abdulla Bhaiji.

(2) Muhammad Ebrahim Muhammad Jaffer Tungiker.

They are also said to be responsible for persuading their co-religionists not to participate in the Celebrations. Some Muhammadans in the bazaar

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who hire out Kitson lights refused to hire them to the Mahalkari for the occasion, and in the Muhammadan locality street lamps were extinguished after being lighted. Several Urdu notices were pasted on Muhammadan houses and, since the removal of two copies of these, a notice in Marathi signed by Muhammad Hussein Tungiker stating : "No one should tear off the notices otherwise he will be legally dealt with", has been pasted below the remaining notices. It is said that No. (1) mentioned above was responsible for bringing the notices from Bombay.

At Nagothana an Urdu notice was pasted on the Customs Chowky and, though there are many Muhammadan residents in the town, none took part in the Peace Celebrations except the boys of the Urdu school and the Police Patel who is a Muhammadan.

At Panwel the Muhammadans took no part in the Celebrations and Gujars and Marwadis did not illuminate their houses but leading Hindus of other castes took part and collected subscriptions for the Celebrations.

(*d*) *Larkhana, December 14th, 1919.*—The local Caliphate party which is commonly known as Ghulam Ali Shidi's party held a meeting at the Id-Gah on the 12th December after Jumma Prayers. Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law, Ghulam Muhammad Ghulam Ali Shidi, Pleader, Khudadad Surho, Municipal Councillor, Muhammad Shah, General Merchant, Pir Imamuddin Shah, of Tullah, brother of Pir Jhandewala, Pirs Tunabalishah, Alishah and Mustaffashah and Sheikh Abdulrazak, a Murid of the Moulvi of Amrot, were the moving spirits. Moulvis Akil, Mithal, Muhammad Bachal and Haji Ahmed took a prominent part in the proceedings. The remainder of the audience consisted of ignorant people who were brought, by one or the other of the above men, by means of false representations. Pir Imamuddin Shah was selected President for the occasion. One Urdu and three Sindhi poems were recited by Moulvi Akil and a couple of small boys in praise of the Khalifa. A resolution was then passed to the effect that it was unlawful for the Mussalmans to take part in the Peace Celebrations in view of the fact that the wishes of the Mussalmans were being disregarded in the matter of the Caliphate and that the holy places of Islam were being taken away from the rightful Khalifa. At the end of the proceedings Jan Muhammad Junejo announced that the District Congress Committee, Larkhana, were going to hold a meeting at 4 p.m. and that the Mussalmans should attend it as an invitation had been sent to them. The audience then went to the open space between the tank and the Larkhana Gazette Press where only two Hindus, *viz.*, Shewaram Tarachand, Pleader, and Tahilram Moolchand, Editor of the *Larkhana Gazette*, were present. Moulvi Mithal started his Lecture there on the Hindu-Moslem union and after a considerable time about 16 Hindu residents of Larkhana and Lahori turned up one after the other. The following were the more prominent among them :—

(1) Gobinbux Janjimal, Bar-at-Law.

(2) Virusing Kimatsing, Pleader.

(3) Kundanmal Tilumal, Pleader.

(4) Rijhumal Kundansing Lahori.

(5) Thanwerdas Manghanmal Saraf.

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Tahilram Moolchand proposed that Gobindbux Janjimal Israni should preside and Jan Muhammad Junejo seconded the proposal. Gobindbux had acted as resident Magistrate for some time and resigned a few months ago because, it is said, he was not confirmed. He is now practising at Larkhana. He thanked the audience for the honour bestowed on him and said that he was proud of the opportunity afforded to him of expressing his feelings which he could not have been able to express if he had continued in Government service. He made a very brief and uninteresting speech in the course of which he advised the Hindus and Mussalmans to behave towards each other like brothers and urged the Hindus to regard the Caliphate question as their own.

Tahilram then rose and read out to the audience an Urdu poster received from Delhi and headed "Mahatma Gandhi's command—Maulana Abdul Bari's *fatwa*". He said that the Mussalmans being brothers of the Hindus their Khalifa was the Khalifa of the Hindus as well. He then repeated the "directions" contained in another poster No. 2 advising the audience to boycott the Peace Celebrations. A resolution on the subject, which had already been prepared in English, was read out to the audience by Gobindbux a Sindhi translation being also given. Gobindbux asked the audience if they supported the resolution and several of them replied in the affirmative. On this Tahilram remarked that all accepted the resolution excepting the Police.

Shewaram Tarachand, Pleader, spoke a few words on the same lines as Tahilram Moolchand. Jan Muhammad Junejo then thanked the Hindus and the meeting dispersed.

Some of the men who were brought from the mofussil to swell the audience were fed by Jan Muhammad Junejo.

The above two posters and third one headed "Dispair is sin" were distributed in Larkhana Town as well as in several other places in the district by Jan Muhammad Junejo, Tahilram Moolchand and their friends. A Sindhi poster signed by Haji Abdullah Haroon and six other Moulvis and Pirs was distributed at various railway stations in this district.

Jan Muhammad Junejo, Khudadad Surho, Moulvi Muhammad Bachal, Pir Turabalishah, Pir Alianwarshah and some other members of the Caliphate party were busy during the last week in at least half of the talukas of the district dissuading the Mussalmans by false representations from having anything to do with the Peace Celebrations. At most of the places their lectures failed to create an impression. At Dadu, however, Dwarkaprasad the notorious Brahmin, has been very active in strengthening the hands of the Caliphate Committee.

At Dadu the mischief-makers had some success. They got at the Anglo-Vernacular school-boys, made them hold back from the Peace Celebrations and also got at the ignorant Mullas, so that most of the Mulla schools refused the sweets.

At Kambar, Pir Turab Ali managed to keep a good many away but there was no active counter-demonstration.

Elsewhere, outside Larkhana Town, they failed entirely.

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RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Bombay, January 12th.*—The Standing Committee of the Central Committee met at 6 p.m. on 9th January 1920 in the office of Mirza Ali Mahommed Khan, Solicitor, to discuss the proposed despatch of a deputation to England.

The following members were present :—

(1) Mian Mahommed Haji Jan Mahommad Chhotani.
(2) Sir Fazalbhoy C. Ebrahim.
(3) Mirza Ali Mahommed Khan.
(4) Badruddin Abdoola Koor.
(5) Hussain B. Tyebjee.
(6) Abdul Karim Essa Fazla.
(7) Mahommed Abba Jooma, and
(8) Abdul Gani, B.A.

Main Mahommad Chhotani presided. He complained of the apathy of the nominated delegates who had not replied to his letters on the subject and pointed out that no funds were available to defray the expenses of a deputation ; without money, the proposal could not be carried out.

After some discussion it was resolved—

(1) To write to the 72 Khilafat Committees in India with a view to ascertaining what savings they can effect in the normal expenditure. Money thus obtained might be used for the deputations.

(2) To cable a message to Mr. Lloyed George similar to that recently sent by Chhotani to Mr. Montangu.

(3) To present an address of welcome and thanks to Lord Sinha on his arrival in Bombay.

Budruddin Abdulla Koor asked the Committee what it intended to do about the Urdu leaflet "*Janat ki Basharat*". Chhotani said he was ready to pay Rs. 30,000. Sir Fazalbhoy also said that if the appeal was a *bona-fide* one he would interview responsible officials in the matter and see if any help could be got from Government.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting terminated at about 8 p.m.

The following letter was noticed in the intercepted correspondence of Chhotani on 9th January 1920 :—

(Letter in Urdu. Translation as under).

Firangi Mahal, Lucknow.

My Dear Sir,

You must have heard the detailed account of the proceedings at the Amritsar Conference from Ahmad Siddiq Sahib. We tried our level best to see that no opposition was offered to you. It was inadvisable to discuss the Boycott question in any way, because the Muslim League was going to support the resolution already passed. You are well acquainted with the attitude of the members of the League. They never undertake any responsibility on their shoulder in taking up a difficult question, but only look to their own interests with a view to guard their prestige. They

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merely speak but do not care to see that good results are derived from their demands. In the circumstances if we had opposed the resolutions passed by the Bombay Committee, the Muslim Leaguers would have got an opportunity of blaming you. For this reason we thought it advisable to remain silent as far as that question was concerned. You may think over the resolution supported by Moulvi Fazal-Ul-Hasan Hasrat and the questions put by him. You will then have an opportunity of giving your views at leisure.

The second question is about the deputation. I think it is absolutely essential to take a deputation to England. Mahommad Ali is now free. His accompanying the deputation will be very beneficial. If he goes, I do not think it necessary to go too. Shaukat Ali would work in India.

Regarding the deputation to wait on His Excellency the Viceroy, I am of opinion that such a deputation is also necessary but before you agree to our proposal, we cannot concur with the advice of Abdulla Khan and others. We would treat them as they treat us. Sir Fazalbhoy and Mirza Ali Mahommad Khan have been selected in order to preserve a majority of Bombay Mahommadans. But nothing should be done through Abdulla Khan. As a general meeting of the Muslim Conference has supported the despatch of the deputation, we have informed the Chairman of the Conference by a telegram. This course is much more advisable. If on seeing the name of Shaukat Ali, the Viceroy is displeased and refuses to receive the deputation, Shaffi and Abdulla Khan will look low.

Since the matter has been brought to this juncture it is advisable to support it now. A deputation must go to England.

The news about the deputation to wait on His Excellency the Viceroy will spread in no time all over India, and the declaration of a deputation to England will therefore be welcomed.

I hope you will prevail on the Bombay Khilafat Committee to support it.

On my return to Lucknow, I learnt that you had wired to me to go to Bombay. It is a pity, I did not receive this telegram otherwise I would have gone to Bombay direct from Amritsar. If you still want me, inform me by a telegram and I will comply with your request.

Yours Well-Wisher,
(Signed) FAKIR MAHOMMAD ABDUL BARI.

The following letter was intercepted in the correspondence of Chhotani on 8th January 1920 :—

Letter addressed to Chhotani which runs as follows :—

Amritsar,
5th January 1920.

Dear Sir,

I am sending copy of the telegram which was despatched by the Muslims of Madras on the 3rd instant and received here on 5th instant. I hope you will kindly interpret their feeling and sentiments before the Premier of London by adopting effective methods.

I am, Sir,
Yours sincerely,
(Signed) MOHAMMAD DAWOOD GHAZNAWI,
Secretary, All India Khilafat Conference, Amritsar.

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(Copy of the telegram).

Madras.

Moulvi Dawood Ghaznawi,

Secretary, All-India Khilafat Conference.

On behalf of Madras Muslims please adopt following grievances represented to Premier ; London, before settlement to our things he remembered and set forth before Conference :—

(1) The Holy Quaran says " (Part 10, Chapter 11) : Are they trying to extinguish Islam, Light of God, by blowing it out whatever their endeavours we will not leave it unless develops to higher extent. Accordingly Great Prophet first when proceeding to Medina and only four followers but when he marched against Syana he had forty-one thousand with him. Now followers of his faith number about 41 crores : if these large numbers of human race who have strongly imbibed above principle wish to assert their independence by threatening other nations who could remove their father and resist them.

(2) After murdering mother is it practicable to convert her daughter into one's wife and live with her peace and happiness. Similarly, is it possible to rule crores of Muslims after Turkish dismemberment, their mother.

(3) Territories kept under Austrian supervision according to Berlin Treaty having been annexed to dominions of latter provoked Servia and resulted in world conflagration which has caused misery to human race what would be the effect of poisoning minds of forty-one crores of Muslims ;

(4) Setting aside Holy *Quaranic* injunction justice and lessons of experience and deciding questions just as we choose if we embark upon our work of administration and if thereby evils and consternations arise and cause eternal trouble who would be held responsible for it all, and who would be answerable to right-minded subjects in their representative assemblies conflagration caused by Servians ; few which had been spreading throughout the world carrying destruction and annihilation with it had reference only to the wounded patriotism of people but wounded in case of Turkey it is patriotism, religion and race combined ; it is a matter for serious and conscientious consideration what would be extent and the duration of fire if caused by major portion of humanity.

The Muslims Moulvi Haji Shaikh Mian Mohiydeen, Editor, Liravool.

ISLAM, MADRAS.

The following letters were noticed in the intercepted correspondence of Chhotani on 12th January 1920 :—

I

The Khilafat Committee,

94, Pandariba, Allahabad,

Dated the 9th January 1920.

Dear Sir,

Our Committee intends to start a daily Urdu paper entitled "*Khilafat*". To start the business it requires a sum of Rs. 10,000. Most of the

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influential leaders have promised aid. We intend to send Mr. Zahur Ahmed, Bar-at-Law of Allahabad, to Bombay to collect funds. He will stay with Sir Fazalbhoy Karimbhoy. We rely much on you and we hope that you would contribute a handsome sum and assist us also in collecting funds.

Yours truly,
(Signed) K. S. JAFARI,
Honorary Secretary.

II

The Khilafat Committee.

94, Pandariba, Allahabad,
Dated 9th January 1920.

Dear Sir,

Your printed letter regarding boycott was placed before our Committee. Our Committee is also of opinion that boycott will not prove useful and the chances are that the Hindus will not join us in this matter. If the question is brought before the Conference our Committee will support you.

Yours truly,
(Signed) K. S. JAFARI,
Honorary Secretary.

III

The Khilafat Committee.

94, Pandariba, Allahabad,
Dated 9th January 1920.

Dear Sir,

We have learnt that you have invited to hold the 3rd Session of the *All-India Khilafat Conference* in Bombay. I have been asked by our Committee to lay the following for your Committee's consideration:—

(1) The date of the conference might be fixed immediately and all the Khilafat Committees might be informed thereof.

(2) The date so fixed might not be altered except for some very special necessity.

The Amritsar Conference has given us a lesson. The dates fixed were 29th and 30th and they were changed to 31st instant consulting the delegates. It was possible to hold a special conference of the delegates on the 29th and 30th and a joint Conference on the 31st. The result of the change was that some of the delegates came back disappointed and could not join the conference. Three of the Allahabad delegates returned and you can imagine their disappointment after having taken such a long journey.

(3) Suggestions might be invited from all the Khilafat Committees for the election of the President of the Conference.

At Amritsar we had a very bitter experience. Maulana Hasrat Mohani (for whom we have highest regard) approached every big personage and asked him to accept the Presidentship on condition that he gave an assurance that he agreed with the question of boycott. This was most arbitrary.

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(4) Suggestions might be invited from the Khilafat Committees for the names of persons to be sent on Deputation.

(5) Reports of work done by the Khilafat Committees up to the 31st December 1919 might be called for from the Secretaries of the Khilafat Committees.

The object of these suggestions is to link the Khilafat Committees to the Central Committee more closely and also to let the Khilafat Committee feel that their voice is also heard. If these suggestions are approved the Khilafat Conference will be more representative and constitutional. As some people are dissatisfied with the present method of the Conference, our Committee is forwarding the aforesaid suggestions to remove the dissatisfaction and we hope that your Committee would give due weight to them.

Yours Sincerely,
(Signed) K. S. JAFARI,
Honorary Secretary.

(*b*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, January 12th.*—On the 8th December 1919, a public meeting presided over by Hakim Wadhumal Adumal, Municipal Councillor, was held in Sukkur to consider (a) the proposal of Government to acquire certain religious places, *viz.*, the Cremation Ground, the Goshala, the Sukha Sadh Bela and a Mosque in connection with the Barrage Scheme and (b) the action of the Municipality in sanctioning Rs. 3,000 towards the Peace Celebrations.

Kishandas Jhamrai, Pleader, in opening the proceedings remarked that Government's policy in the past had been one of non-interference in matters of religion and religious sentiments. He therefore proposed the election of a committee to approach the Collector with a request that Government be moved not to touch the places mentioned.

Moulvi Taj Muhammad, Sub-Editor, *Sind Moslem*, in support declared that according to Muhammadan law a mosque once established cannot be removed. He had heard that their so-called Muhammadan leaders had been consulted but was unaware of the views they had expressed.

A resolution declaring that the places mentioned might not be used for any other purpose than that for which they were originally intended was then put to the meeting and unanimously carried.

Moulvi Taj Muhammad then announced that he had received from Haji Abdulla Haroon, President of the Sind Caliphate Committee, Karachi, a letter thanking the Sukkur public for the resolution regarding the release of the political members passed in the meeting on 29th November.

Kishandas Jhamrai remarking that there was a proposal before Government to open a College in Upper Sind made a suggestion, which was accepted by the meeting, that the authorities be moved to establish it in Sukkur.

The Municipal grant towards the Peace Celebrations was then discussed. After two unimportant speakers had briefly introduced the subject, remarking that the grant had not been made with public consent, Virumal Begraj addressed the meeting. Every nation, he observed, was struggling for its rights and privileges. Constitutional agitation had become widespread.

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In India they were up against the bureaucracy and were protesting against interference with their rights, such as free speech and popular control of local finances. During the war India had come to England's assistance with men and money. She naturally expected something in return and got the Rowlatt Act, Martial Law in the Punjab, imprisonment of the popular leaders, and now anxiety and suspense with regard to the fate of the Caliphate. How could they be expected, therefore, to join in the Peace Celebrations ? Why should they not be postponed till this last question had been settled to the satisfaction of the Muhammadans ?

He then made some remarks upon the validity of the grant on the ground that it had been sanctioned when only 12 persons, mostly Honorary Magistrates or nominated members, were present and had been hurried through without discussion out of its turn on the agenda of the meeting.

A Committee of 8 was then appointed to take legal advice in the matter and empowered to file a suit, if necessary, against those who had sanctioned the grant.

Note.—A suit against the Sukkur Municipality was actually filed in the Court of the Sub-Judge, Sukkur, on 13th December with Seth Arjandas Hemandas as plaintiff, but the application then made to restrain the Municipality from utilising for the Peace Celebration any of the money voted was rejected with costs.

This meeting was followed on the 12th December by another organised by Moulvi Taj Muhammad. A couple of black flags, one bearing a crescent, were hung outside the Anjuman in which it took place. Moulvi Din Muhammad Wafai, proposed by Taj Muhammad, seconded by Satar Adam and supported by Virumal Begraj, was elected chairman and opened proceedings by declaring that the flags signified that the meeting was in mourning over the Caliphate. He referred to the *Fatwas of Ulemas like* Abdul Bari and to the writings of Mahatma Gandhi (also recognised as a Muhammadan leader) as documentary proof that they should not take part in the Celebrations.

A number of local people, Muhammadans and others made speeches. The audience, it was noticed, contained a number of students and a fair sprinkling of Punjabi Hide Merchants. Notices for this meeting were circulated by students.

In this connection a local Sind C.I.D. officer reports that, at the instigation of Moulvi Taj Muhammad, a Muhammadan student of the Municipal High School, persuaded all the Muhammadan boys to declare in writing to their masters that they would not take part in the Celebrations as they had been asked not to do so by their parents.

In Shikarpur on the 11th, 12th and 13th December meetings presided over by Pandit Girdharilal and Haji Muhammad Imam respectively were held. Rambling speeches were made advancing the stock arguments against participation in the Celebrations and protesting against the action of the Municipality in voting Rs. 2,000 towards their cost.

(*c*) *C.I.D., Delhi, January 12th.*—One Mahammad Nizamuddin Chishti. Nizami of Shahpur, Ahmedabad, in a letter dated Ahmedabad, the 14th *Rabi-ul-Sani* 1338, H., to the address of Hakim Ajmal Khan, President of the Caliphate Committee, writes that, if approved (by the Hakim and others

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of the Caliphate Committee), "Janab Pirzada Hazrat Pir Sahib Mian Chishti" is willing to go with the Deputation to Turkey on behalf of the Ahmedabad people at his own expense. The writer adds that the going of the Pir is a matter of pride (fakhar) to the people. A reply is solicited.

Note.—Advance copy sent to the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad.

(d) S. B., Sind, Karachi, January 9th.—The meetings of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference and the Anjuman-e-Ulemae, Sind, held at Hyderabad on the 4th and 5th instant passed a number of resolutions concerning the general question of the Caliphate and the particular question of the local agitation. The resolutions are for the most part childish in their conception and in the language in which they are couched and of no significance except as proving the lack in the Pan-Islamic Muhammadan party in Sind of any sense of proportion or of responsibility.

The only resolutions containing anything definite were one by the Caliphate Conference to institute a fund with H. A. Haroon as its treasurer "for the protection of the sacred Caliphate" and one by the Anjuman to hold the next Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference at Larkhana on the 5th February.

Pir Aga Gulam Mujahid of Matiari presided at the meeting of the Anjuman and Mukhdum Moulvi Ghulam Muhammad of Dadu at that of the Caliphate Conference.

(e) S. B., Sind, Karachi, December 27th, 1919.—Jan Muhammad Bhurgri has issued a notice in the Hindu, dated the 24th December, that a Sind Caliphate Conference will be held at Hyderabad on the 4th January 1920, and requesting the people of Sind to attend it.

(f) S. B., Sind, Karachi, December 29th, 1919.—A leaflet was distributed with the Al-Amin and the Bharatvasi of the 22nd December announcing a public meeting to be held at Hyderabad on January 4th under the auspices of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee.

The notice gives a brief account of the course of the Caliphate controversy in Sind, quotes the Governor's pronouncement in Council, declares its inadequacy and explains the necessity for holding the meeting in order to decide on further action.

The meeting is clearly timed to synchronise with His Excellency's visit so as to give the impression that the matter is still a burning topic.

Bombay, December 29th, 1919.—The following delegates left Bombay to attend the Caliphate Conference :—

The Caliphate Conference, Amritsar.

(1) Umar Haji Yusuf Sobhani left for Allahabad accompanied by Syed Hussain of the Independent on the 20th instant. From Allahabad he will proceed to Amritsar to attend the Caliphate Conference as one of the Bombay delegates.

(2) Haji Nur Muhammad Ahmed, Cutlery Merchant.

(3) Abdul Karim Ebrahim Latif, Cutlery Merchant.

Both Nos. 2 and 3 left for Amritsar by the Congress Special on the 24th instant.

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(4) Ahmad Haji Siddiq Khatri.
(5) Hashim Haji Siddiq Khatri.
(6) Abdul Gani, B.A., of the Punjab.
(7) Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan, and
(8) Hakim Syed Abu Yusuf Isphani.

left for Amritsar by the G.I.P. Punjab Mail on the 26th instant.

Each delegate has been given a letter of authority on behalf of the Central Caliphate Committee of India, Bombay.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM.

(*a*) *Bombay January 19th.*—The following was noticed in the censorship :—

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

Telegram, dated the 16th January 1920, from Pir Turabalisha, Chairman, Reception Committee, Larkhana, to the Honourable Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer, Poona :—

"Mussalmans, Hindus holding Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference, Larkhana, 6th February. General desire cordially earnestly request your presence.".

(*b*) *Panch Mahals, January 15th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "An informant states that one Kasam Ali has arrived from Amritsar and is pressing the Bohra merchants to support the Home Rulers on the Khilafat and other questions. At a meeting held last night he showed bloodstained earth, a piece of bloodstained cloth and a cartridge case which he calls tokens of the tyranny shown in the Amritsar riots. Wamanrao Mukaddam also spoke to the same effect.".

(*c*) *Larkhana, January 11th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "Jan Muhammad Junejo and others who went to the Amritsar Congress have come back very full of themselves. A Khilafat Sub-Committee has been formed at Dadu, the Vice-President of which is Allahdino, father of Najamuddin, the present City Magistrate, Shikarpur. Akhund Allahdino is himself a school master on furlough, and I am reporting his political activities to the Educational Inspector. The President is Maulvi Ghulam Muhammad of Malkani, and one of the members is Maulvi Abdul Rahim, a schoolmaster in the Karachi Madressah.

"The Sind Khilafat Committee is going to hold a Conference at Larkhana on February 5th.

"The reference in their proceedings to criminal cases at Larkhana means the prosecutions launched against some of their hangers on there by Ali Muhammad Kadri because they took the Kuran to him not to attend the Peace Celebrations and threatened him with damnation if he went and told him (so he says) he would shortly 'die the death of a Kafir' and abusd him.

They omit to mention however that Jan Muhammad Junejo has himself filed a case against Seevai Ghulam Mhd. Isran and others on the other side.

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Some *Zamindars* came to me in a body a few days ago and said some of the 'Pirs' had been telling their '*murdsi*' that it was lawful and right to kill them (the Zamindars) because they had become 'kafirs' by joining in Peace Celebrations and circulating the Pro-Arab pamphlets and that if they (the said disciples) were hanged for it, even they would die as blessed martyrs to the Faith.

"I told them if they could get me or the police any evidence of such incitements to murder we would act at once against the said 'saints', but we could not move against them without something to go on.

"I have heard no more since, and it may be exaggerated, but it indicates the kind of tactics the Khilafat agitators are adopting in their appeals to the ignorance and fanaticism of the masses.".

(*d*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, January 16th.*—Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Tilak and Gandhi have been invited to the Sind Caliphate Congress at Larkhana and every effort is being made to induce them to attend.

(*e*) *Larkhana, January 5th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The Sind Caliphate Committee are now proposing to hold their next Conference at Larkhana early in February (the 5th), when I believe they propose to vilify all those who were prominent in helping with the Peace Celebrations.".

S. B., North-West Frontier Province.—Fro Abstract, dated December 6th, 1919. Hanzara, November 29th, 1919.—The Turkish question has not been to the fore during the past week, but Hafizullah Khan, Resaldar of Haripur, was heard to say that although the Turkish Empire would be dissolved for the present as the result of the Peace terms, a great Ottoman Kingdom would nevertheless arise with its capital at Madina. This would only be, however, after the Mussalmans had arisen from their sleep. It would be interesting to know if this idea of a great Turkish Kingdom of Medina is widespread. It is certainly one calculated to appeal to Muhammadan sentiment.

Note.—Will District Officers please note and report if the idea is prevalent in their charges? (C.I.D., Bombay Presidency).

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM.

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Bombay, January 23rd.*—The following was noticed in the censorship.—Telegram, dated the 17th January 1920, from Aga Khan, Paris to Chhotani, President, Caliphate Committee, Bombay :—

"Thanks your telegram. Am in Paris and since one year night and day doing all my power holy cause. Would gladly give my life if that could save but alas not in our power. Meanwhile, I am doing all I can but India both Hindu-Moslem must by loyal means bring such influence on Government of India as British here may hear us officially before Supreme Council and also listen to our just demands.".

(*b*) *Bombay, January 26th.*—The Standing Committee of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, met at 6-45 p.m. on the 22nd January 1920 in the office of Mr. Mirza, Solicitor. The following items were discussed :—

(1) The telegram received from H. H. the Aga Khan.

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(2) Arrangements for the holding of the third sessions of the All-India Khilafat Conference in Bombay.

(3) Appointment of a Reception Committee for the said conference.

(4) The question of providing funds for the Muslim deputation proceeding to England.

The following were present :—

(1) Mian Muhammad Chhotani.
(2) Mirza Ali Akbar Khan.
(3) Badruddin Abdulla Koor.
(4) Ahamad Siddiq Khatri.
(5) Sir Fazalbhai C. Ebrahim.
(6) Abdul Gani.
(7) Honourable Mr. Yacub Hassan.
(8) Muhammad Abba Jooma.
(9) Noor Muhammad Haji Jan Muhammad Latif.
(10) Haji Ismail Haji Ahmad Lakdawalla.
(11) Hakim Syed Abu Yusuf Isphani.
(12) Khan Bahadur Abdul Kadir Muhammad Ali, and
(13) Syed Ghulam Muhammad Rafai.

Mian Muhammad Chhotani presided.

It was resolved :—

(1) To hold the third session of the All-India Khilafat Conference on the 15th and 16th February 1920.

(2) To appoint as members of the Reception Committee those who were present in the meeting.

(3) To raise money by means of an appeal during the coming Conference.

Ibid.—The Ali Brothers and Maulana Abdul Bari are expected to reach Bombay on the 29th instant. A public reception is being organised.

A public meeting of Muhammadans is fixed for the 30th January. Its object is to raise money for the Ali Brothers Purse Fund.

Another public meeting is fixed for the 31st to thank the Ali Brothers for their sacrifices on behalf of Islam.

Four of the Muslim deputation to England namely, Mohammad Ali Syed Hussain, Sir Fazalbhai and Maulana Sulaiman, accompanied by the Secretary Hyat, leave Bombay by the S. S. Hangaria on February 1st. The other deputies have so far been unable to secure passages and will probably sail in the latter half of the month. Immediate expenses are being met from the Rs. 25,000 said to have been collected at Delhi.

The Honourable Mr. Yacub Hassan returned to Bombay from England on the 21st January.

Ibid.—A meeting of the Reception Sub-Committee of the All-India Khilafat Conference was held at 5-30 p.m. on the 24th instant at Chhotani House, Khadak. The following were present :—

(1) Mian Mohammad Chhotani,
(2) Mian Ahamad Chhotani (brother of No. 1),
(3) Abdul Gani, B.A.,
(4) Ahamad Haji Siddiq Khatri,

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(5) Haji Ismail Haji Ahamad Lakdwalla,
(6) Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan, and
(7) Hakim Syed Abu Yusuf Isphani.

Mian Mohammad Chhotani presided.

It was resolved to accord a fitting reception to the Ali Brothers on their arrival in Bombay on the 29th instant and to take them in procession to Muzzaffarabad Hall, Grant Road, where they will lodge.

Route.—Bori Bunder, Hornby Road, Abdul Rehman Street, Jenjikar Road, Sheikh Memon Street, Kalbadevi Road, Bhendi Bazar *via* Pydhonie, Bellasis Road, Lamington Road.

Mian Mohammad Chhotani and Ahamad Siddiq Khatri will apply for the necessary police permit. It is intended to decorate the route.

The meeting of the Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-zia-ul-Islam which was to be convened in the evening of the 25th instant to collect money for the Ali Brothers Purse Fund has been postponed. Instead a meeting of the volunteers of the Muslim Corps is to be held at Ahamad Hajee Siddiq Khatri's house, Hilal Manzil, Abdul Rehman Street, to settle a dispute which has arisen amongst the volunteers. No date has been fixed for the postponed meeting of the Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-zia-ul-Islam.

The public meeting in honour of the Ali Brothers will be held at Mastan Tank, Bellasis Road, on the 31st instant.

Ibid.—The Khilafat Committee, Ahmedabad, writing to Chhotani on 21st January 1920, suggests that a Branch Committee be established at Constantinople and a deputation sent there to organise it.

(*c*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, January 29th*.—The following appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of today's date :—

ALI BROTHERS

The Honorary Secretary, the Central Khilafat Committee, writes to say :—

His Holiness Maulana Abdul Bari, of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, and Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali are arriving in Bombay, at Victoria Terminus, on Thursday, the 29th instant, at 5 p.m. (S.T.), by the Punjab Mail.

The procession will proceed to Muzzaffarbad Hall, Grant Road *via* :—

Hornby Road, Crawfort Market, Rangari Moholla, Jumma Masjid, Javeri Bazar (Shaikh Memon Street), Mumbadevi, Pydhonie, Bhendi Bazar, J. J. Hospital, Two Tanks and Play House.

(*d*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, January 30th*.—The following appeared in the *Times of India* of today's date :—

THE ALI BROTHERS
ARRIVAL IN BOMBAY

There was a large crowd of Muhammadans yesterday afternoon to accord a hearty reception to Messrs. Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali and Moulana Abdul Bari at the Victoria Terminus Station. The crowd began to swell in thousands by the time the Punjab Mail arrived and it was impossible to move along the platform as well as the roads surrounding the station. Those invited to receive them were accommodated on the platform. The party halted at Kalyan from where they came by a special train, the engine of which flew Turkish flags.

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The party was received by the members of the Reception Committee and a procession, followed by an enormous throng of people, was then formed. Scrolls with inscriptions of various kinds were put up along the route and the last that was seen at the foot of Grant Road Bridge on entering Muzzaffarabad Hall was as follows: "Live and Die for India". It took the procession full three hours to reach Grant Road, where it halted at 9 p.m. In Bhendi Bazar the tram service was suspended and people took possession of tram cars in order to have a view of the guests, who saluted them as they passed by. They were profusely garlanded on their way by various associations, and the roads throughout were decorated.

(*e*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, January 28th.*—The C.I.D., Delhi, report that a printed copy of the letter reproduced on page 14 of the current Bombay Secret Abstract was intercepted in the post on the 30th December 1919, addressed to Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi.

(*f*) *Belgaum, January 26th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "I have been making enquiries into the state of Muhammadan feeling at Kudchi. This is to the extent of 4/5ths inhabited by Muhammadans and might be expected to be strongly pro-Caliphate in sentiment. It is on the railway line and easily accessible. My Mamlatdar reports, however, that they are not interested in the Caliphate question and that subscriptions were made to the Peace Celebrations and they were attended by the Muhammadans. One of the Schoolmasters produced an Amritsar paper 'The Vakil,' which is probably only recently subscribed to and 4 copies of the 'Kesari' are taken in, but there are no agitators and the village sentiment is typical of the villages in this district as opposed to the feeling in the towns, which latter is not pro-Government.".

(*g*) *Hyderabad, January 13th.*—Meetings of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference were held at the Holmstead Hall on the 4th and 5th instant. On each day the audience numbered about 2,000 and included a large proportion of men of standing from all parts of Sind. Some 50 Hindus were present on both days. The President was Pir Gulam Muhammad Malkani and Jan Muhammad Bhurgri, brother of the Honourable Member, was Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Conference was remarkable for two things, firstly, the proposal that Muhammadans should adopt the Swadeshi movement and the boycotting of foreign goods, and, secondly, the vehemence of the speeches. One speaker, Moulvi Haji Ahmed of Larkhana, openly declared that British are enemies of Islam and he was unable to understand why the Ulemas were delaying in declaring a *Jehad*.

More than half the time of the Conference was taken up with the denunciation of the intrigues of 'those two infidels', K. B. Nabibax, Native Assistant to the Commissioner, and his brother Abdul Kadir, Sub-Judge. It was 'resolved' that if Government failed to take suitable action against them Muhammadans would have to deal with them according to the tenets of their religion.

The speakers did not fail to play on the religious feelings of the audience and at both sittings there was great excitement and much emotion.

Proceedings on the 4th opened with recitations from the *Koran*, after which the Chairman of the Reception Committee read his speech, which was moderate in tone. The year 1919, he said, had been a period of the greatest sorrow and anxiety for the followers of Islam. Though "Peace" had been officially celebrated, there was no peace of mind for them. India

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had poured out her blood and treasure in defence of the British Empire, and Muslim had fought with Muslim in deadly grip. Yet, within a few months of the signing of the Armistice with Turkey, the Premier had said that General Allenby had won the last and most triumphant of the Crusades. There was no room in the British Empire, whose Muslim subjects outnumbered the Christians, for this Crusading spirit. The Premier had also stated that their holy places would be immune. Yet Jerusalem and the holy places of Arabia had been wrested from them. "We never, understood holy places to mean buildings, and such a misinterpretation, if put, would only serve to add insult to injury.". He next referred to the Caliphate question. An independent Khalifa was necessary for the validity of their prayers and, therefore, no settlement which would reduce the Sultan to the status of a petty chieftain could be accepted without a direct violation of their faith. "Moreover, within the last four hundred years the Turk has not, in our honest opinion, shown any incapacity to rule over alien nationalities.". Now that America was out of the field, the responsibility for a fair settlement with Turkey rested with the British, and if Britain wished to retain its reputation as a great Muslim Power, it must revert to the policy of Disraeli who considered an aliance with Turkey more advantageous, because of the satisfaction it gave to British Muslim subjects, than an alliance with Russia.

The second half of the speech was a denunication of K. B. Nabibax and Abdul Kadir, who had been attempting to turn the 'docile Sindhi' into a Kafir. The Government, by disallowing Sirdar Gulam Jalani's resolution for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the activities of these gentlemen, had taken upon themselves the obligation of "punishing those Government servants who had violated all principles and acted in a most lawless spirit." The thanks of all Muslims were due to Sheikh Abdul Aziz of the Sind Moslim for his fearless exposure of these intrigues.

After the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, a song, exhorting the sacrifice of person and property on behalf of Turkey, was sung by a Moulvi. Muhammad Hushim followed with a song of hate, the subject of his curses being K. S. Nabibax and the Anti-Caliphate movement. This song caused much excitement and Rs. 250 were immediately subscribed for the poet, Rs. 25 being given by the Hindus. A Turkish sovereign was presented to him amidst great enthusiasm. Amin-u-din N. Munshi, formerly an "informant" of local officials, announced that he would pay for the printing of a large number of copies of the poem for distribution.

Abdul Jabbar, Pleader, next read several telegrams from sympathisers, regretting their inability to be present, and wishing the Conference success.

Haji Abdullah Haroon then proposed the election of Pir Gulam Muhammad Malkani as President. What was wanted, he said, was action. Mere lip service and weeping would not save Turkey from dismemberment.

The President opened his speech with an allegorical story of the Emperor Jehangir, Jehangir, he said, once pitched two tents, one lavishly furnished, which he called the royal tent, and one bare and comfortless which he called the 'Muhammadi' tent. His followers were told to dwell in whichever they wished. Soon there came a tempest which destroyed the 'royal' tent then realised that it is the narrow and thorny path that leads to salvation. The President then sat down and his speech was read to the audience by Moulvi Muhammad Siddik and Abdul Jabbar.

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The first part of the speech dealt, in moderate language, with reasons for the summoning of the Conference. Islam was in danger and it behoved all Muhammadans to rally to its aid. There was and could be only one Khalifa, the Sultan of Turkey. The mantle of the Prophet had descended on him, and those who opposed him were not true Muslims. It was essential for the validity of their prayers and for the prestige of their Khalifa that Turkey should remain independent, and it was for the British to see that the Turkish Empire was not dismembered. The rest of the speech was devoted to the much-abused K. B. Nabibax. His father at his birth had made him the gift (*bax*) of the Prophet (*Nabi*), but forgetting his dedication he had, in his official zeal, dedicated himself to the Devil, and seizing the sword of Amaldari was attempting to cut the throat of Islam. The tyranny exercised in Larkhana by his brother, Abdul Kadir, and in the Nara by Abdul Fattah, Deputy Collector, was beyond description. Muslims all over Sind were praying to God to remove the hardships which these persons were imposing on them. The final effort was a complaint against the attitude adopted towards the Caliphate controversy by the Daily Gazette, which knew nothing of Muhammadan beliefs or desires and had still less connection with them. The President appealed to Government to stop this paper from wounding the feelings of Muhammadans by its ignorant and obnoxious articles. Now was the time for Muhammadans, who had received all they had from God, to spend all they had in defending their religion in this its hour of danger.

At the conclusion of the President's speech, a Subjects' Committee was formed and the meeting adjourned till 8 p.m. the same evening.

On the resumption of proceedings at 8 p.m. Abdul Jabbar, Pleader, moved the first resolution—A vote of thanks to the Governor for warning officials in Sind to refrain from interesting themselves in the anti-Caliphate movement.

In moving the resolution, the speaker said that it was not sufficient merely to warn those who had interfered, but that drastic steps against them were called for; they should be suspended and removed from Sind and an independent Committee should be appointed to make an impartial enquiry into their activities.

Dr. Sheikh Nur Muhammad walad Kukamatrai, in seconding, condemned interference by officials and thanked Sheikh Abdul Aziz, then sang a most vehement song condemning all those connected with the Anti-Caliphate movement. This song caused great excitement and emotion.

The second resolution : "The Sultan of Turkey is Khalifat-ul-Musalmin, and is recognised as such by all Muslims" was then moved by Abdul Jabbar. Pir Assadullah Shah of Tikkur quoted various couplets from the Koran proving the Sultan's right to be the Khalifa. It was, he said, as heretical to say that the Sultan was not the Khalifa as it would be to say that Muhammad was not the Prophet.

Moulvi Din Muhammad of Larkhana said that for the last 200 years Europe had been striving to ruin Turkey. First Russia had attacked her, then Italy, then the Balkan States, and finally in this last war all the Great Powers headed by Great Britain. The fact that in spite of the promises of British statesmen the holy places of Islam had been wrested from them, proved that the British were time-servers and the bitterest enemies of Islam.

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They were awaiting the decision of the terms of Peace with Turkey, and if these were not satisfactory, they would be compelled to follow the dictates of the Koran and declare a Jehad Nafis.

Aminuddin N. Munshi said that in the past he had taken no part in such proceedings, but love of his religion had compelled him to come forward. He had been to the Congress at Amritsar, and had learnt with horror of the atrocities committed there by the British. These very British were in peril of losing the war against Germany and Turkey when the Indians stepped into the breach and saved them. Despite promises, the holy places in Mesopotamia had been taken from them and were now in the hands of Kafirs. It was better to die than to tolerate this. His father and mother were dead and he was ready to lay down his life for Islam.

Moulvi Muhammad Suleman of Tharri Mohbat, Larkhana District, read quotations from the *Koran* and said that it behoved all true Muhammadans to die for their faith.

Jan Muhammad Junejo, Pleader of Larkhana, proposed that a copy of the resolution be cabled to the Sultan, a proposal which was greeted with much enthusiasm.

The third resolution was that funds should be collected to support the Caliphate movement and to assist newspapers in disseminating Caliphate propaganda. Haji Abdullah Haroon was to be the treasurer. Taj Muhammad, Editor of the *Al Haq*, in moving the resolution, announced that a sum of ten lakhs was required. Haji Abdullah Haroon accepted the post of treasurer and urged the audience to be liberal in their contributions.

Moulvi Nur Haq proposed and Maulvi Bakkadar seconded the fourth resolution, which was to the effect that if the British Government's decision regarding the Caliphate and Turkey was contrary to the wishes of the Moslems, Government would be responsible for the subsequent acts of the Muhammadans and would once and for all forfeit the goodwill of Muslims.

The fifth resolution called on the Ulemas for a ruling whether it was lawful to follow Nimaz read by those Kazis and Imams who had taken part in the Peace Celebrations.

The meeting adjourned to the next day to enable to Ulemas to discuss the question and come to a decision.

On the 5th January, proceedings were resumed at 11-30 A.M.

The first resolution proposed the formation of a Anjuman of Moulvi with its headquarters at Karachi. Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot was elected President, and Pir Imam Shah, son of the Jhandewalla Pir, Vice President. Moulvi Fatteh Muhammad was appointed Secretary and a Committee of 75 was formed to frame rules.

The time was now about 12-30 and the meeting broke up to greet Jethmal Parsram on his return from the Yeravada Prison. Jethmal was met in the garden of the Holmstead Hall and, after a few words of welcome by Maulvi Fatteh Muhammad, made short speech, commencing with the quotation from Shah Latif, the poet, who was his undoing before: "Happiness follows misery and happiness without misery is of no avail." Though his sojourn in jail had not really been misery, was he not suffering for Bharat Mata, yet, being human, he felt joy at being free

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again. Since his release he had learnt that the conviction and internment of himself and his fellow sufferers, a very small number, had led to a rapprochement of Hindus and Muhammadans. No one, therefore, should fear jail, as the greater the number of persons who went there, the closer unity between Hindus and Muhammadams. Jethmal left and the Conference returned to business.

Moulvi Makhi-ud-din of Jamesabad moved a resolution that in the event of the decision of the British Government regarding the Caliphate and the terms of Peace with Turkey being unsatisfactory, Muslims should boycott foreign goods and use only those of Indian manufacture and that the connection with Britain should be gradually severed.

Moulvi Din Muhammad of Larkhana, in seconding the resolution, said that all titles and honours should be relinquished and no requests should be made for arms licenses or land grants.

Sheikh Abdul Aziz said they should fear only God. They should refuse educational grants and pay for the education of Muslim children from Muslim funds. They should live as Muslims and when the need arose die like Muslims.

The meeting then adjourned till 4 p.m.

On the resumption of proceedings, the Ulemas announced their decision on the fifth resolution of the previous day. Nimaz, they had decided, might be recited after those Kazis and Imams who had participated in the Peace Celebrations, provided they truly and earnestly repented of their former sins. Should they refuse to repent, their prayers would be unacceptable.

Moulvi Gulam Muhammad objected to this decision on the ground that it would create dissension at a time when unity was essential.

A heated discussion followed, lasting about four hours, and finally Moulvi Gulam Muhammad waived his objection and the decision was accepted *nemcon.*

Moulvi Haji Ahmed of Larkhana, in the course of this discussion, stated that he had lived in Medina for many years and had learned there how inimical the British were to Islam. With a view to undermine it they took English girls to Constantinople and beguiled Turks of noble families and high standing into marriages with them. The off spring of these marriages took after the mother, and thus the British were gaining a hold over Turkey. Everything he had seen abroad confirmed his opinion that the British were bitter enemies of Islam and were ready to cut off the heads of Muslims. He could not understand why the Ulemas were delaying in declaring a jehad. (At this point, he became so virulent that the audience attempted to stop him but he was not to be deterred). He had followers and property in Korassan, but had abandoned all on account of the British. They had apprehended Khudad Khan, and when at the demand of the people they were about to release him, Khudad Khan's son had told them that if his father were released he (the son) would be killed and Khudad Khan would rise against the British. Khudad Khan was not released, therefore. He told this story to show that it was the custom of the British to further their own ends by causing internal dissensions. The Holy Places of Islam were now in the hands of Kafirs, and it was better to die than to permit such a state of things to continue. Every Muslim should be prepared to sacrifice his life and property for his faith.

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The audience was greatly moved by this speech. Many persons burst into tears, and throughout there were cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* and much excitement.

After the decision of the Ulemas had been accepted, Moulvi Fatteh Muhammad moved a resolution calling on the Governor to deal adequately with the officials concerned in the Anti-Caliphate movement. He and Moulvi Taj Muhammad, who seconded, repeated all the arguments used when the first resolution was passed.

Moulvi Gulam Muhammad moved a resolution recommending the appointment of an independent Committee to inquire into the cases against Moulvis and others which had been instituted. He contributed Rs. 200 for this purpose, and other sums were also subscribed. Amidst great excitement, one Ayub, a fakir of Hyderabad, came forward and said that he wished to subscribe, but had no money. He, therefore, offered himself to be sold as a slave, promising to serve his purchaser faithfully, provided that the purchase money was paid to the fund. (Loud cheers). He was saved from salary, however, by a philanthropist who paid Rs. 20 on his behalf to the fund.

It was then resolved to send copies of this resolution by telegram to the Governor, and to the All-India Congress and the Moslem League.

Aminuddin N. Munshi, in supporting the motion, said the stories of oppression by officials could not be given enough publicity. They should be printed and spread broadcast. He undertook to defray the cost of sending copies to Europe, and was prepared to give his blood to be used as ink. (For the present, however, he gave a donation of Rs. 20).

Nur Muhammad Sujaval, pleader, said that a meeting of members of the Bar should be called to discuss the question of defending free any Moulvis who were being prosecuted.

It was next resolved to start a daily paper to support the Caliphate movement, the paper to be called the *Al Wahid* in honour of the Sultan.

The last resolution was that a Conference should be held at Larkhana on the 5th February, and that Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and other prominent Muslims be invited to attend.

The Conference was then dissolved.

The District Magistrate remarks: "Aminuddin N. Munshi has never been regarded as more than a reflector of bazaar rumour and seldom does that now. I saw him on the 10th instant. His oratorical fervour had left him smiling and apparently free from rancour. He told me he had been to Amritsar to see what happened there.

"The Extremists will keep this Caliphate agitation alive as long as they can, and are succeeding to some extent in turning it into an anti-British Government demonstration.".

(*h*) *S.B., Delhi, November 29th.*—The first meeting on the 23rd lasted from 2 to 4-15 p.m. Elaborate precautions were taken to prevent the entry of unauthorised persons. Some 300 were present. Gandhi, Ajmal Khan and Fazlul Haq arrived together in a decorated car. The crowd raised cries of *Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai.* Ajmal Khan as President of the Reception Comittee thanked the delegates for coming to attend the Conference. Turkey had been partitioned for selfish purpose to an unparallelded extent.

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Islam, however, was a religion and no Power or Powers could extinguish it. The powers on the contrary were temporal institutions and liable to destruction. Ansari then proposed Fazlul Haq to the chair. Raza Ali of the United Provinces seconded, and was supported by Kafaitullah of Delhi, Abdul Bari of the United Provinces, Syed Ali Nabi of United Provinces probably, Abdul Majit, an editor in Madras, Abdullah Haroon of Bombay, Syed Hassan of the United Provinces, Sanaullah of Amritsar and one other. Fazlul Haq then took the chair (amid applause). Sanaullah recited a portion of the *Quran*.

Fazlul Haq then began his presidentship address. This had been composed by Abdul Ghaffar of the United Provinces, the speech written by Asaf Ali and Rauf Ali of Delhi having been considered unsuitable. Fazlul Haq very soon handed the manuscript over to Abdul Ghaffar, who read it to the end. The speech thanked the audience for the honour conferred on the speaker. He prayed that God would shield Islam. For thirty years since the days of Mr. Gladstone, England had sought to expel Turkey from Europe. In the Tripoli War she prevented the Turkish army from crossing Egypt. At this points Abdul Ghaffar took over the reading. Constitutional protests were, he read out, made ; but so far without avail. Now the supreme question of the Khilafat had been raised. The Muslim League and especially the Bombay Muslims had protested. The Viceroy refused to receive deputations. The deputation to England met with but scant courtesy. Muslims fought against Muslims in the War on the assurance that their religion would not suffer. Now the funeral of Turkey was in progress and yet men talked of rejoicings and celebrations. Mr. Balfour's speech shattered the illusion of self-determination and of righteousness. Muslims were preparing for suitable action in face of such treatment. Hindus were with them. They had no faith in England and should see what they could do themselves.

Asaf Ali read out telegrams of regret for non-attendance from M. M. Malavia, M. L. Nehru, Jinnah and others. He then proposed the formation of a Subjects Committee and suggested giving Delhi ten representatives, the Major provinces except Madras four each, Madras three and Bihar, Sind and Nagpur none. The proposal met with violent opposition. Finally, Saved Jalib of the United Province, editor of the *Hamdam*, soothed the meeting and the following allocation of seats was accepted.—Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal six each ; the United Provinces—five ; Madras—four, Delhi, Bihar and Sind—three each ; the Central Provinces and Central India—two each ; and Mysore—one. The names of only the following members of this Committee were noted by my officers :—

Bombay	...	Chhotani and Ahmad Siddiq Khatri.
The Punjab	...	Sanaullah Ibrahim Dawood, Din Muhammad Agha Haidar Safdar (?), Maulvi Ismail Ghaznavi.
Bengal	...	Abdul Qasim, Aminuddin, Akram Khan, Ghulam Rasul.
The United Provinces	...	Syed Hassan of the Independent, Raza Ali, Abdul Bari, Syed Zahur Ahmad and Hasrat Mohani.
Madras	...	Abdul Ahad, Haji Muhammad Saghib Ullah, Haji Usman Seth, Abdul Aziz.

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Delhi	...	Ansari, Ajmal Khan, Kifayatullah.
Bihar	...	Amir-ud-Din (? Asar Din), Abdul Hakim, Abu Zafar.
Sind	...	Taj Muhammad, Abdul Jabbar.
The Central Provinces	...	Taj-ud-Din of the Taj of the Interness' Bureau and Arif Hussein of the Delhi Congress.

The selection of the Delhi members led to a most unseemly wrangle between the gentlemen finally chosen and the minor leaders such as Asaf Ali, Arif Hussain, Qari Abbas Hussain and Abdulla Churiwala. Asaf Ali, whose pride is overwhelming at having at last introduced himself into the Society of Ansari and Ajmal Khan by being secretary of the Khilafat Committee, was furious at Kifayatullah being chosen as the third member. He rallied the malcontents and had a severe struggle with Ansari and Ajmal Khan. These were so irritated that they left the meeting and would not return until submission was made. This was reached by arranging to fill the Central Provinces seats with a representative of the rebels, an arrangement subsequently criticised, but unsuccessfully, by the general meeting.

Fazlul Haq's speech as composed by Asaf and Rauf Ali was extremely violent. It was sent to the National Printing Works, Delhi, to be printed but was later cancelled. I have obtained a copy which is under examination.

From 7 to 9 p.m. the Subjects Committee and certain selected members were engaged in discussing and framing the resolutions. At 9 p.m. the main body of the delegates was admitted and speeches continued until 2 a.m. The reports of this meeting have not yet been fully examined. Fazlul Haq was absent and was stated to be ill. Raza Ali took the chair at the suggestion of Abdul Bari. The proceedings were altogether dominated by the United Provinces representatives whose influence for the time being overruled that even of Gandhi. The first resolution was one thanking Gandhi and our Hindu brothers for their sympathy in this critical time in regard to the Khilafat and the Holy Places. This was passed after various effusive speeches had been made. The second resolution proposed the boycott of the Peace Celebrations if the Khilafat and Holy Places were not treated in accordance with (? Indian) Muslim desires. Vigorous speeches were made. Gandhi vouched for Hindu co-operation. The resolution was passed unanimously. The third resolution proposed the boycott of all English goods as an extension of the previous resolution. This was proposed by Hasrat Mohani and led to prolonged debate. Gandhi, Raza Ali and Chhotani opposed the proposal on the grounds of its impracticability. Gandhi laid special stress on his being an expert in this respect. Syed Hassan said he had no particular love for the British Government but suggested that the boycott should only be instituted when its success was assured. Abdulla Haroon supported Gandhi. An amendment was proposed to substitute gradual boycott for boycott. Abdul Ghaffar demanded a total boycott and scouted Gandhi's pose as an expert on boycotting. He was an expert on *Satyagraha* and on nothing else. A total boycott would bring influence to bear on Government. If it were followed by a rebellion the responsibility would not attach to this meeting. Sanaullah and Muhammad Daud of Amritsar supported the boycott as did Mumtaz Hussain

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Fakhar of Allahabad and Mahatma Anand of Bareilly. The resolution was finally carried. The fourth resolution was moved by Syed Hassan of the Independent to the effect that if Government would pay no heed to their grievances they should refuse to co-operate with Government. He received the support of Ajmal Khan who explained that it involved the return of all personal titles and decorations. The resolution was carried, but a Sub-Committee was formed to consist of Syed Hassan, Fazlul Haq, Abdul Bari, Ajmal Khan, Sanaullah and others to examine the question further and to propose effective action. The fifth resolution proposed to send a deputation to England and if necessary to America. This was moved by Ajmal Khan, and after discussion carried but referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of Ansari, Chhotani, Raza Ali, Syed Hassan, Hassan Imam, Abdul Bari, Jinnah and others. The final decision was to be made by the Bombay Khilafat Committee and funds should be raised at once. A suggestion to send the deputation to France was nagatived. The final resolution protested against the anti-Khilafat agitation in Sind.

It is evident that Gandhi regained a large measure of his dominance during the morning of the 24th. The resolutions opposed by him at the 2nd meeting on the 23rd and those carried in spite of his opposition did not appear in the proceedings on the 24th.

Before the public meeting on the 24th there was a further struggle with Mr. Gandhi. Swami Shradhanand, Hasrat Mohani, Shankar Lal and others pressed strongly for the combination of the Punjab atrocities with the Khilafat propaganda. Thus only, they urged, could Hindus co-operation be ensured, Gandhi maintained his veto. The opposition then said that the principle of deciding by a majority vote had been admitted at the meeting on the 23rd and should apply to this question as well. Gandhi replied by a categorical statement of his intention to resign the whole campaign if any attempt was made to call for votes or even if any amendment to his decision was suggested. This threat cowed his opponents into submission.

The meeting on the 24th was open to the public by tickets, though a number of persons got in without paying. Some 1,600 persons were present, of whom rather less than one-third were Hindus. Cheers greeted the entry of Gandhi, Shradhanand, Fazlul Haq, Abdul Bari and Ajmal Khan. The last named was distinctly late in arriving. Gandhi was proposed to the chair in terms of hyperbolic eulogy and on rising to take the chair received a shower of rose patals that lasted for an extraordinary time. My Deputy Superintendent considered the ovation unnaturally excessive and thought it was organised by Gandhi's supporters in order to defeat the opposition that had already shown its teeth.

The speeches will presumably be reported at length in the press and need not be detailed here. The only speeches of importance were those of Gandhi and of Abdul Bari. The former insisted on the Khilafat being a Hindu question because it was a Muhammadan question. There should be no idea of exchanging Hindu interest therein for Muhammadan abandonment of cow killing. He approved of the policy of refusing co-operation with Government, but to boycott English goods was a form of revenge and therefore, improper. He could not agree with the proposal to bring the Punjab atrocities into combination with the Khilafat agitation as they were entirely distinct from and unrelated to the Peace Celebrations. Abdul Bari's

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speech was the most violent. He was careful to avoid the word jehad, but his meaning was unmistakable and was voiced in constant interruptions by the less diplomatic of his auditors. Gandhi had converted him to opposition to cow sacrifice. However, the Khilafat was at present of seven greater moment. Even if all the powers of Europe combined to try to destroy Turkey, they themselves would be destroyed. He did not take the *Satyagraha* vow because that movement was only concerned with dying if the need arose. Where, however, one might have to kill, every step would have to be taken. A choice had now to be made between becoming a kafir by killing Muslims and being true Muslims. Government compelled them to become infidels. Personally, he preferred death, but before proceeding on a deputation to Europe he wished to know how many of the seven crores of Indian Muslims were true Muslims. Only two resolutions were passed, the one to boycott the Peace Celebration and the other to thank Gandhi and the Hindus for their sympathy. As before, the United Provinces delegate *bossed* the proceedings to the almost complete exclusion of all others except Gandhi.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Bombay, February 2nd.*—Shaukatali, Mahomedali and Maulana Abdul Bari reached Bombay on the 29th ultimo. In view of the inevitable rush at the Victoria Terminus, the Railway Administration transferred them at Kalyan into a special train, which ran to Bombay 15 minutes behind the mail. With them travelled the Ali brothers mother, their families and servants, Maulana Sayed Suleman Nadvi, Editor of the *Al-Muariff* Altaf-ur-Rahman, a nephew of Abdul Bari and Tajuddin, the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee, Delhi.

The party had a tremendous reception. The platform and its approaches were occupied by an excited and enthusiastic crowd of about 10,000 of their co-religionists, together with a few Hindus. Most of the leading Muhammadans of Bombay were present. There was also a deputation from the Indian Home Rule League. Prominent amongst the Hindus in attendance were the brothers Dwarkadas, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, Mavji Govindji, Jivaraj Narsey and Nanabhai Upadhya ; and especially conspicuous by their absence were people like Baptista, Dr. Savarkar, Velkar and others of the Extremist faction. The Turkish flag was everywhere in evidence. A semblance of order was maintained by members of the Home Rule League, the Moslem and the Cutch-Lohana Volunteer Corps, parties of which carried red and green banners emblazoned with the Star and Crescent over crossed swords.

Scenes of wild enthusiasm followed the arrival of the train, the engine of which itself bore two Turkish flags. The Brothers were nearly overwhelmed by the rushes of the crowd in its attempt to get nearer to them. They were garlanded by amongst others, two Hindu ladies ; and were so overladen with attention and flowers that some time elapsed before the Volunteers could find them a way to the decorated cars which were waiting to take them to their lodging.

The procession to the Muzaferabad Hall was a triumph for those who organised it. The distance to be traversed was about two miles, and it took

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just short of four hours to cover it. During the whole of this time, except for a 15 minutes' halt at the Juma Masjid, the decorated cars, attended by perspiring volunteers and followed by a long line of conveyances, were with difficulty making their way through crowds which, everywhere large, bacame in the Muhammadan neighbourhood of Abdul Rehman Street enormous. The crush at Pydhonie was so great that the European Inspector in charge of the Section, a man with an extensive experience of Mohurrum and other crowds in Bombay, said he had never seen anything quite like it. The route was profusely decorated. Triumphal arches had been put up at intervals. The principal mosques were illuminated. The shops and streets were hung with flags, bunting and expensive draperies. Banners floated everywhere bearing suitable inscriptions of welcome or the Turkish emblem; and at frequent intervals small knots of people stood ready to garland the passing heroes, who, in one of the many banners, were hailed as Protector of cows. In the crowds of course automatically stopped all traffic till the procession had passed. The roofs of the stationary tram cars served as convenient grand stands for the more enterprising and energetic individuals in the throng. The crowd screamed itself hoarse; and, by the time they reached their journey's end, the sallaming triumvirate must have been thoroughly exhausted. They had achieved a great personal triumph.

At 11-20 the same night a public meeting was held in the Chota Kabrastan on Grant Road at which the Muhammadans of Bombay presented to the three the addresses of which the copies are attached (not printed). The attendance is reported to have been 35,000. A few Hindus were present, but no prominent Hindu agitator was noticed. Chhotani was in the chair. Though its dignity was imperilled at the outset by a regrettable incident, the meeting was very enthusiastic. Under so unusual a strain—the Brothers' shadows have not grown less in jail, while Chhotani is himself no feather weight the platform collapsed. The three guests were in time accommodated on an improvised dais, while Chhotani from the top of the Reporters' table, resumed the direction of proceedings. The chief speakers of course were the guests of the evening. The principal points made were the necessity for money, 30 lakhs being required for the deputation, the abandonment by Muhammadans of cow sacrifice at the Bakri-id, and the conversion of the Khilafat agitation into an All-India question. The programme of speeches closed with an invitation by Nanabhai Upadhya to the whole audience to attend the Hindu meeting of welcome to the Ali Brothers at Shantaram's Chawl the following evening.

Tilak arrived the following morning. He had been urgently wired for the previous day in order that the Khilafat Deputation to England might start their labours with the advantage of his advice. On arrival he had a private conference with the Ali Brothers. It is understood that the point on which they sought his opinion was the attitude that might be expected from the British public and from British officials. At noon Abdul Bari and Shaukat Ali offered their Friday prayers at the Jumma Masjid where further scenes of enthusiasm took place, people falling over one another in their anxiety to kiss their hands. From the mosque they drove through decorated streets to the house of Ahmed Haji Siddick Khatri where they were joined at their midday meal by Mahomed Ali, Chhotani and various Mussalman notabilities of the neighbourhood. The evening was devoted to the Hindu meeting of welcome in Shantaram's Chawl. This gathering is said to have been the largest held for years in this well-known meeting place. It was organised by the Indian and All-India Home Rule Leagues,

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in conjunction with the Bombay National Union. There was an audience of 10,000, practically all Hindus. Tilak was in the chair, supported by Baptista, Dr. Savarkar, Jamnadas and other well-known agitators. The tone of the proceedings, which were almost wholly in English, was enthusiastic. The keynote of the speeches was that the Khilafat had ceased to be a Moslem question, and had become a matter of grave concern to United India. On behalf of Hindus in general, Tilak promised the Mussalman leaders his help to the end. Abdul Bari was absent from this meeting, apparently unwell. The most noteworthy incident of the evening was the very hostile reception accorded to Jamnadas Dwarkadas, who is evidently badly out of favour with the more advanced Nationalists. Baptista, whom Tilak facetiously described as his gramophone, had a great reception.

On the morning of 31st January a deputation of Moulvis waited upon Abdul Bari for the purpose of enabling him to explain his reported denunciation of cow sacrifice. He told them that his attitude had been misrepresented. He had never asserted, he said, that cow sacrifice was forbidden to good Muhammadans ; but he thought that in view of the attitude Hindus had adopted over the Khilafat question, Muhammadans should respect their prejudices as far as possible and refrain from the slaughter of cows whenever other animals could equally well be sacrificed. The afternoon was filled in with a Garden Party given by the Bombay National Union at Sirdar Griha. In the evening the Ali Brothers and Abdul Bari attended a dinner given to them in the Savoy Club by the Aligarh Old Boys' Association.

The third and last public meeting of the visit was held the same night under the auspices of the Khilafat Committee to wish God-speed and success to the deputation proceeding to Europe. The attendance was about 10,000, practically all Muhammadans. Though other sects were well represented, there was present no Khojas of note. Chhotani as usual, filled the chair. The proceedings, the tone of which was enthusiastic, were in Urdu, the chief speakers being Abdul Bari and the Ali Brothers. But for the fact that the guests of the evening arrived from dinner two hours late, the audience would probably have been even larger than it was. There was nothing noteworthy in the speeches. Abdul Bari again explained his attitude to the question of cow sacrifice at *Bakri-i-Id* ; and a valedictory telegram from Gandhi to the deputation was read out. The chief interest of the meeting however was its careful stage management, which succeeded notably in playing on the feelings of the audience. Shaukat Ali burst first into tears, and later into song. Emotional poems specially written for the occasion were chanted ; and finally one Khaserao Jadhav, a Baroda Hindu, who claimed the acquaintance of Muhammad Ali when they were both in the Baroda service, was frantically embraced by Shaukat Ali ; whereupon, declaring that he would contribute his pockets, handed over to Shaukat Ali a ten rupee note, which was they all contained and exclaimed was all they contained, amidst peals of applause that as cows were no longer to be sacrified, so small a sum would at least suffice to buy one sheep. This little bit of stagecraft brought down the house. A few other subscriptions were made on the spot towards the expense of the deputation ; and it was stated that the Muhammadan students of Bombay had promised the fund Rs. 200 a month.

The following day, February 1st, the first batch of the Khilafat Deputation left for England by the S. S. Hungaria. The departing deputies are Mahomed Ali, Sayed Hussain, Moulvi Sayed Suleman Nadvi and

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H. M. Hayat, B.A., of Aligarh. The Brother's mother, Shaukat Ali, their families, Abdul Bari and Chhotani, together with about 100 spectators mostly volunteers of the Muslim Volunteers Corps, saw them off at the Pier. During the party's stay in Bombay they received by telegram or by deputation urgent invitations to visit Poona, Agra, Sind, Surat, Broach and probably other places ; to some at least of which Abdul Bari and Shaukat Ali intend to go. While the old lady remains in Bombay she is expected to visit as many Purdah homes as possible, in order to collect subscriptions for the deputation fund. On the morning of the 3rd, Abdul Bari and Shaukat Ali left for Surat where they will make a short stay on their way to Sind to attend the Khilafat Conference at Larkana. While in Bombay the three men stayed at the Muzafferabad Hall at Grant Road, where they were twice visited by Dr. D. D. Sathaye. Mahomed Ali has taken with him to Europe a letter, signed by Chhotani, from the Central Khilafat Committee of India designating him head of the deputation and authorising him to speak on behalf of Mussalmans of India.

The visit has been a great personal successs for the three protagonists of Islam, the extent of which is remarkable in view of the shortness of the time allowed for local preparation. The Khilafat is now the talk of the town ; and the lower orders who have hitherto shown few signs of interest in it, seem to have been imbued with a sense of its importance. It remains to be seen how long this impression will last. The absence of Khojas from almost all these functions, combined with the ostentatious absence from Bombay of Sir Fazalbhoy Karimbhoy ; the general abstention of Hindus and Muhammadans from participation in each other's meetings, the local opposition to any restriction on the cow-killing which found expression in a widely distributed leaflet issued specially for the Ali Brothers' visit by Abdul Halim Bari, the self-constituted champion of cattle slaughter ; the repeated explanations of Abdul Bari on the same subject ; and, lastly, the insignificant headway made by the Deputation Fund : all these considerations make it clear that in spite of much talk Hindu-Moslem Unity is still more formal than intimate. It is understood that while big subscriptions to the Ali Brothers' Purse Fund continue to reach Bombay from up-country, the local Deputation Fund does not yet exceed Rs. 2,000.

The Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Benares, writing to Chhotani complains about the apathy of Benares Muhammadans ; says that as things stand he had no hope of raising more than four or five thousand rupees for the Khilafat Deputation Fund ; but thinks that if Chhotani were to visit Benares that sum might easily be increased to Rs. 30,000.

Yacub Hassan had sent Mahomed Ali the following letter :—

123, Mirror Street,
Madras, 29th January 1920.

My dear Mahomed Ali,

You are going to Europe by the very steamer that brought me back from there. I wish you bon voyage and every success in the mission you have undertaken.

I am afraid Lloyd George will not receive your deputation unless the Viceroy makes a strong recommendation and secures his promise before hand. Please get the Bombay Khilafat Committee to do the needful.

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Although Right Honourable Amir Ali and His Highness the Aga Khan have made representations to the authorities from time to time about Turkey, much still remains to be done there. You are aware that these two leaders are very timid. They always discourage agitation for fear of losing the sympathy of the few Europeans who support the cause of Turkey not for the love of Muslims but only in the best interest of the British Empire itself. They did not like my article in the Muslim Outlook on the *Burden of Civilization* and want to stop the publication of that Journal. In my opinion no propaganda can succeed without an organ of its own at least to record its proceedings and the agitation. I wanted to make the Muslim Outlook a strong exponent of our views and Mr. Marmaduke Pickethall helped me in the venture, but Mr. Kidkai and Mr. Isphani placed all sorts of difficulties and obstacles in our way. Still we have persisted in keeping up the journal and you will find in it a means of giving publicity to the work you will inaugurate in England. It is in charge of Mr. Pickthall, whose address is "Thee Pond House, Blackboys, Sussex.".

With best regards and good wishes.

The following is an exact copy of a letter recently received by Chhotani from an unknown correspondent :—

Bai A Tussalam,
P. O., Moradpore.

I would like to give you a graphic account of what is going on here. It is especially for this purpose that I have sat down today. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq's attitude has been most puzzling. At the same time disgusting. Before his name appeared as one of the "Supervisors" in the Peace Celebration Committee he had given us his word for the Khilafat Committee though he had refused to take the leading part. His explanation was simple. He emphatically declared that "No country has ever been conquered by resolutions and meetings". We used his name and formed a Committee. When we went to him some days afterwards he put an attitude. He declared that he had given up every hope in constitutional agitation. He wanted resolution in its flamest (?) work. We remonstrated with him luselessly. He remained unmanned. When we asked him what would be his explanation to the public about his name appearing in the columns of every newspapers as the Supervisor of the Peace Celebration.

He simply said that he owed emplanation to none. He even further went on and refused to send few of his lines to the paper. He obstinately maintained that the authorities had played tricks. We have put every faith in him. He is the spoilt child. There are symptoms of his recovery. He had an interview with Honourable Kishan Sahayar about the Khilafat question. He even talked strongly to a representation of the Associated Press. I have written enough.

As for Hassan Imam, he is in his mood. He rendered every help in his power about the Anti-Peace Celebration agitation. He did everything but he lent the weight off his position. The meeting in Bankipore was an unparalleled success. Shah Rashid, an old man of 80, presided. It was the first time when old Shah Saheb had come out of their Khan Kah. The public life of Ratna showed signs of health and vigour. May God give

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it necessary consistency. Hassan Imam has accepted the presidentship of the Anjuman. He has given the direct proof of enthusiasm by buying up a ground (near it) for 420. He has promised to give two thosuand more. Let us see for how long we are able to please him. Sami is rendering us much help. If you follow the hasty search light you would know about his activity. We are at the bottom of every moment. We have made others tools.

(*b*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, February 2nd.*—It is rumoured that Tilak has invited the Ali brothers to Poona.

(*c*) *Surat, February 5th.*—Shaukat Ali arrived in Surat on the 3rd instant and left for Ahmedabad the same night.

[*Note.*—Advance copies were sent to the D.C.I. and D.S.P., Larkana. (C.I.D., Bombay Presidency).]

(*d*) *Ahmedabad, February 6th.*—The Superintendent of Police wires : "Shaukat Ali and Moulana Abdul Bari arrived Ahmedabad 4th instant at 11-15, left for Nadiad, Kaira District, at 12-15, returned Ahmedabad at 19-30 and left for Larkana 5th instant at 9-40".

[*Note.*—Advance copies sent to the D.C.I. and D.S.P., Larkana. (C.I.D., Bombay Presidency).]

(*e*) *Ahmedabad, January 24.*—Leaflets calling upon the public to subscribe towards a fund being raised for the Ali Brothers are being distributed.

(*f*) *Kathiawar Agency, January 29th.*—The Superintendent of Police reports : "Rs. 2,500 were collected on the 13th January at Vasawad by Mian Muhammad Jan Muhammad Chhotani, J.P., in aid of the Caliphate Committee.

(*g*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, January 29th.*—The Hindu of the 27th announces that Abdul Bari of Lucknow has expressed his intention of attending the Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference at Larkana on the 6th February 1920. There are also rumours that the Ali Brothers have promised to attend.

(*h*) *Larkana, January 12th.*—Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law, returned to Larkana on the 9th instant after having attended the meeting of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee at Hyderabad. He was accompanied by Sheikh Abdul Aziz, editor and proprietor of the Al-Haq, Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrote and Pir Turab Ali Shah and Ali Anwar Shah. Maulvi Taj Muhammad and Shaikh Abdul Aziz put up with Gulam Muhammad, Pleader. The Friday prayers were offered in the Jamia Masjid and all the above mentioned men, with the exception of Jan Muhammad Junejo and Ghulam Muhammad, Pleader, joined in the prayers. Khudadad Surho, Muhammad Shah, general merchant, Shaikh Abdul Razak, Moulvi Bachal, Shah Muhammad Khoro, Gul Muhammad Chandio and Moulvi Din Muhammad Wafai of Tullah were also present. After the prayers Moulvi Taj Muhammad rose and addressed the audience. He urged the Mussalmans to wake up and not to be afraid of those who put obstacles in their way. He said it was time to save Islam, and that the question was one of life and death.

Shaikh Abdul Aziz followed Moulvi Taj Muhammad. He severely attacked Maulvi Faizulkarim, Khan Bhadur Nabi Bakhsh and Abdul Kadir and bitterly commented on the motives of these gentlemen. He said that these officials had exercised great zulum on the holy Mussalmans of Larkana and instigated criminal cases against them. He told the audience

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that it was decided at the meeting of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee at Hyderabad that a large and representative meeting should be held on the 5th February at Larkana, where innocent Mussalmans were being subjected to unparalleled persecution. He told the audience that their God was with them and that they should fear Him and not the officials and Courts.

Moulvi Din Muhammad Wafai next rose and said that Islam had been robbed and looted. He said that any Mussalman who would sit silent after having heard what was being done to the Mussalmans of Larkana was not a Mussalman. He urged the audience not to be afraid of zamindars, officials, the Police and the C.I.D., as these could do nothing to them so long as their God was with them. He said that the question now was one of life and death and that this was the time for Mussalmans to show their strength.

A Baluch of Larkana Taluka, named Bhoot Khan, was the last speaker. He advised the Mussalmans to sacrifice their lives for Islam. He said that Mussalmans should not be afraid of Government and that every one of them who possessed Rs. 100 should pay Rs. 25 in order to make the meeting of the 5th Fabruary a success.

Moulvi Taj Muhammad had done a great service to this obscure Baluch by changing his name to Ahmed Khan, as Bhoot means an evil spirit.

It is reported that all the four speakers were in a most excited state of mind. Great preparations are being made for the Meeting or Conference proposed to be held at Larkana on the 5th February. It is reported that the Hindus also propose holding a meeting on the 6th February. The promoters of both the meetings are making an effort to bring Gandhi, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali to Larkana.

(*i*) *Larkana, January 25th.*—The emissaries of the Larkana Caliphate Committee are busily engaged in collecting subscriptions at Larkana and in the mofussil in order to meet the expenses of the Caliphate Conference to be held at Larkana on the 6th, 7th and 8th February.

The District Magistrate remarks.—" I have asked the principal promoters to meet me on February the 1st with a view to quietly warning them against putting forward or allowing such violent speeches and incitements to rebellion or worse as were uttered at the Hyderabad Conference. ".

(*j*) *Thar and Parkar, January 21st.*—The Sub-Inspector, Shadipalli, a fairly level-headed Muhammadan, reports that a feeling is growing among Muhammadans that the Hindu agitators are taking an active part in the Caliphate agitation only with the object of leading the Muhammadans on to excesses and, thereby, bring them into discredit with Government.

The Sub-Inspector, Phulahdina, reports that a few days ago in conversation with him Thakurdas Kirpalani, pleader of Hyderabad, remarked that several fiery speeches were delivered at the Caliphate Conference in Hyderabad on the 4th instant and that there was a lot of unrest among uneducated Muhammadans and that they were ready to cut the throats and wring the necks of the English, if anyone would give them a lead.

It is rumoured that another Caliphate Conference will be held in this district some time in March, either at Mirpurkhas or Chhor.

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The District Magistrate remarks.—" Mr. Bhurgi's defeat in the election does not promise much success for the Caliphate movement here. ".

(k) Karachi, January 25th.—A public meeting was held by the Home Rule League on the 20th instant to (1) express disapproval of the action of certain officials in Sind in having taken part in the Anti-Caliphate movement, and appeal to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to appoint a mixed Commission to enquire into the alleged acts of high-handedness and oppression of some officials against the people, (2) protest against the proposed " Removal of Undesirable Ordinance " in East Africa.

Durgadas B. Advani presided. He said : You should show your josh to Government so that Government may know that you are awake. People have been turned out of Sind and obliged to abandon their business. Government should know that Sind cannot be terrified by such measures.

Abdul Aziz of the *Al-Haq* said that a Moslem official accuses them of being Turks when he himself claims Turkish descent. Government have ordered that no official should interfere in the Caliphate question. How, he asked, does this square with the conduct of certain officials in Larkana ?

Narsinglal and Hakim Fetteh Muhammad also spoke in support of (I).

Durgadas then introduced (2), remarking that there is no *izat* for Indians under the English ; no liberty, only *zulum* on Indians in East Africa.

Narsinglal said that the Whites discovered that there was ' food ' to be obtained in Africa and went there. After a time they found that Indians were selling things cheaper than they could, and this is the cause of the trouble. Mahatma Gandhi was forced to carry nightsoil (in jail). When the South African War broke out it was stated to be due to the *zulum* of the Boers towards Indians ; but when the War was over the *zulum* was greater. He then spoke of the agitation in India, and added : " When our voices reached George the Fifth the prisoners were all released. Our voices should, therefore, continue to be loud so that he may hear. "

S. H. Lula and Dr. A. M. Ahmad, who tried to create trouble over a mosque in Malir (*New Times* of the 24th and 25th instant), also spoke.

The meeting was poorly attended, the audience numbering about 300.

(1) *S.B. Delhi.—From Press Abstract, dated January 17.*—All the local papers strongly exhorted the public to accord to the Ali Brothers a most hearty and suitable welcome to Delhi. The services of the brothers are extolled and the people are urged to show their gratitude.

All-India Moslem League anti-Kine Killing Resolution.

The following is a translation of a handbill in Urdu which was distributed to the Muhammadan public on the 29th ultimo at the time of the arrival and procession of the Ali Brothers. A similar protest against cow sacrifice has been lodged by the same theologian in the columns of the *Mufid-e-Rozgar*, dated the 25th January 1920. The anti-cow killing resolution of the All-India Moslem League though welcomed by the non-Muslim Press was adversely commented upon by the Muslim organs. The *Muslim Herald* pointed out that while the Hindus had lost nothing by siding with the Muhammadans in the cause of the Khilafat, they had, by virtue of that resolution, ' snatched away ' ' a religious privilege ' from the latter, and it

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exclaimed : ' May God save us from the Muslim League '. In the opinion of the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* the resolution was against the general sentiment of the Muhammadans and it complained that the Moulvis were not consulted beforehand.

Message of truth

Ye Muslim brothers of Bombay, ye Khatibs of all the mosques, ye teachers of all schools and ye learned men and spiritual leaders : I beseech you in the name of God and His Prophet, in the name of the *Koran* and its Giver, to help the truth and rise for the defence of religion and the community. Do not be overawed by anyone's fame of wealth ; curse hankering after reputation ; be God's people and remain true. You are all aware that the Muslim League has destroyed the religion and the community by passing, under the pressure of the Hindus, a resolution prohibiting cow sacrifice, which is one of the sacred duties of Islam, thereby creating a great havoc in the religious world (of the Muslims). As the high officials of the Muslim League and its highest authority (President) are shortly going to pay a visit to Bombay, I lay before you, a few questions because of my love for Islam, and I request, you to get a written answer from the highest authority of the Muslim League by pressing hard the Chairman of the Khilafat Committee and its General Secretary. Mr. Badruddin Abdulla Koor, for which you will be rewarded by God ; otherwise you shall be put to shame before the Creator of the world and you will also be answerable to me there.

Questions

(1) Whether according to the verse " And we have made camels for the sacrifice as one of the signs of God ", the sacrifice of cow and camel is one of the sacred duties of Islam or not ?

(2) Whether it is permissible for any learned man, physician, or any Muslim to prohibit by words or signs the performance of any sacred duties of Islam under the pressure of a non-Muslim in a country which has given you full religious freedom and where the Muslims are powerful ?

(3) What does the religious law say about a Muslim, learned man, or physician who prohibits the sacrifice or tries to do so ?

(4) Whether such a prohibition means the suppression of Islam and the degradation of the Muslims or not ?

(5) Whether the sending of a deputation, especially when it is clear that the conquered lands cannot be given back by means of a deputation, and spending lakhs of rupees for it is a waste of money or not and whether the verse " The prodigals are brothers of Satan " is applicable to it or not ?

(6) Whether at a time when Muhammadans are involved in distress, that prayer is heard by God or not which is offered in the most humble manner at the door of the tomb of the Prophet, the king of the earth and sky, the owner of the crown and the throne ?

(7) If Medina is considered as a place where prayers are heard, if it is a part of Paradise, why should not the deputation be sent there, and why do not the rich people and the travellers to England and America pay any attention to it ? Is it because of this reason that it will afford them an opportunity to dine at the sumptuous tables and to see the charming scenes of London ?

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Last Appeal

O Muslims, you are undoubtedly true and enthusiastic Mussalmans. You are brave and never care for your very life in the defence of your religion and community. But I shall only believe you to be such when you all go to the President and Mr. Koor and get a written answer to my queries from the highest official of the Muslim League. Otherwise I shall cry aloud to God for justice against all of you and seize your skirts (supplicate justice from God on the day of judgment). "Oh my God ! Have I delivered (my message) ? "

(Signed) HAKIM ABDUL HALIM BEHARI,
the dust under the feet of the learned men and mystics.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Bombay, February 9th.*—A meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, was held on 7th February with Chhotani in the chair. The proposal about giving an address of welcome to His Highness the Aga Khan was, after some discussion, adjourned for the next meeting as the Aga Khan's arrival is delayed.

Chhotani said that no reply had yet been received to a telegram sent four days ago to Hassan Imam enquiring whether he would accept the Chairmanship of the 3rd Khilafat Conference. It was decided to issue a reminder. If Hassan Imam declined to accept, Maulana Abdul Bari will be accepted in his place. A telegram informing the Maulana of this decision has been despatched.

After some discussion Shaukat Ali was elected Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay. The Secretaries now take rank as follows :—

(*a*) Mirza Ali Mahommad Khan.
(*b*) Shaukat Ali.
(*c*) Badruddin A. Koor.
(*d*) Ahamad Hajee Siddiq Khatri.

For the forthcoming Conference it was decided to erect a special pandal at the Mastan Tank. It was considered undesirable from a religious point of view to meet in a theatre.

It was decided to reserve for the delegates the Muzaffarbad Hall and one or two vacant houses belonging to Chhotani. Food will be free and its cost debited to the Khilafat Fund.

In response to an appeal made by Amir Ali, the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, has decided to send 5,000 blankets to a high military officer in Asia Minor to assist in relieving the distress of Mussalmans there. The Khilafat Fund cannot, at present, afford the financial aid that was asked for. Orders for the blankets have been placed with merchants at Cawnpore and Gorakhpur.

In response to telegraphic appeals by Mushir Hussain Kidwai and His Highness the Aga Khan, Chhotani remitted to the latter, on or about the

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27th January 1920, a sum of £ 1,000. This amount is an advance from Chhotani's own pocket, which will be repaid from the Khilafat Fund when its balances are large enough.

(*b*) *Larana, January 25th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "The *Khilafatwallas* are making great efforts to stir up a raging tearing propaganda for the Conference here on the 6th and 8th February. After consulting with the Commissioner I am giving Ghulam Ali (*alias* Ghulam Mahommad Shidi) to understand that in view of the Governor's declaration in this matter, he, as Assistant Public Prosecutor, cannot take an active part in the controversy so long as he retains that appointment.

The two most dangerous firebrands are Pir Turab-Ali Shah Sayad of Kamber, and Dwarkaprasad, the Brahmin agitator of Dadu. The former is a sullen fanatic and bigot, quarrelsome, hot-tempered, a born intriguer and thoroughly anti-British extremist of the Tilak school willing to join hands with Pan-Islam or anything else that is against the Government.".

(*c*) *Nawabshah, January 31st.*—The District Magistrate writes : "I have lately seen and spoken to Pir Gulam Majaddid Sarhandi of Matiari and Syed Imamuddin Shah, son of the Pir Jhandewala. There is widespread excitement and dissatisfaction among the Mussalmans on this side, chiefly from two causes :—

(1) An old prophecy exists to the effect that when Constantinople falls (*i.e.*, is lost to Mussalmans), one sign after the other of the advent of the promised Mehdi may be looked for in rapid succession, and the appearance of the Mehdi, the final triumph of Islam, and the end of the world will not be far off.

(2) A conviction that Sultan Hussain of Hedjaz is only a puppet, that, in reality, the British are masters of Mecca and Medina, which is an intolerable disgrace for all Mussalmans.

Feelings of unrest and excitement seem to be spread all over the country, though in Sind, of course, no active unrest seems likely. This is increased by stories which arrive from the North-West Frontier of fighting and of preparations for fighting. It is felt that a good deal is happening of which no information is allowed to reach the public.".

(*d*) *Karachi, February 3rd.*—The Commissioner in Sind writes : "There is no doubt that the extremists are getting bolder, and are making a special effort to get hold of and incite the Mullas and Pirs are probably beginning to feel insecure and that they must go with the tide. On the other hand, it must be remembered that it is the object of those manipulating the agitation to impress upon Government officers, and through them on Government, the idea that there is widespread, popular feeling and indignation. So far as the mass of the Sindhi *Zamindars* is concerned the Commissioner believes that this is not yet the case ; the *Zamindars*, as a whole, are to some extent indifferent and to a great extent entirely loyal. It is however impossible to say what the further effect of the flood of wild speeches will be : the constant references to Bolshevist successes, the suggestion that the Bolshevists are allied with the Turks, and the stories of fighting on the Frontier—the situation requires and is receiving the most careful consideration".

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(*e*) *Thana, February 9th.*—The Sub-Inspector, Bhiwandi, reports that on the 28th January 1920 a public meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans was held in the evening at the Dargah, Bhiwandi. Narayen Moreshwar Ghanwatkar presided and about 150 persons were present. The following resolutions were passed :— (1) To abstain from cow sacrifice, (2) to send a deputation to bring the Ali Brothers to Bhiwandi.

Ibid.—The Sub-Inspector, Kalyan, reports that the Ali Brothers and Maulvi Abdul Bari arrived at Kalyan Junction on the 29th January 1920 by the Punjab Mail *en-route* to Bombay. They alighted from the Mail train, stayed on Kalyan Station and left by a special train after a halt of about 20 minutes.

At Kalyan Station a large number of Muhammadans and Hindus received the Ali Brothers, and they were welcomed by the Committee of the Kalyan and Bhiwandi Caliphate Association.

(*f*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, February 7th.*—The following is a cutting from the *Mahratta*, dated the 1st February 1920 :—

Ali Brothers at Bombay

The Ali Brothers had a rousing welcome at Bombay. In a crowded meeting held on Friday evening in Shantaram's Chawl under the auspices of all the Home Leagues and the National Union, these apostles of Hindu-Moslem Unity were garlanded by the president, Mr. Tilak, on behalf of the citizens. Messrs. Baptista, Munshi, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, and Syed Hussain congratulated them in their speeches. The brothers addressed Mr. Tilak as their *guru* and appealed to the audience to help them in their mission to England. The crowd cheerfully responded to the call and the meeting terminated amidst thundering cheers.

(*g*) *Panch Mahals, February 4th.*—On the evening of the 28th January a public meeting was covened by the local Caliphate Committee. Moulvi Muhammad Ismail Dargahi was in the chair and about 1,000 persons were present. Wamanrao Mukadam was the chief speaker. The object of the meeting was to invite the Ali Brothers to visit Godhra and to obtain funds to defray the expenses in that connection.

On the 30th January, W. S. Mukadam, Chunilal Vaidya and Moulvi Muhammad Ismail left for Bombay presumably with the intention of interviewing the Ali Brothers and inducing them to come to Godhra.

(*h*) *Ahmedabad, February 2nd.*—Leaflets headed "Reception of the Ali Brothers" were distributed in the bazaar on the 30th January. They stated that as the Ali Brothers were expected to visit Ahmedabad shortly there would be a public reception accorded them by Hindus and Muhammadans. They were to be taken in procession through the City to Seth Lalmiya Hava's bungalow. The Public were requested to decorate their houses.

(*i*) *Bombay, February 9th.*—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad arrived in Bombay from Delhi on the 3rd February 1920, and stayed with one Muhammad Ali, a hide merchant of Dharavi.

He left Bombay for Larkana by the Gujarat Mail on the 4th February 1920.

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Ibid.—The mother and families of the Ali Brothers with their dependents left Bombay for Rampur on the 5th February 1920.

(*j*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, February 14.*—The Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad, Sind, reports the arrival at Hyderabad from Bombay on the 6th February of Shaukat Ali, Moulana Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad. They were received with enthusiam, taken in procession through the town, and finally to Gulam Muhammad Bhurgri's house where they put up. The same evening they were presented with an address. They left the following day to attend the Caliphate Conference at Larkana.

Ibid.—The Superintendent of Police, Larkana, reports that Shaukat Ali arrived in Larkana on the afternoon of the 7th February to attend the Caliphate Conference and left for Sukkur on the 10th instant whence he will proceed to Karachi.

Ibid.—Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad arrived in Sukkur on the 10th morning and, after being taken in procession and holding a public meeting, left the same night for Karachi where Shaukat Ali (and his companions presumably) arrived on the 11th morning. Shaukat left for Bombay *per S. S. Chakla* on the night of the 12th instant.

(*k*) *Bombay, February 2nd.*—The Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee have resolved to hold a Special Caliphate Sessions at Larkana on the 6th February 1920 and have invited Chhotani to attend.

(*l*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, January 26th.*—The Sind Moslem dated the 24th January 1920, prints a letter purporting to have been addressed by Shaikh M. H. Kidwai to the editor of the *Westminister Gazette*. The argument of it is that Denikin is fighting for United Russia, which is against the independence of the New Moslem States. Therefore, Denikin is the enemy of Islam as is the British Empire if it assists him.

It is a mischievous argument and typical of the methods of agitation being pursued in India now, *viz.*, to take any action or omission of the Allies or of Government and so to twist as to render them a cause of grievance—if possible religious grievance.

(*m*) *S. B., Sind Karachi, February 4th.*—A meeting to discuss the Caliphate question was held at the Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad, on the 30th January, Sheikh Abdul Majid presiding. It was attended by about 300. The speeches were highly objectionable though not quite so violent as at some pervious meetings.

Sheikh Abdul Majid started with a short speech ascribing the unrest in India to delay in deciding Turkey's fate. His further references to Muhammadans and Bolshevism are, as reported, very obscure, but he seems to have implied that Muhammadans would have been prepared to help in fighting the Bolsheviks if their wishes had been considered, but are not prepared to do so now.

Nur Muhammad, Pleader, said that the telegrams about the Turkish Peace terms were meaningless ; that the delay was due to the Allies not being able to agree how to divide Turkey up. If they were Muhammadans they would not agree to the Sultan being deprived of his army and ministers.

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If this were done Government should not depend on them. The Greeks were proved to have committed atrocities on the Turks at Smyrna. The Greeks were the friends of the British. Muhammadans did not give their money to help others. They were sticking to their honour and Government should move carefully as it was a matter of religion. Government said the decision as to Turkey did not lie with it, but they should not believe this. Government was powerful and could tell people to do as it liked, but they would not do so. They would start *Satyagraha.*

Abdul Jabbar's speech was common place.

Moulvi Mokhamdin spoke to the following effect: "I went to disclose the *shaitani of the Goras.* They have been doing it for 50 or 100 years. The thief and the decoit have always fear in their mind and work cunningly. So they worked during the war, promising us freedom and that the holy places would remain in the hands of Muhammadans, so we helped them. They turned the Sheriff of Mecca into a traitor and took Baghdad and Batal-Mukdar. Even a low man fulfil's his promises, but these fellows think it a virtue not to fulfil them. They have dishonoured themselves. In Egypt and India they instigate one race to fight another and in settling their disputes gain their own ends. They have robbed all the wealth of Egypt, which is the key to India. If they were deprived of India, they would be no stronger than Belgium or Servia. About 50 years ago, the Hindus told us that these fellows were dishonest and asked us to co-operate with them. If we had listened we should not have seen our Sultan in the hands of Kafirs. We shall have to answer to God for it. We have been working as slaves, hence we are poor. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali fear God. The Caliphate is a big question. The British are against it. It is useless to beg. We should work to preserve Islam and not be afraid to lose body and wealth. In war Islam has been defeated more than anybody else (*N.B.*—The meaning of this is not understood). If 21 crores of Hindus and 40 crores of Muhammadans were to unite, the whole of Europe could be destroyed. Gandhi has declared that if our wishes are not respected, we will start *Satyagraha.*"

Bawa Bhagwandas talked of Hindu-Muhammadan unity and accused Government of trying to upset it. He exhorted his audience not to fear the C.I.D. or Commissioner, but to press on to success. "Press on even if you lose your life and wealth. Guru gave his life for religion. We must get Home Rule. There is no justice in Government. We will press our cause, though we are hanged. There is no gain by only having meetings, but we must act also. If we do not fear, we are bound to gain our ends."

Karamchand Gurmukhadas, Pleader, moved a resolution that a telegram be sent to Bombay to welcome Bhurgri.

Kazi Abdul Qayum seconded him but declined to make a speech as he did not want his remarks to be recorded by the C.I.D. reporters.

Sheikh Abdul Majid concluded with remarks to the following effect:— "The Muhammadans gave their life and wealth to the British Government during the war. Its officers should be directed to allow freedom of religion and warned that the kingdom which troubles its subjects cannot live long. It wants to please Greece and other countries, which is a bad policy. Muhammadans have never been disloyal. Why should their religion

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be interferred with now? If the Caliphate is ruined, other races will fight. Muhammadans will not be loyal then and will loudly proclaim that their duty is *jehad*. The days of trouble will come for the British Empire. Those are responsible who pain our religious feelings.".

He then referred to Moulvi Mokhamdin's remarks about ruining Europe and explained that his intention was only that they should unite, and not that they should wage war against Europe.

This and the anti-climax, with which the Moulvi wound up his speech, are transparent attempts to anticipate a possible prosecution.

(*n*) *Nawabshah, January 27th.*—A party consisting of the following agitators from Hyderabad, Sind, visited Nawabshah on the 23rd January, 1920 :—(1) Jethmal Parsram, *ex*-editor of the defunct *Hind-Vasi*, who has recently been released from jail, (2) Shaikh Abdul Majid, editor of the *Al-Amin*, Hyderabad, (3) Dr. Shaikh Nur Muhammad, (4) Jairamdas Daulatram, B.A., LL.B., (5) Santdas Mangharam, Pleader, Hyderabad, (6) Nur Muhammad, Pleader, Hyderabad, and (7) Abdul Jabbar, Pleader, Hyderabad.

As the agricultural show was to be held at Nawabshah the same day, a big crowd attended the Railway Station and Jethmal and his party were accorded a cordial reception. The two sons of the Jhandiwalla Pir, *viz.*, Pir Muhammad Imamshah, and Pir Muhammad Ahsanshah, together with some of the Hindu *Zamindars* of the district and local Banias, arranged the reception. Jethmal with his party, was first taken to the Hindu temple, where he addressed the audience, which consisted of Hindus and Muhammadans, on Hindu-Mussalman unity and exhorted them to sink all differences and work together. After Abdul Jabbar had supported the speaker, the audience was invited to attend the meeting in the local mosque after the Jumma prayers.

At this meeting, which was attended by an unusually large number of Mussalmans, and at least 50 Hindus, speeches were delivered by Shaikh Abdul Majid, Jethmal, pleader, Santdas, Dr. Nur Muhammad, Nur Muhammad, pleader, Muhammad Ahsanshah, younger son of the Jhandiwalla Pir, and a few others.

The chief topics dealt with were Hindu-Mussalman unity and the cause of Turkey. Shaikh Abdul Majid, Jethmal and Santdas made impressive speeches on these subjects.

(*p*) *S. B., United Provinces*—Aliarh, No. 2 of January 10.—Some two hundred persons went from Aligarh to Delhi on January 9th to join the procession in honour of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.

86. Meerut, demi-official letter No. 190-C of January 15th (Abstract).—

Id, Meerut.

An elaborate programme was drawn up for the reception of the Ali Brothers. They were expected on the morning of January 14th and a procession was out early in the morning to receive them. When it became known, however, that they were not coming, as they were drafting an address to His Excellency the Viceroy, Sita Ram, Budh Prakash and Muhammad Hussain left for Delhi in a motor car and the crowd be took itself to the Town

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Hall. At 4-30 p.m. the Ali Brothers were brought in the motor car by the deputation and bombs were fired as a salute. An address was presented them at Kamboh Gate. At the Town Hall the Brothers got into an open carriage. Qazi Najm Uddin and Fakhir Uddin stood on the steps of the carriage and Muhammad Hussain and Ismail Khan stood inside the carriage waving fans. Balmukund, master in the Vaishya school, rode in front holding a "Unity" flag and was followed by a band and volunteers on bicycles and on foot, the latter wearing star and crescent badges. Next came a mounted escort carrying a green banner emblazoned with the crescent and star, the Muhammadan volunteers in addition wearing a badge of the Khilafat Committee. Then came another band followed by the city notables wearing white silk crescent badges. Dr. Shams-ul Bari, also on horse-back, was in command. The procession was greeted warmly on its way to the city. From the Kamboh Gate the carriage was dragged by admirers. At three places necklets of soverigns and silk *safas* were presented to the brothers. At 8 p.m. the procession came to an end and addresses on behalf of the Hindus and citizens of Meerut were presented. Lala Sita Ram presided at the meeting which followed the procession. An account of the proceedings will be found in the footnote below. The Brothers dined about 10 p.m. with Lala Budh Prakash. A sentry with a gun patrolled in front of their tents in the latter's compound. After dinner the Khilafat question was discussed at a meeting and the Brothers left for Delhi next morning.

Mr. Muhammad Hussain informed the Superintendent of Police that the leaders had agreed not to take any overt steps until the announcement of the terms of peace with Turkey.

(*Note by C.I.D., United Provinces.*—There was nothing remarkable in the speeches delivered by the Ali Brothers and their friends. Much stress was laid on Hindu-Muslim unity and the collection of money for the Khilafat deputation etc. Pandit Sita-Ram, who presided, urged his hearers to take up swadeshi.)

The Ali Brothers, Meerut.

Meerut, demi-official letter No. 190-C of January 12th.—The train conveying the Ali Brothers to Delhi on January 9 was stopped at Hapur for about half an hour. About one hundred and fifty Muhammadans and Hindus gave the Brothers a reception at the station, furnished them with refreshments and garlanded them. Along with Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali there were Abdul Bari, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Ansari and their mother (Ali brothers'). The lady addressed the audience.

(*g*) *S. B., United Provinces.—C.I.D., United Provinces, January 28th.*—The chief feature of the week's activity is the reception accorded to the national leaders touring the provinces. Full reports are given in the following paragraphs of the enthusiastic receptions given to the Ali Brothers at Moradabad on January 8, at Cawnpore on January 21, at Hapur on January 24, and at Aligarh on January 24, 25 and 26.

The Leader of January 29 reports a similar enthusiastic reception at Lucknow on January 27.

At Moradabad an address was presented by the Chairman of the Municipality and there was a procession of over ten thousand persons. At Cawnpore and Aligarh the public proceedings were marked by great disorder

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and confusion. At the former place addresses were presented by the Muhammadans of Cawnpore and the Workers' Union. On January 26th the Brothers drove to Khurja where they had a reception. A projected visit to Agra where eight (four ?) thousand rupees had been collected did not materialise.

On January 22, Mr. Gandhi was given a sumptuous reception at Meerut. There was a procession of various bodies of volunteers, and other citizens wearing resplendent uniforms. An address couched in superlatives was presented by the Municipality and a number of addresses were presented by other bodies. Several districts report efforts to secure visits from the national leaders.

C.I.D., United Provinces, January 27th.—An officer of this department reports that the Ali Brothers arrived at Aligarh at 1-30 p.m. on January 24 and were received by a crowd of two thousand persons.

Twenty-seven gold mohurs had been purchased from one Muhammad Sharif Khan, who had brought them from Mesopotamia. These were formed into a garland and presented to the Brothers. There were thirty or forty College students at the station.

At 2 p.m. the mother of the Ali Brothers and Muhammad Ali's wife arrived from Rampur and were received at the station by the wives of several prominent persons. These ladies joined in the procession which conducted the Ali Brothers to the Achal tank, where there was a meeting of about five thousand persons. Sohan Lal Gaur opened the proceedings by trying to read an address, but owing to the confusion and disturbance not a word could be heard and the Brothers left for the College where they put up at the Old Boy's Lodge and received various professors and students.

At 8 p.m. the ladies proceeded to the Union Club and received an enthusiastic welcome. The Brothers following later were similarly welcomed. All the College and school boys were present. The Vice-President of the Union read an address and the brothers replied. Muhammad Ali said that he did not agree with a statement in the address to the effect that the existence of Islam was in danger. He said that Islam will be the last religion in the world ; God has promised this in the *Quran*. Therefore, there is no danger to the existence of Islam. There was a debate on the subject of the Government of India Act. The speeches are said to have been uninteresting. Muhammad Ali pointed out the defects of the Bill but said that Indians will have to accept it as it was.

The students have applied to the Principal for permission to give the Brothers Rs. 7,000 money saved by them during the Balkan War.

A later report has been received to the effect that at 2 p.m. on January 25th Brothers visited a Hindu temple where their foreheads were marked after the Hindu fashion.

At 4 p.m. they arrived at the mosque outside of which there was a crowd of eight thousand persons. Shaukat Ali delivered an address to the effect that the Khilaphat was in danger and co-operation and fearlessness were needed. Muhammad Ali spoke on their sufferings during the internment and of the Punjab atrocities Pandit Bansi Dhar of Bareilly next delivered a violent speech and draw a pathetic picture of the sufferings of the residents

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of the Punjab. He said that the authorities would try to disunite Hindus and Muhammadans but they should not be allowed to succeed. In case the terms of peace with Turkey are not according to the desires of the Muhammadans the Muhammadans had decided to leave India, entrusting their women and children to the Hindus.

Tasadduk Ahmad Sherwani next handed Shaukat Ali rupees seventeen hundred for the Khilafat fund.

At night a dinner was given to the Brothers by the College and School students. Musud-ul Hasan, Barrister-at-Law, of Moradabad, speaking to one of the toasts, called on the boys to be upright, to fear no one and to act according to the tenets of Islam. Muhammad Ali spoke on discipline and Shaukat Ali on religion. The officer notes that by infusing religious spirit into the students it appears to be the aim of the Brothers to make them follow their dictates. The students visited the Brothers at all hours.

On January 26th the Brothers went to Khurja by motor car.

In conversation with Khan Bahadur Maulvi Bashir Uddin of Etawah, Shaukat Ali was heard to say that if a Muhammadan is unable to use his hands and feet in the cause of Islam he should help by saying something. If he is unable to speak he should give monetary assistance. While in internment and jail the Brothers had been thinking out methods of work and had done a good deal. Shaukat Ali stated he could win over the Arabs and the Sharif in five minutes, and some day the Arabs might shoot the Sharif as Amir Habib Ullah was shot. On the frontier the men of the British Militia have been fighting against their own officers. The heart of every Mussalman in India has ripened, be he independent or in service, in the police or in the C.I.D. No power can stop the Muhammadans. He then went on to say that Germany was not dead and Russia was still fighting, and do the British think that they can rely on Muslim help if Muhammadan wishes with respect to Turkey and the Holy Places are not taken into consideration? The officer remarks that internment seems to have turned Shaukat Ali into a deadly enemy of the English. Muhammad Ali is more serious and more guarded. His Mission also is to educate the young men in the service of their religion, but he expresses himself carefully. The immediate object of the Brothers would seem to be to raise as much money as possible for the deputation and for propaganda work. It is intended to carry on propaganda during the forthcoming Ajmer ***urus***.

(*Note*.—The address presented on behalf of the citizens of Aligarh dealt with the Brothers' services to religion and politics and said that it was through the Brothers alone that matters formerly considered seditions are now looked upon as the principles of religion; things that were crimes five years ago are now birth rights).

C.I.D., United Provinces, January 23rd.—An officer of this department reports that the Ali Brothers visited Cawnpore on January 21st. About three thousand people on the platform and five thousand outside the station received them. The Brothers were roughly handled by their admirers and were nearly suffocated and they had to be taken to the refreshment room. After some time they entered a carriage and drove through the city along a decorated route. At one point some young men decided to

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remove the horses and drag the carriage. In attempts to remove the horses one of the young men was killed (kicked on the chest). The Brothers then walked with the body of the boy to the latter's house. There was a crowd of fifty thousand persons at the pandal on the Ramlila ground which the Brothers reached after 4 p.m. Maulvi Fakhar Uddin took the chair, and Dr. Abdul Karim began to read an address to the Brothers. Suddenly someone said that Mahatma Gandhi had arrived. Disorder ensued. Finally, Muhammad Ali had to speak from one side of the platform and Shaukat Ali from the other side. Muhammad Ali spoke on the loss sustained owing to the failure of his business due to his internment. He urged his hearers to speak out their thoughts freely about the Turkish question and to fear no one. Shaukat Ali spoke on Hindu-Muhammadan unity and thanked the Hindus. He also dealt with the Turkish question. After their speeches the Brothers left. Soon afterwards the mill-hands representing the Workers' Unions of Cawnpore arrived carrying various standards. They wished to present an address to the Brothers, but were unable to do so owing to the disturbance.

The Brothers next ascended the balcony of a house in A. B. Road whence they addressed the crowd. Muhammad Ali was understood to express disappointment at the Viceroy's reply to the Khilafat Deputation and said that the proposed decision of the Turkish question will mean the annihilation of the Khilaphat and so the annihilation of Islam, but Islam is not dead and will not recognize the decision. The Brothers then drove to the railway station to catch the 7 p.m. train to Tampur *via* Lucknow.

Mr. Gandhi arrived at Cawnpore that day 21st January about 4 p.m. and was also given a reception. He opened the *Swadeshi* stores on the A. B. Road.

The Ali Brothers were presented with a photograph of the Macchli Bazaar Mosque and were garlanded on behalf of the mosque, which was brilliantly illuminated at night.

C.I.D, United Provinces, January 23rd.—The Superintendent of Police, Cawnpore, reports as follows: "The general idea seems to be that the visit was a failure owing to the complete want of proper arrangement and the unruliness of the crowd. I visited the public meeting and the A. B. Road when the *Swadeshi* stores was being opened. At both places the mob seemed to be out of control; hundreds of hands and sticks were to be seen calling on people to keep quite or to keep back. The barriers at the meeting were broken and the mob surged on to the platform. For a short time I saw the Brothers addressing the meeting, but it was evident that nothing could be heard in spite of the gesticulation of the speakers, and they gave it up. There were crowds of people in the streets, but I thought that the crowd at the meeting was small; those not close up to the pandal did not seem to be taking much interest in the meeting. The mill labourers turned up in fairly large numbers after 4 p.m. but their Deputations were blocked by the crowd. Trouble might have been caused when the man was killed by the carriage horse, as some people of the crowds shouted out that the police were taking the body away to the dead house. This was quite unfounded as there were no police on duty at all anywhere near the crowd. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, City, hearing what was being said, reassured the people that no one wished to deprive them,

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and the procession went on. Had any Police Officer been at all officious in making an inquest at the time, there would probably have been trouble. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, City, thinks that the people were very excited by the visit of the Brothers and could easily have been persuaded to give trouble.

"It is reported that Tilak will visit Cawnpore on 26th, Pandit Madan Mohan on the 27th, and Mrs. Besant on the 1st.".

C.I.D., United Provinces, January 24th.—An officer of this department forwards copies of addresses presented to the Ali Brothers at Cawnpore. It is said that the sum of eight thousand rupees was collected towards the Ali Brothers' purse on the occasion of their recent visit.

In the first address presented on behalf of Mussalmans of Cawnpore the religious and political achievements of the Brothers were enumerated. A hope was expressed that the Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba will be restarted. The Brothers were described as having sounded the bugle of righteousness and were compared with Mustafa Kamal Pasha and Midhat Pasha.

The second address from the Workers' Union of Cawnpore describes the work of the Brothers in connection with the Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba and says that the signatories are ready to sacrifice their lives for their religion. A reference to Satan presenting to the Brothers a poisoned cup of freedom is apparently an allusion to the visit to Chhindwara last year of Mr. Abdul Majid of the office of the Director of Central Intelligence. The workers then go on to describe high prices, the profit made by Capitalists and the low wages earned by the workers; even the increased wages are not sufficient. Employers treat the workers very badly.

Moradabad, No. 1 of January 24th.—The release of these men has attracted considerable attention. A fairly large crowd met them at the railway station on January 3 when they passed through and raised a cry of *Allah-ho-Akbar*. They were garlanded by prominent citizens. Both made short speeches stating that one million rupees was required to send Deputations to England, America, Turkey and Arabia. They intimated that they were on their way to Rampur State.

On the 7th January Qazi Abdul Ghaffar distributed a notice which reads as under: "The servants of Islam and patriots of the country are coming. On Thursday, January 8th, at mid-day Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali will come to Moradabad. The citizens of Moradabad should be present at the Jumma Masjid at 12 a.m. The procession will arrive at the Town Hall at 2 p.m. where an address will be given and the said gentlemen will lecture. Throughout the evening and till late in the night students of the Muslim High School and Municipal servants were busily engaged decorating the route. Flags with poems in Urdu were hung up. On the 8th several thousand people assembled at the Jumma Masjid. Mussalman volunteers wore a badge on their caps and shoulders consisting of the crescent and the star. Hindu volunteers wore badges on which was inscribed Sewa Samiti. A Mussalman leader of volunteers was mounted and carried a red banner with the crescent and star. The Ali Brothers were late, not arriving till nearly 5 p.m. by motor. They received a vociferous welcome and offered evening prayers in the Jumma Masjid. On their reappearing there were again cries of *Allah-ho-Akbar*. The people present dragged

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them in a decorated carriage to the Town Hall. The back seats of the carriage were occupied by Muzzam Ali, Abdul Salam and Abdul Ghaffar. The procession numbered over ten thousand. The Brothers lectured in the Meston Park on unity of Hindus and Muhammadans. The address of welcome was read by the Municipal Chairman (Masud-ul Hasan) and presented in a casket. Muhammad Ali quoted some of Gandhi's sayings. Muhammad Ali accomplished a lot of boasting that he feared no one but God. The Ali Brothers departed at 2 a.m. by train.

Meerut demi-official letter No. 195-C of January 24th.—Mr. Gandhi arrived in Meerut at 9-30 by motor car and received a rousing welcome by a large crowd which was awaiting his arrival at the Devanagri School. He alighted here, and went inside and was decorated with flower garlands. A decorated carriage was in readiness and he got inside. In front of the procession Brahmin clerk rode on a horse, beating a drum and reciting the following couplets :—

"Britania ki azmat phir dekhna jahan men,
Jis dam buland hoga, quami nishan hamara
Britania ka sayasar par qubul hoga
Ham hoenge aish hoga aur Home Rule hoga."

He was followed by a band and then volunteers, some on cycles, some on foot and some on horses. The volunteers were divided into various crops, emblematic of (1) Egypt, (2) Arabia, (3) Turkey, and these youths were wearing uniforms representing these various countries. The crescent was universally worn. There was a special body of volunteers styled *Gandhi-ki-fauj* and the youths were dressed in country-made garments (Garha pagri, kurta and dhoti) and were barefooted and carried long lathis. These volunteers carried a flag on which were the photographs of Gandhi and Tilak. Another flag had the inscription *Satyagraha Mandali.* The volunteers consisted mostly of Meerut college and other school boys and Sadar bazaar people. Boys of Vaish Orphange marched with the *Gandhi-ki-fauj.* In front of the carriage there was a guard-of-honour of nine men.

These people wore a uniform consisting of white breeches, light blue turbans and long dark blue coats, which were heavily embroided in gold. They also had shoulder badges of rank, viz., stars and the hilal (crescent). There was also a Camel Corps, but this was dismissed owing to difficulty of progress through the crowds. It is worth noting that the Muhammadan volunteers were all wearing the yellow ochare (chandan) on their foreheads. The procession halted at the Kamboh Gate and an address on behalf of the Municipality was read by Muhammad Yamin, nephew, of Nawab Asadullah, the Chairman. Mr. Gandhi replied to the address in Urdu. The procession then proceeded in Waili Bazaar, Sarrafa Bazaar, Guzri Bazaar, Sippat Bazaar, Budhana Gate, Khairnagar and returned to Kamboh Gate. The whole route was lavishly decorated and an awning was spread over a portion of it near Kamboh Gate. Mr. Gandhi went to Mustafa Castle at 12-30 and had a meal with Mr. Ismail Khan, Barrister-at Law, and at 2-30 p.m. he attended a women's meeting at the Sanatan Dharam Hall. He advised his audience to live the simple life and to eschew jewellery and fine linen and to wear cloth woven by themselves as by so doing they would improve the industrial condition of their country and

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prevent money going to England. He drew their attention to the former greatness of India and advised them to adhere to their Indian mode of life. Mr. Gandhi was fairly mobbed by the women. When he had completed his address to the women, he went to Lala Sita Ram's house, where he stopped till 3-30 p.m. when he proceeded to attend the public meeting at the Sarraf Khana. At this meeting he was presented with two addresses one on behalf of the Khilafat Committee and another on behalf of the citizens of Meerut. Muhammad Hussain, Barrister-at-Law, read the Khilafat address which he dramatically put into a black bag saying it was a symbol of the State of Islam at the present moment. The other address was read in English by Pandit Ghasi Ram, M.A., and in Urdu by Muhammad Aslam Saifi. Two poems were also recited. The national song Bande Mataram was sung by four Bengalis. About seven thousand to eight thousand people attended the meeting, and an Indian military officer tells me there was *bhaut josh*. After the proceedings terminated, Mr. Gandhi went to the Meerut College by special request and lectured to the students. Gandhi left Meerut about 6-30 p.m. for Musaffarnagar by motor car. Pamphlets containing an account of Gandhi's life were sold among the crowd. A large number of people came for the day from neighbouring villages and towns. There is no doubt that people's minds have been unsettled by these visits of Gandhi and the Ali Brothers. Gandhi's doctrines of *Satyagraha* and *Swadeshi* are largely anti-British and the Ali Brothers are supplying the fanatical flame of Islam.

(*Note by C.I.D., United Provinces.*—The following are extracts from the address of the Municipal Board; the other addresses contained nothing remarkable) :—

(COPY)

Welcome Address presented to MAHATMA MOHANDAS KARAM CHAND GANDHI.

Sir,

We, the chairman and elected members of the Meerut Municipal Board, beg to offer you a very cordial, affectionate and respectful welcome on this auspicious occasion of your first visit to this historic town.

* * * * *

Commercial business is rather dull ..... but the greatest stimulus to it is bound to come by the Swadeshi Movement, which with your characteristic foresight and far-sightedness you have been pushing on of late with a vigour and energy which are your own and which ensure steady and sure success to it.

* * * * *

Who among us that can forget the noble part you have playing the arduous struggles of our brethren in South Africa for a just and righteous cause, entail thought it did a series of undeserved sufferings on you and even those dearest and nearest to you ? Who will forget the spirit in which you organized and lead the corps of stretcher-bearers in the wars of the Empire ? Who that does not remember that skill and preservance with which you triumphed in easing out the difficulties of agriculturists in Kaira and Champaran ? Who again that will forget your nectar-like help to the Punjab

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in the moment of her gloom and misery? Will history ever forget your notable efforts in laying the foundations of Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis and in successfully grappling with a problem which has eluded the grasp of so many eminent Indians and their friends before? In short, who that is not deeply moved by your whole life, a compendium of "plain living and high thinking," a living light foundan and a "beacon star of piety and saintliness?".

* * * * *

(2) In reply to the Khilafat Committee's address Mr. Gandhi said that he was sure that if the Turkish question was not settled impartially India would be settling with discontent. In that case *Satyagraha,* not arms should be used.

(*r*) *S. B., United Provinces.*—An officer of this department reports that the Ali Brothers arrived in Lucknow at noon on January 27th. They were received by a crowd of a thousand persons, mostly students. The Ali Brothers' carriage was dragged by students to Firhanghi Mahal, where the students presented an address on behalf of Al Nizamia school. During the reading of an affecting poem, Abdul Bari, the Ali Brothers and some others were observed to weep. An address was read by Moulvi Muhammad Yumas. After this the Brothers invested with the honorary degree of Maulana. The Brothers, in acknowledging the honour, reminded the audience of the time when the Firhanghi Mahal Ulemas were afraid of the Aligarh young men. Maulana Abdul Bari was responsible for the great change in their attitude.

The Brothers took tea at Firhanghi Mahal and at the Muhammadan Volunteer camp. They then proceeded to the public meeting at the Rifa-i-Am where there was a gathering of some eight thousand men.

Dr. Ohdedar presided. Shaukat Ali said that when they went to jail five years ago, there was peace all over the country. Now, there is a fire ablaze. Everywhere there is a cry for freedom; there is agitation over the Turkish question. They themselves (the Brothers) have suffered nothing. If they had fifty lives they would sacrifice them for their religion and the country. As regards the Caliphate, he reaffirmed their inability to obey any order but that of God. Muhammad Ali said that the meeting was not in praise of them but was in the nature of a funeral ceremony. He gave a description of the great wars fought by the Muhammadans in ancient times and said that there never any dearth of men to take the places of the commanders who had fallen. How many were prepared to take the place of the Ali Brothers? If the order of a sovereign is not in conformity with the order of God, the Muhammadans are bound to obey the latter, but this does not in any way mean disloyalty. He said that Muhammadans should give the Hindus some return for making common cause with them. During the meeting Pandit Narayan Jagannath Bade and Ghulam Rasul of Calcutta were introduced by the president. They had come from Calcutta to take the Ali Brothers there. Shaukat Ali promised to visit Calcutta shortly with Abul Kalam Azad.

At this point, a call was made for subscriptions, but met with a poor response. Dr. Ohdedar gave Rs. 50 and Gokaran Nath Misra Rs. 50, which he doubled when it was announced that the total amount collected

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was only Rs. 174. Abul Razak Nadwi produced Rs. 300 which he had collected in the city. On January 28th, the Brothers visited the Raja of Jahangirabad and left for Bombay at 11 a.m.

Shaukat Ali is said to have impressed on the *Akhawat-ul-Islam* (Muhammadan brotherhood) the necessity for collecting a lakh of rupees.

The officer notes that the Ali Brothers have now introduced themselves to the people and will have no difficulty in inducing them for purposes of agitation. He considers that the Brothers are reckless because they think that Government will think twice before taking any action. Abdul Bari and Altaf ur Rahman left for Bombay with the Brothers.

A story is current to the effect that on January 21st Abdul Bari invested the Brothers with a sword which he tied on their waists. The accuracy of this statement is doubtful, but it would appear that some proceeding of the sort was contemplated.

The officer notes that the following members of the Caliphate Deputation are likely to proceed to England early in February:—Muhammad Ali, Sayyid Husain, Moulvi Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi of Azamagarh, Muhammad Hayat, B.A., teacher in the Alligarh Collegiate School, who is to act as Secretary, and Sir Fazal Karimbhoy or Sir Abbas Ali Beg.

(*s*) *S. B., Delhi.*—The Ali Brothers motored from Ghaziabad to Delhi on the 9th January 1920 arriving at 11 a.m. The main roads in the city were decorated and a platform was erected next to the Clock Tower in the Chandani Chauk representing the bows of the "S. S. Liberty". The star and crescent emblem was very conspicuous some 12,000 persons mostly Muhammadans, awaited the ceremony. These were interested, but in no way excited and there was much eating, drinking and gambling. Numerous parties of uniformed volunteers on foot and on horseback created disturbances and assaulted the bystanders. Tafazzal Hussain was so violent that he had to be sent away by the leaders. The crowds moved past and through the volunteers at will and on the arrival of the Brothers pushed forward and broke a large number of chairs. The Brothers were greeted with the National Anthem. On the platform were Dr. Ansari, Dr. Abdul Rahman, Pleader, and his son, Shankar Lal, Shiv Narain, Pleader, Abdulla Churiwala, Maulvi Ahmad Said, Khwaja Hassan Nizami, Muhammad Ibrahim, cloth merchant of Sardar Bazar, Muhammad Said, hide merchant of Amritsar, and Abdul Rahim and Fakherud Din, butcher. Dr. Ansari read a letter from Ajmal Khan regretting his unavoidable absence. (Ajmal Khan is nearly always unavoidably absent on these occasions.) Khwaja Hassan Nizami read the address from the Delhi citizens which has appeared in the press. Maulvi Ahmad Said recited the list of presents to be given, including two silver caskets, two necklaces of sovereigns, and six necklaces of golden thread. Shaukat Ali declared himself unworthy of the reception. He thanked the Hindus for their general co-operation. Muslims were well wishers of Government and a Deputation would implore His Excellency the Viceroy to adjust British policy to the dictates of the Holy Prophet. Maulana Muhammad Shafi, Darwesh of Muhalla Punjabian,

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Etwah, interrupted him from the audience and declared his willingness to join in *jehad.* He gave him a green cloth which Shaukat Ali and his brother tore into two and placed round their necks. Muhammad Ali referred to the years that had passed since his removal from Delhi. None of the Speeches were audiable at a distance of more than ten yards owing to the general conversation. The Brothers embraced Shankar Lal and Shiv Narain, Pleader, and departed in procession to the Jumma Masjid with the Honourable Abdul Qasim of Bengal.

At the Jumma Masjid were Abdulla Churiwala, Tafazzal Hussain, Qari Abbas Hussain and some twenty volunteers, including three Hindus; Ibrahim Khalil Arab was also noticed. The son of the Imam read the prayers in the absence of the Imam. Shaukat Ali made a short Speech in self-depreciatory tone. Muhammad Ali discoursed on faith and said that the time for the display of faith by action had not yet come. They should show their faith by words and petition to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor. For himself he bore no personal grudge against the British Government.

The Brothers then went in procession round the city, said the afternoon prayers at the Fatehpuri Mosque, and returned to Dr. Ansari's house. In the evening they again passed through the bazaars in a motor car to see the illuminations, which were very poor, as most of the shops were shut except those of the prostitutes.

On the 10th the Brothers visited the Comrade Press and a few friends. They left for Lahore at night. They were seen off by Tafazul Hussain, Tajuddin Abdul Majid of Badaun and a few volunteers.

The Committee formed to present a national gift to the Ali Brothers consists of the following persons :—

Bombay	... ...	Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
		Mr. Omer Sobhani.
		Mr. S. G. Banker.
		Mr. Ahmad Siddiq Katri.
		Mr. Mian Muhammad Haji Jan Chhotani.
Sind	... ...	Haji Abdulla Haroon.

* * * * *

"The Ali Brothers have had a rather shattering effect on Hindu-Moslem unity among the Delhi political leaders. Ajmal Khan disapproved of the preparations being made for their reception on the 9th and refused to be present. Shanker Lal during the reception was annoyed at the practical exclusion of the Home Rule League volunteers and was with difficulty assuaged by being publicly embraced. He next irritated the Muhammadans by announcing that he would employ Muhammad Ali as the editor of a news paper he hopes to found. This was considered to be lacking in due respect and matters were not improved by the Hindu Home Rule Leaguers stating that they would invite B. C. Pal to Delhi, and see whether the Muhammadans would treat him as well as they had treated the Ali Brothers. Meanwhile the Ajmal Khan condemned the idea of giving a national purse to the Brothers, and was accused by Ansari of wishing to keep them

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permanently in a position of pecuniary dependence. Ajmal Khan was told that the real intention was to use the money to start Khilafat newspapers in Delhi and elsewhere, upon which he denounced the whole scheme as dishonest. The last development has been the sudden upsetting the Shankar Lal's proposal to employ the members of the Khalifat Deputation in raising funds for the martyrs' memorial. At the last moment Abdul Churiwala issued posters announcing the proposed lectures, but stating that the money paid for admission would go to meet the expenses of a tea party in honour of the members of the Deputation. Shankar Lal was furious and persuaded Qari Abbas Hussain to fill the next issue of the Congress with attacks on this 'strange method of giving garden parties'. Asaf Ali is profiting by these disputes by endeavouring to renew acquitance with the Alis, who regard him as a C.I.D. spy.'"

(*i*) *S. B., North-West Frontier Province.*—

Extract from the *Tribune* of January 9th, paragraph 4:—

The Ali Brothers.
Presentation of a Purse.
ALL-INDIA COMMITTEE FORMED.
(From a Correspondent).

Delhi, January 6th.

A representative meeting of the citizens of Delhi, presided over by Dr. Ansari, was held at his consulting room, Fatehpuri. It was decided to present a Purse to Ali Brothers as a token of people's appreciation of their services to the nation.

(*u*) *S. B., Hyderabad Residency.*—From Abstract dated January 24th, paragraph 30.—The District Superintendent of Police, Secunderabad, reports as follows: "It is reported that subscriptions are being collected at Hyderabad for purpose of meeting the expenses of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali who are proceeding to England."

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Bombay, February 11th.*—The following was noticed in the Censorship Telegram, dated the 5th February 1920, that Shaukat Ali and other leaders were arriving from C. R. Das, Calcutta, to B. G. Tilak, starting on the 10th instant and requesting him to be present.

Note.—This is obviously incorrect as Shaukat Ali arrived in Karachi on the 11th instant. (C.I.D., Bombay Presidency.).

(*b*) *Bombay, February 16th.*—I-A meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, was held on February 10th with Mian Muhammad Chhotani in the chair. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri, Bar-at-Law of Hyderabad, Sind, was elected President of the approaching Conference.

The following 27 gentlemen were elected Vice-Chairmen of the Reception Committee on their paying Rs. 250 each :—

(1) Khan Bahadur Mohommad Ali Abdul Kadir.
(2) Fazalbhai Joomabhai Laljee.
(3) Massirbhai Abdoolabhai Laljee.

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(4) Haji Issa Hajee Osman Poonawalla.
(5) Sir Fazalbhai C. Ebrahim.
(6) Mahomadbhai Currimbhoy Ebrahim.
(7) Mian Ahamad Haji Jan Mohammad Chhotani.
(8) Osmanmian Mian Mohammad Chhotani.
(9) Haji Esmail Haji Ahmad Lakdawalla.
(10) Haji Noor Mohammad Haji Jan Mohammad Latif.
(11) Mahommad Abba Jooma.
(12) Fateh Mahommad Haji Yusuf.
(13) Mahommad Mian Khandwani.
(14) Omar Haji Yusuf Haji Esmail Sobhani.
(15) Karimbhai Adamji Peerbhoy.
(16) Salehbhoy Currimbhoy Barodawalla.
(17) Honourable Sherif Dewjee Canjee.
(18) Muhammadbhai Hajibhai.
(19) Y. J. Pandit.
(20) Issak Abdoola Noorani.
(21) Abdul Kadir Esmail Gul Muhammad.
(22) Yusuf Haji Ali Haji Cassim Agbotwalla.
(23) Haji Sullaiman A. Wahed.
(24) Haji Abdul Karim Essa Fazla.
(25) Haji Yunus Seth of Bangalore.
(26) Ismail A. H. Moosa.
(27) Abdul Kadir Khatkhate.

The following fees have been fixed:—Rs. 25 for becoming a member of the Reception Committee ; Rs. 5 for ordinary seats for visitors. Tickets of admission to the Conference are on sale at an office opened at Abdul Rehman Street. To Ismail Haji Ahmad Lakdawalla has been delegated the duty of lodging and feeding up-country delegates.

Invitations to attend the Conference were wired to :—

(1) M. K. Gandhi.
(2) B. G. Tilak.
(3) Mrs. Annie Besant.
(4) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
(5) Honourable Surendranath Bannerjee, Calcutta.
(6) C. R. Das, Bar.-at-Law, Calcutta.
(7) Honourable Mr. Shastri, Social Service League, Poona.
(8) Swami Shradanand Amritsar.
(9) Haji Abdoola Haroon, Karachi.
(10) Seth Abdul Latif Mahommad Habib Satri, Ahmedabad.
(11) Chintamani, Allahabad.
(12) Bansidhar Pathak, Bareilly.
(13) Dr. Sapru, Allahabad.
(14) Honourable Fazle Hussain, Lahore.
(15) Dr. Kitchlew, Amristar.
(16) Honourable K. B. Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer, Poona.
(17) Pandit Motilal Nehru, Allahabad.
(18) Honourable Fazal-ul-Haq, Calcutta.
(19) Lala Harkishenlal, Lahore.
(20) Mr. Dunichand, Bar.-at-law, Lahore.
(21) Chowdhary Rambhuj Dutt, Lahore.
(22) Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Delhi.
(23) Dr. M. A. Ansari, Delhi

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(24) Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Aligarh.
(25) Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Aligarh.
(26) Mumtaz Hussain, Bar.-at-law, Lucknow.
(27) Ahsan-uz-Zaman, Lucknow.
(28) Honourable Raza Ali, Allahabad.
(29) Lord Sinha, Calcutta.

Jan Mahomed, Bar.-at-law of Larkana, wired on the 10th February to the Grand Vizier of Constantinople conveying the sympathy and prayers of the Larkana Sind Khilafat Conference to the Sultan of Turkey.

On the 10th instant, Jan Mahomed wired to Mahomed Ali, London, appointing him the delegate of the Larkana Sind Khilafat Conference.

II. Mazhar-ud-din, Editor, Dastoor of Sherkot, Rohilkhand, writing to Chhotani on the 10th February 1920, says that he has prepared a biography of Mustafa Kamil Pasha, a manuscript copy of which was shown to and approved of by Shaukat Ali. He desires to publish this and other biographies of Muslim notables from Turkey, Arabia, India and other Muhammadan lands, but is hampered for want of funds. He, therefore, asks Chhotani for money.

III. Chhotani has received from the Khilafat Committee at Aligichar, Nawabganj P. O., Dacca, a long protest against the despatch to Europe of the Khilafat Deputation. Aligichar considers that, instead of wasting lakhs on missions which fritter away in futile efforts abroad the energies of leaders who are sorely needed at home, the Khilafat Conference should devote itself to intensive propaganda in India, founded on a big Relief Fund. When the purpose is understood there will be no difficulty in raising 50 lakhs of rupees, with which it will be easy to gather the desired harvest from a soil already prepared by economic distress.

(*c*) *Thana, February 12th.*—The Sub-Inspector, Bassein, reports that on the 10th instant a joint meeting of Muhammadans and Hindus was held on the evening of the 1st instant at Bassein to discuss the Caliphate question. D. K. Phadke, District Pleader, presided.

The eight resolutions passed by the Muhammadans at Amritsar on the 31st December 1919 were put to the meeting and adopted.

At this meeting, the Muhammadans subscribed Rs. 153 and the Hindus Rs. 15 towards the Caliphate work expenses.

(*d*) *Surat, February 9th.*—Shaukat Ali and Moulana Abdul Bari arrived in Surat from Bombay by train at 1-45 p.m. on the 3rd instant. They were accompanied by Ahmed Afzal Narmawala of Surat, who had gone to Bombay to conduct them. They were met at the Railway Station by about 500 persons, Hindus and Muhammadans, prominent amongst whom were the following :—

(1) Manvantrai Madanrai Raiji, (2) Muhammad Haji Ahmad Bhabhas, (3) Dr. Karsukhram V. Vohra, (4) Dayalji Nanubhai Desai, and (5) Kalyanji Vithal Mehta.

They adjourned to the station waiting-room where introductions were made and they were both garlanded. At 2-15 p.m. they started in procession from the Railway Station through Chowk Bazaar to Sheklali Palace, where they stayed. A very large crowd had collected between Delhi Gate and Chowk Bazaar, which was gaily decorated with bunting and costly

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cloth. The visitors stood up in their motor and acknowledged the plaudits of the crowd. The motor displayed a silk-embroidered Caliphate flag in a prominent position. They performed the opening function of the Swadeshi Stores in Parsi Sheri and attended afternoon prayers in the Chowk Bazaar Masjid.

At 6 p.m. they went to Rander, a town three miles from Surat, where they were entertained by the members of the Islam Gymkhana, and delivered short speeches, exhorting their audience to contribute money to support the Caliphate Movement. They returned to Surat at 7-45 p.m. At 9-30 a.m. they attended a meeting on the Tilak Maidan which continued till 0-30 a.m.

They left for Ahmedabad at 3-45 a.m. on the 4th February.

In surat Rs. 2,800 were contributed towards the Caliphate Movement. but it is not known how much was collected at Rander.

(*e*) *Ahmedabad, February 10th.*—Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Abdul Bari arrived at Ahmedabad from Surat on the morning of the 4th instant. They were received by a large concourse of people two or three thousand and garlanded. Among those present at the station were Vallabhabhai J. Patel. Jivanlal V. Desai, Krishnalal N. Desai, Manilal Kothari, Gajanan Vasudev Mavalankar, Gopalrao Ramchandra Dabholkar, Anusayabai Sarabhai, Fateh Mahomed Fakir Mahomed Munshi, Muhammad Nazir Sheikh, Nizamudin Kureishi, Seth Lalamia Hava and Dr. Jalaludin Kadri, Shaukat Ali motored to the Alef Masjid with Nazir Sheikh, Dabholkar, Fateh Mahomed Fakir Mahomed Munshi and Kothari, while Abdul Bari remained at the station. Isakhan Jahangir Nashtar and a few other Muhammadans escorted Shaukat Ali on horse back.

They left by the mid-day train for Nadiad accompanied by Dabholkar, Kothari and some Muhammadans from Nadiad, and returned to Ahmedabad at 7-30 p.m.

All the mills closed at noon at the request of the millhands, and when Shaukat Ali and Abdul Bari were taken in procession from the station to the Khas Bazaar, it is estimated that about 50,000 people took part in the procession. The route was *via* Kapasia Bazar, Sakar Bazar, Muskati Market, Sherkotda, Panchkuva Gate, Richey Road, Dhikwa, Manek Chowk, Pankor Naka, the three Gates to Khas Bazaar. The streets and houses enroute were decorated and illuminated. Jadavji Zavarchand Gandhi, clad in a green dress and waving the Home Rule Flag, sat on the box of the carriage in which the two patriots were driven. Prominent mottoes stretched across the streets were :—

(1) To go to jail for one's country is like going to heaven ; fear no one but God.

(2) Hindus and Muhammadans are the eyes of one body. They should work together for Home Rule ; if they do so, success will be achieved early.

(3) Adore the Ali Brothers, who are trying their best to stop cow-killing.

(4) To fear the arbitrary orders of the authorities is sheer cowardice ; to tell the truth fearlessly is bravery.

(5) Welcome ! Long live our beloved guests ! Prove the Hindu-Moslem Unity Hoist the banner of Swaraj !

(6) The Caliphate question is a matter of the greatest importance. It is the duty of every Hindu to show his sympathy.

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The carriage was stopped at several places on the way to admit of the Maulanas being garlanded. Some Mahajans and mill hands also presented them with donations. On arrival at the Khas Bazaar, the Maulanas were taken off to the house of Lalamia Hava, where they dined. They returned at 11-30 p.m. to the open place near the Alef Masjid in Khas Bazaar, and a mass meeting was held at which Jivanlal V. Desai, Barrister, presided. About 25 thousand people were present. An address was read by Nizamudin Kureshi and presented in a silver flower vase. The Maulanas addressed the meeting. Their remarks contained nothing of interest. Shaukat Ali requested them to contribute to the expenses of the Caliphate Deputations. Dr. Alibhai Mahomedbhai Mansuri put his name down for Rs. 500. The meeting dispersed at 1 a.m.

They left for Larkana by the 9-30 a.m. mail on the 5th.

(*f*) *Sind Railways, February 12th.*—Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad entered Sind on the 6th instant by the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway and were given a public welcome by Gurudinonal and some hundreds of other people at Mirpur Khas Station. Another public reception awaited them at Hyderabad Station, where they arrived at noon. The leading figure in this was G. M. Bhurgri. The Station Master closed the first and second class waiting rooms to prevent the crowd using them as thoroughfares as had to been done the day before when Bhurgri himself arrived. Bhurgri demonstrated with the Station Master, but did not gain his point. At 1 p.m. the next day (7th instant) the party, accompanied by Bhurgri, Abdul Jabbar, the pleader, and other lesser lights, left Hyderabad for Larkana via Kotri. At 3 p.m. on the 8th Bhurgri left Larkana and travelled vid Sukkur and Rohri to Hyderabad en route to Bombay, where he is to preside at a Khilafat Conference in a few days time. Abdul Bari, Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad were busy with the Larkana Conference on the 8th and 9th. On the 10th they left Larkana at 7 a.m. by the Passenger and reached Sukkur at 10 a.m. where they were welcomed by Virumal Begraj, Mulchand, the pleader, crowd of some persons. The same evening they left Sukkur to join the down Punjab Mail at Rohri. Further reports of their movements are not yet to hand, but from the local Press it appears they stopped a day in Hyderabad and then went on to Karachi.

Six students of the Sukkur Madressah Boarding House were among those who left Sukkur on 7th instant for Larkana for the Conference. As indicating the amount of interest taken in the Conference by the people of the country-side it is significant that at Naundero, a small station 12 miles from Larkana, about a hundred third class tickets from Larkana were collected during the night and early morning of Sunday, the 8th. On the other hand, this also suggests that many people did not wait for the second day of the Conference.

At Ruk Junction, on the morning of the 10th, I met a C.I.D. Inspector who, apparently, had been most vividly impressed by the triumphant success of the Larkana Conference, the intemperateness of the speeches, and the strong emotional effect produced by them on the huge audience. He mentioned in particular one speaker who had seemed to him to be of weak intellect. This man had got up and talked about seizing the gun and the sword. At this the audience burst out into loud cries which ended in round after round of applause, when one of the leaders on the platform embraced the speaker and kissed him, and another presented him with a turban of honour.

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There is no doubt that the Conference was excellently stage-managed and that it has had a very bad effect on political feeling in Upper Sind. A loyal *Zamindar* and Pir admitted to me the day after it was over that the object of "those persons" was to make War on the British Government. "But" he said, "what can they do ? The Sindhi is not a fighting man.".

The Caliphate Deputation.

(*a*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, February 16th.*—The following appeared in *Young India* of the 11th instant:—*Mr. Gandhi's message.*—In the meeting held in Bombay on Saturday, 31st January, Mr. Hayat, Secretary to the Khilafat Deputation, read a telegram from Mr. Gandhi addressed to Mr. Shaukat Ali from Lahore in which it was stated :

"Deputation has sacred mission. It has to appeal not merely to Imperial Government and British opinion but has to win world opinion. Its strength lies in its ability to appeal to reason and justice. It must therefore be moderate in presentation and firm in demand. Odds from a worldly standpoint seem heavily against us but in Prophet's words minority of two when it has God on its side can face overwhelming numbers with confidence and hope. In my opinion Hindu India solidly on your side for your cause is not merely scripturally true but it is morally just and presently England will be on our side when through Deputation Englishmen learn that British honour is at stake in this question for we are asking nothing more than what British Ministers have pledged themselves to give. May God guide Deputation."

(*b*) *Karachi, February 7th.*—The Khilafat Deputation visited the D. J. Sind College, and the Sind Madrassah, and the New Times Office. At the College Muhammad Ali and Maulana Nadvi addressed the students. Muhammad Ali was interviewed by a representative of the *New Times*. The following is an account of the interview taken from the paper in question :—

MR. MAHOMED ALI INTERVIEWED.
MISSION OF KHILAFAT DEPUTATION.
HALF THE MANKIND CANNOT BE IGNORED.
"Criminal Conspiracy" in Sind.
We want the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill.

(By our Special Representative.)

In spite of numerous engagements crowded into half a day, Mr. Mahomed Ali was good enough to call at the office of the New Times and, as previously arranged, gave an interview to the representative of the paper. The representative began by asking Mohamed Ali Sahib what he thought of last night's reception of Karachi citizens at the Khalikdina Hall to the Khilafat Deputation.

"Oh", said he, "it was an enthusiastic reception. It was more than we expected. It was warmer than we deserved."

This enthusiastic recognition of the little that Karachi was able to do at so short a notice put me at my ease, and I asked the great patriot what he and his friends would do in England, America and the Allied Countries.

"Our business", declared the Muslim leader, "is to acquaint the Governments and the public of the Allied and Associated Powers of the nature of

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the religious obligations which bind the Muslims of India as well as Mussalmans of the rest of the world with regard to the question of the Khilafat, the Holy Places of Islam and the entire region known to Arabian geographers as the 'Island of Arabia' including as it does, Syria and Palestine as well as Mesopotamia and other provinces of Arabia, including the Hijaz, Yeman and Nejd".

KING OF HIJAZ UNACCEPTABLE

"But", I interrupted, "the letter to the Premier sent by certain notabilities in Great Britain, British, Hindu and Muslim suggests that while the administration of these sacred cities might be left in the charge of the autonomous Government of Hijaz in order to legitimise the position of its ruler in the eyes of the vast Sunni population of the world, he should receive, as the representative of their spiritual head, his investiture from the Caliph-Sultan."

"I am just coming to that, my friend", said Mr. Mahomed Ali, and he proceeded to say in most unequivocal language : "The preservation of the Khilafat is a responsibility which no believing Moslim can shift on to other shoulders. As regards the Holy Places—they have always been in the wardenship of the Chief of the Faithful, who is the Caliph of the Prophet. Mussalmans can know no tranquility if the Caliph does not maintain his age-old wardenship in the same manner in which it has hitherto been maintained."

PROPHET'S DEATH—BED INJUNCTION.

"Let us now turn to our Mesopotamia," I interjected.

"Well," said Mr. Mahomed Ali, "we, in this country, know very well how desirous is our Government of retaining effective control over Mesopotamia. Thank God, that our non-Muslim fellow countrymen were not taken in by the plea that Mesopotamia could provide rich pasture lands for Indian colonists, and become, so to speak, the Dependency of a Dependency. India does not want to be a mandatory for an outline waste land like that of Mesopotamia, which we were assured, in a most tempting way, would bloom like the rose with the blessings of good Government. Some experience has already been gained about the enormous, cost of irrigating Mesopotamia, and of securing communications in that land of difficult communications. I think there is now less tendency in British financial circles to build up great visions on the future of fertile Mesopotamia, and decry, the Turks and speak of their rule as the greatest blight known to humanity.".

"In other words," I said, "Mussalmans will not have non-Muslim control in any shape or form in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia."

"No", he said, "no more than they will have it in the Hijaz."

60 CRORES OF PEOPLES' UNITED DEMAND.

"I know your counsels are counsels of perfection. But will you be heard in view of the scramble for territory so glaringly manifest amidst the Europen Powers ?"

"But we have a duty imposed upon us and we must discharge it. We are going to explain all this to Europe and America, and after entreating everybody concerned not to ignore our most solemn obligations, we shall be compelled, if necessary, to declare that the consequences of such deliberate neglect of our responsibilities in the matter of our Faith would be most serious. And this time, at least, the question will not be one in

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which 7 crores of Indian Muslims are concerned, but 30 crores of Indians and another 30 crores of Muslims abroad. Speaking purely from a material point of view, I do not think there is any region of God's earth valuable in pastures, in agricultural land, in natural and mineral wealth which any European power could profit by, by obtaining it at the tremendous price of an open declaration of war against half of humanity. We may be weak today, but the whirling of time has many surprises for those puny opportunists who can think only in terms of minutes and hours and who forget that to the lord of all Ages centuries are but fleeting moments."

"Suppose, Sir, Your mission fails ; what then ?"

"Do not be uneasy on that score, pray. The very nature of our mission precludes the possibility of failure. We know the difficulties in the way of proclaiming the truth in civilised Europe in spite of its boast of free speech and free press. But we can get the ear of the nations, our work ends. If they do not heed what we say, that will not be our failure but theirs, and, speaking for myself, at least, I think that my own salvation is assured when I have carried this message to Europe. And part of my message to them is that we have behind us no less than 30 crores of people in this country ; then it would not be our work, but peoples' to see that this declaration is not belied by any faltering on their part."

"CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY" IN SIND

"I think you are aware (if you will excuse my returning to a provincial question agitating us a good deal here) of the anti-Khilafat agitation in Sind engineered by certain individuals looking forward to the next honours list, or official preferement".

"Yes, I have heard something of this futile and criminal conspiracy, but I am still unacquainted with the details. Such a conspiracy is bound to be tried in a Province such as Sind. I think everyone here, with any experience of public life, ought to have been amply prepared for it. If I may say so without offence, it does not reflect very creditably on the public life of the Province. But I do not despair. The time when little men with little minds clothed in brief authority can hope to cow large masses of people is gone for ever. I feel sure that Sind will soon make up the distance between herself and the provinces of the Presidency proper. In one sense, it is a virgin soil ; what the people have got to do is to learn something new, but not to unlearn what they have laboriously learnt before."

SIND'S MISSION

"What would you think could be the contribution of our little Sind to the public life of India ?" I asked eagerly.

"Sind, you know, is a very ancient land with an old-world idealism, and I shall not be surprised if Sind teaches India how to spiritualise politics.".

On reply being given, my thoughts instantly turned to Professor Vaswani, whose message to his Sindhi countrymen, year in and year out, has been this one theme of spiritualising politics by doing *tapasya,* befitting the memory of the glorious one who trod the sacred soil of Sindhudesha.

"You commune with nature and nature's God here," Mr. Mahomed Ali continued, "without an intermediary" ; and he added laughingly, "there are no ante-chambers in which official chamberlains can keep you waiting before you have audience with Allah."

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"Have you any message to your Sindhi Muslim countrymen?" I inquired.

"If I may say so, without offence to my Hindu brethren, as I said last night," he added with emotion, "I have peculiar expectations of Sind, inasmuch as she has been the gateway through which Islam entered the Motherland."

HIS WORK AFTER RETURNING

I wanted to know of the Muslim leader what work he would do in India after his return from Europe and America. A smile played on his lips, and then, in grave tones, he said :—"The future is on the lap of the gods. The world is approaching such a grave crisis that no man can make plans for two days in advance. But one plan I have made and I hope it is unalterable. Whatever may be tide, I shall serve God and my country to the best of my power—I can't say whether it would be by means of journalism or in any other avenue of life."

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

"Does not the Hindu-Muslim unity rejoice your heart as a patriot and a servant of the country?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, most certainly," said Mr. Ali, full of enthusiasm, "and I thank God that unity has at last come to the disunited land, and that, too, long before I had dared to hope."

But in graver tones he conveyed a warning. "Efforts would be made," he said, to be little this unity, to discredit it as mere political claptrap and characterise it even as disloyality to Government and to destroy it by creating suspicion towards one community in the mind of another. But he did not believe that such efforts would succeed. Every opportunity should be taken to strengthen the happy mutual relations now subsisting between the two communities. All efforts at disunion should be unitedly faced, Mutual disagreement should be solved by common action.

"We have reached," he said, "an important stage in the growth of our country, and Europe should not be allowed to dominate our souls so much that in the building of a new structure we may destroy our common humanity. Let us not forget the forest for the trees."

OUR IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM

Being shown an extract from the *Daily Telegraph* of London which commented on the address presented by the Khilafat Deputation to the Viceroy, in the composition of which Mr. Mohamed Ali had his share, he said : "I will only say this much : that it will be better for all concerned if no illusions are entertained in Europe and Great Britain as regards the claims which India, both Hindu and Muslim, is determined to press on the Allies. Whether they listen to it or not is their concern. But we have made up our mind that we shall take no less than the irreducible minimum laid down by Islam. Mahatma Gandhi with the assistance of Muslim Divines and members of the Deputation to the Viceroy has drawn up a manifesto of Muslim claims which contains the irreducible minimum. Those who do not know Mahatma Gandhi will do well to know now that he at least, is not a diplomat of the old order of things who would extend his claims to the full size of a big balloon, and when the bubble is pricked and all the gas gone out of it, be content with the collapse of the balloon.

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Even those of us who believe in long-drawnout negotiations have come to believe that for Satyagrahis there can be no negotiation and no compromise.

"We want the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

Here you have a man who says what he means, and means what he says. May success attend his efforts in the prayer of a United Nation !

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM.

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Bombay, February 23rd.*—(I) On February 13th a meeting of Bombay Maulvis at Chhotani House decided to start a local organisation on the lines of the Jamal-ul-Ulema Societies of the Punjab, United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa. Office bearers were elected, and further arrangements proposed for future discussion.

The following are said to have been selected as the second batch of the Khilafat Deputation to Europe :—

(1) Honourable Abdul Kassim of Burdwan,
(2) Honourable A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq of Calcutta,
(3) Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of Amritsar, and
(4) Maulana Sharar, Editor, "Qaumi Report" Madras.

Nothing further has yet been settled.

(II) Siraj-ud-din, Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Narang, near Lahore, in forwarding a list of the subscribers to Chhotani, complains of the apathy of the Mussalmans of Narang, and adds that it was with great difficulty that the Committee could collect Rs. 84.

(III) Hakim Rashad Ahmad Khan of Delhi, who now resides in Chhach Moholla, Post No. 3, Bombay, writing to Chhotani, complains that while the Ali Brothers were given such a hearty reception, no public notice was taken of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on his recent visit to Bombay, though his sacrifices in the cause of Islam have not been less than those of the Ali Brothers. He adds that though the Maulana had informed the Khilafat Committee by wire of the date on which he was to arrive in Bombay, that Committee did not even publish the news. This omission he stigmatises as gross neglect of duty.

(IV) Mohammad Aziz-al-Zaman, Editor of *Islam* and Joint Secretary, *Anjuman-i-Olama*, 29, Upper Circular Road Calcutta, writing to Chhotani, says :—

"After the decision of the Khilafat Conference, Delhi, to boycott foreign goods, those interested in the Khilafat question decided to start an All-India Swadeshi Khilafat Stores with a good capital. The word *Khilafat* will keep fresh in the memories the remembrance of the Khilafat subject. The capital is to be rupees five lacs divided into 1,00,000 shares of Rs. 5 each, so that even the poor could take benefit of it.

The following will be requested to become Directors :—

(1) M. K. Gandhi.
(2) Hakim Ajmal Khan, Delhi.
(3) Seth Abdoola Haroon, Karachi.
(4) Maulana Abdul Bari, Lucknow.

The writer requests Chhotani to become one of the Directors also.

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(*b*) *Kaira, February 22nd.*—The District Magistrate writes "Subscriptions are being solicited for the fund started by Shaukat Ali, when he visited Nadiad the other day. This has met with some response in Nadiad the other day. A Mahomedan of Kaira Town, who was present at the Nadiad meeting, promised that Rs. 500 could be secured from Kaira Town; but, on an attempt being made, R. S. Nagardas of Kaira and the President of the Kaira Municipality refused to have anything to do with the matter, and so the attempt was abandoned. The fund is, I believe, for sending a deputation to England on the Khilafat question."

(*c*) *Poona, February 2nd.*—A copy of a Urdu handbill, printed in Delhi, has been posted on the gate of the Juma Masjid. It appeals for funds for presentation to the Ali Brothers. Subscriptions are to be sent to Tajuddin, Editor of the *Taj*, and to Sub-Editor Shankarlal, Secretary of the Home Rule League at Delhi.

Ibid, February 11th.—The Sub-Inspector, Junnar, reports that on the 30th January a meeting was held in Pirjade's Wada in Junnar under the presidentship of G. V. Joglekar, Pleader, to collect funds for recouping the losses suffered by the Ali Brothers when in Jail. Both Hindus and Muhammadans were present.

(*d*) *Ratnagiri, February 16th.*—Gopal Balaji Chitale has collected Rs. 30 for the Ali Brothers' Purse Fund. Further subscriptions are being raised.

(*e*) *Panch Mahals, January 21st.*—The speech of Moulvi Muhammad Ismail Dargabi appears to be anti-British in tone and contains two objectionable passages. In one of the passages it is stated that Muhammadans and Hindus are ready to shed their blood for the Caliphate and in the other Muhammadans are exhorted to keep their guns ready.

The District Magistrate has, I believe, had this Moulvi up and questioned him on the subject of his speech, but the Moulvi has denied using the phrases attributed to him by the police. On his own admission Muhammad Ismail Dargabi was an associate of one Moulana Abdul Khalam who was deported from Calcutta at four days' notice.

Moulvi Muhammad Ismail left Calcutta at the same time and came to Godhra, his native place.

He has taken no part in any agitation here until recently.

(*f*) *Kaira, February 8th.*—During the week it became known that the Ali Brothers would arrive in Bombay and that one of them would proceed to Sind *via* Ahmedabad. Khushalbhai Shankarbhai Patel of Uttersanda was therefore, sent to Bombay to invite him to Nadiad. Shaukat Ali eventually visited Nadiad from Ahmedabad by the midday train on the 4th February, accompanied by Moulana Abdul Bari, V. J. Patel and Dabholkar and was met at the Railway Station by G. T. Talati, Fulchand Bapuji Shah and others. His carriage was, for a time, drawn by volunteers and the party proceeded to the General Library. Here, in praising the people's activities, Shaukat Ali promised to continue his own in Syria and Mesopotamia, but said that funds must be collected for this work, some money was actually collected on the spot. There were about 4,000 persons present at the meeting.

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The party returned to Ahmedabad by the evening train.

Ibid, February 14th.—A lecture on the Khilafat was given at Nadiad on the 11th instant. About 300 persons, both Muhammadans and Hindus, attended. The meeting was presided over by Gafur Rahim Chaklasia, Madhavlal Nathubhai described the Khilafat question as a quasi-religious and political one, to be decided in England and announced that a meeting would be held on the 15th instant to decide what action should be taken if the petition of the deputation should fail. If the question was not settled favourably then they as subjects would severe their relations with Government and the people would have to act with courage. Arms would not be taken up, but Government schools would be boycotted and merchants would cease business with foreigners. Gandhi, Ismail Aliji and the Ahmedabad millhands had subscribed well to the Khilafat Fund and it was hoped that the Nadiad hands would follow suit. Fulchand Bapuji Shah and the President also spoke and asked for liberal subscriptions.

(*g*) *Upper Sind Frontier, February 12th.*—Maulvi Abdul Gafur. Municipal Councillor of Jacobabad, has been distributing leaflets calling people to the Larkana Khilafat Conference, and my Head-Quarters Sub-Inspector, an old Military Subhedar, received an invitation addressed by name posted from Larkana.

(*h*) *Nawabshah, February 16th.*—From the reports received so far from different police stations in the district, it appears that about Rs. 200 have been subscribed by the Mussalmans of Moro Taluka towards the Caliphate Fund. Moulvi Muhammad Siddik Abdul Rauf, a local native physician at Moro, made these collections.

The sittings of the Caliphate Conference at Hyderabad, Sind, and lately at Larkana are bound to arouse certain amount of interest in the Muhammadan population of this district, and the situation is being carefully watched.

(*i*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, February 13th.*—I am told on good authority that there are rumours that the Pir of Kingri is thinking of taking an active part in the Khilafat agitation. That strenous efforts to enlist his support have been made is probable enough.

It a also rumoured that the Vasir of Khairpur endeavoured to secure a visit from Shaukat Ali and his party.

(j) *Sukkur, February 15th.*—Maulana Abdul Bari, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad accompanied by Sheikh Abdul Aziz, editor of *Alhaq*, arrived at Sukkur from Larkana at 10-30 a.m. on the 10th instant. They were received by the District Congress Committee and a procession was formed and passed through the town. Verumal Begraj, Editor of the *Sindhi*, and Mulchand Pessumal sat in the same carriage with Shaukat Ali. A few shops were decorated and garlanding took place at the Edward Press belonging to Virumal. They then left the procession and sent to the Madrasah Reading Room and Anjuman Akbali-i-watan library. In the afternoon a visit was paid to Sadhbela, the sacred Hindu Island, Sukkur Bridge, old Sukkur, and Shah Khair-ud-din's shrine. They also saw the Honourable K. B. Pir Baksh.

At about 4 p.m. a meeting was held near Mausamshah's minaret. About 2,500 Hindus and Muhammadans attended, but there was much noise and confusion.

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Mulchand Pessumal, pleader (the "Mr.—facing-both-ways" of Sukkur), presided. Maulana Abdul Bari spoke about Hindu-Muhammadan unity and thanked the Hindus for their help.

Shaukat Ali spoke about Hindu-Muhammadan unity and the awakening of Sind and said it did not matter if for a big thing like religion four or five thousand people are sacrificed or a hundred or so go to jail. He said his younger brothers Mahomed Ali had gone to London about the Khilafat. He thanked the Hindus for their help and said that rules and regulations had been made by the Prophet for the protection of the Holy places and these could not be altered. If their grievances about this were not heard, they would be obliged to do as their religion taught them. They wanted money for a deputation to Syria, Mesopotamia and other Holy places. Five lakhs were to be raised in Sind.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad spoke of Hindu-Muhammadan unity and referred to a third power which is strong and the enemy would try to break the union. It was a critical time for Moslems and he requested help with money and lives for the protection of the Khilafat as it is the foundation of Islam.

Verumal Begraj thanked the speakers and said Hindu-Muhammadan unity over the Khilafat was eternal.

Shaukat Ali and party left by mail for Karachi the same day.

(*k*) *Karachi, February 12th.*—Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad arrived from Hyderabad by the Punjab mail yesterday morning. They were met by a crowd of Hindus and Moslems with cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* and were garlanded. The attendance at the station was not as large as when Mrs. Besant and Gandhi visited Karachi. On the appearance of the party at the exit of the Railway station the brass band engaged for the occasion prayed "God Save the King" as in the case of a representative of His Majesty. The party then took their seats in a motor car which was pushed along the route through the city. They were garlanded at several places enroute, and presented with purses of money for the Khilafat fund. Durgadas B. Advani and R. K. Shidva garlanded them at the Home Rule League Office, where Shaukat Ali delivered a brief speech exhorting Moslems to join the league.

In the Ranchore Lines the Moslem Marwari Quarter—Assa Jalal, contractor, received them in the Marwari Panchayat Hall, where Shaukat Ali explained the necessity of all, rich and poor, subscribing to the Khilafat Fund as others are proceeding to Europe to save Islam which is in danger. The procession by this time was very large, and here the people dispersed, Shaukat Ali and the Maulanas proceeding to the house near the Government Garden where they were to stay.

Although Shaukat Ali is well-known in Karachi still there are persons who apparently have never heard of him. For instance, some people seeing him in the car yesterday enquired if he were a famous wrestler. During the day the party visited the D. J. College and the Hostel.

The Honourable Mr. Burugri arrived by the Quetta mail last evening. A largely attended public meeting was held at 8 p.m. and the three "Heroes of India", as they are described in the leaflet, addressed the assembly.

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(*l*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, February 13th.*—Shaukat Ali's party consisting of himself, Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad left Karachi for Bombay yesterday after a tour including Hyderabad, Larkana, Sukkur and Karachi. Attendance at the Larkana Conference and the collection of funds appear to have been the main objects of their visit. They were everywhere received with great enthusiasm and were evidently both pleased and surprised to find agitation so far developed in Sind.

At Hyderabad on the 6th they were welcomed at the station and taken along decorated route.

They reached Larkana on the 7th and left on the morning of the 10th. The proceedings of the Conference were notable for the large attendance and the violence of the speeches. There were frequent references to Jehad, the sacrifice of lives, the enemies of Islam and the necessity to "be ready". One excited Maulvi openly advocated immediate Jehad and the expulsion of the Kafirs with sticks, stones, shoes or anything that might come to hand. Shaukat Ali was insistent in appealing for funds, which probably detracted somewhat from his popularity. It is likely that the Extremist party realises that if it is going to support labour against capital it will forefeit the latter's financial help and find itself in a bad way for funds.

Abdul Bari made several highly objectionable speeches under cover of an apparent concern for Islam. Most of the speeches were full of wild mis-statement regarding Islam and the machinations of the Allies against it, and a good deal of the excitement that prevailed among the ignorant listeners was probably perfectly genuine religious excitement. The speakers played on their religious feelings to arouse the enthusiasm which they hope to turn to account for political ends.

The anti-Khilafat propaganda was made the object of many scathing denunciations and an extravagant resolution was passed to send a large Deputation to the His Excellency the Governor to press for K. B. Nabibax's punishment.

A resolution regarding the boycotting of the Indian Army was significant.

It was decided to hold the next Khilafat Conference at Jacobabad. This will probably be in April.

At Sukkur there was less enthusiasm than elsewhere. Shaukat Ali found time to visit Sadhbela and the Bridge.

A meeting at Karachi on Wednesday evening was attended by about 10,000. The speeches were not so violent as at Larkana.

The Caliphate Deputation.

Karachi, February 4th.—The *S. S. Hungaria* en-route to Europe with the Caliphate Deputation on board called at Karachi on the 3rd February 1920. Muhammad Ali, Syed Hussain, Syed Suleman, H. M. Hayat and Hassan Muhammad were brought into Karachi by Haji Abdullah Haroon and other Caliphate agitators of Karachi. The Khalikdina Hall was engaged by Dr. Ahmed and a public meeting held at 7 p.m. About 1,500 persons, Hindus and Moslems, attended. The Hall was so crowded and so much noise made by the audience that the speeches were audible only to those near the dais. Haji Abdullah Haroon presided.

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Muhammad Ali said that three men were going to England as a Caliphate Deputation. He expressed his delight in having the opportunity of coming to Karachi, the centre of Sind, which country had the honour of having been first visited by the Arabs about 1,200 years ago when Abul Kasim arrived there and found it similar to his own in so many respects—in its sands, date, palms camels and hot winds. "Our doctrine is that the country which belongs to our God is ours. We are not here for selfish objects." He felt great pleasure that in that crowd one could not distinguish the faces of Hindus and Muhammadans. They were all one.

The Deputation was proceeding to England to place before Statesmen the fact that the Caliphate question was not restricted to Muhammadans alone, but that it was of the same importance to Hindus and was, therefore, a national problem. Mahatma Gandhi, after great thought, had declared at Delhi that the Hindus shared with the Muhammadans the same concern about this question.

"The Hindu doctrine of *Ahimsa* (non-killing of living creatures) have also been discussed by us and we have explained before the Mahatma that with our hand we can take up a pen as well as a sword at the right time. We were Satyagrahis prior to Mr. Gandhi's time because righteousness is our doctrine; those who do not practise righteousness are not Satyagrahis. The powers which we possess are from God and they should be used in his way. Obedience to God and His Prophet is prior to all else. It is generally said about us that we are a very stubborn and noisy people, full of excitement, sedition and disturbance; but it is not so. On the birth of Adam, even the same objection was raised by the Angels, who put forth the argument to God that He was about to create man who would disturb the land and shed blood. It is not a new objection. (The speaker here quoted from the *Koran*.—'When thy Lord said unto the Angels I am going to place a substitute on earth, they said wilt thou place then one who will do evil therein and shed blood?' and the reply he said, of God was 'Verily I know that which ye know not'). No attention should be paid to such objections and we should continue our work. Success is in the hands of God. We should trust in God and remember that in the battle of Badra very small number of Moslems achieved victory over thousands of non-believers. We must have full faith in Him and He will help us. God has given powers to man in order that he should use it in His way. Therefore, it is no wrong if they are used earlier or later in His ways. Every human being is a Caliph of God, in the same sense as is King George V, by the grace of God, the Defender of Faith, Every individual is the defender of his own faith. The link of the Caliphate is traceable for 1,300 years back and it is the will of the Prophet that the Arabian Peninsula should be free from non-believer. This Caliphate was transferred to Turkey 400 years ago. The Sultan of Turkey may dispose of his acquired lands, but he may not dispose of this Peninsula, because this land he has acquired under the will of the Prophet. A Mussalman is required to do his utmost in the path of God." The speaker illustrated this by reminding the audience of the story of Hazrat Ali, who attacked a Jew to punish him for abusing God and His Prophet, but when the Jew spat on Hazrat Ali's face he left him. "Therefore, all our powers and endeavours must be in the path of God and for no selfish ends. The question of Caliphate has kindled a fire in the hearts

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of Muslims and the waters of all the oceans cannot extinguish it and there can be no end to it." (Cheers). Hearing these cheers, the speaker remarked that they had little effect until they are followed by united action and determination. "Our past actions have been of a type which deserve punishment and the punishment we suffered was inadequate and light. We were liable to harder punishments than what we suffered in internments and imprisoments. We forsook the path of truth and were led away by promises." He next spoke of the unity of Hindus and Muhammadans. He said that if the Hindus have any doubt about the Caliphate question, they are at liberty to leave the Muslims. The path of Union and Love is not an easy one. If the Hindus and other brethren realise that Moslems are in the right, they should come forward with the full knowledge of love. Here he quoted verses from *Sauda,* an Urdu poet. After this he appealed for funds for the deputation.

Sayyid Hussan, Editor, *independent,* said that he had little to add after the speech from Muhammad Ali. Still he would say two things. First, the pleasure he felt at landing at Karachi and, second, his personal experience of Hindu-Muslim unity in India. He could speak from his personal experience and knowledge of Allahabad city, where in 1917 there occurred a great riot on the *Ramlila* and *Muharram* festivals; last year these two festivals again fell on the same date and they passed off without incident. The Hindus enjoyed cordially the festival of their Muhammadan brethren and the Muhammadans shared in the Hindu Lila. Both parties entertained each other with *sherbat* and wrote to the District Magistrate beforehand that they would make their own arrangements and would not require the police. It is a great pleasure that this unity has reached this admirable stage. From his knowledge of history, by this union and oneness, India would attain the proper position which it deserves among the nations of the world. He pointed out that in the absence of this unity between Muhammadans and Hindus of India, there would be no hope for national aspirations, and a foreign yoke would continue. From the facts which had been placed before the audience and which were heard from every corner of India, there was every hope that India was advancing to the proper goal.

Sayyid Suleman said that he was only a theologian and a scholar of Oriental languages and the object of his proceeding with the Caliphate Deputation was to put before the statesmen of Europe that the question of the Caliphate was not a political but a religious problem. He said he was going to a place to which a man proceeding 50 years ago would have been considered a Kafir and faithless. His going was not any desire of his but necessity. He stated that he left his students, sacred mosques, the sacred study rooms and *Hujrahs* with pain. This is not for the loss of a brother, a son or a wife, but it is the pain of faith and the funeral of Islam.

Haji Abdullah Haroon and H. S. Lula also spoke.

The following amounts were collected at the meeting.—Haji Abdullah Haroon, Rs. 1,000; Lokumal Chellaram, Rs. 100; Naraindas Anandji Bechar, Rs. 150; Professor Vasvani, Rs. 150; the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai, Rs. 200. and H. S. Lula Rs. 50.

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On the 4th January there was a large gathering of Moslems, Hindus and Parsis at the Docks to see the Deputation off. Sayyid Hassan said a few words on Moslem-Hindu unity and Maulana Syed Suleman Nadvi against the killing of cows, owing to the offence it gives the Hindus. He announced that, after six or seven months, good news would be communicated to the people of India. Muhammad Ali declared that by unity the Deputation would attain its object. It was not disloyal or against Government, but was doing its duty. The members were garlanded and the steamer left at 8 p.m. It would be interesting to know what impression the foreign officers of the ship took away with them.

The Deputation had their meals with R. G. Mani, Bar-at-Law, with whom the Ali Brothers are on friendly terms owing to Mani's younger brother, B. G. Mani, now in Japan as Agent of Chapsi Umersi of Karachi, having been on the staff of the Comrade.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

The Caliphate and the Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Belgaum, February 18th.*—Notices under the signatures of Tajunddin, Editor, *Taj,* Jubbalpore, Professor Inder, Editor, *Wajeh,* Lala Shankar Lal, Secretary of the Home Rule League, and Kari Abbas Hussain, Editor, Qoum Secretaries, All-India National Gift to Ali Brothers, Delhi, asking for contributions towards the Gift Fund, have been received in Belgaum.

(*b*) *Hyderabad, February 19th.*—Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Shaukat Ali arrived in Hyderabad on the 6th February from Bombay en-route to the Khilafat Conference at Larkana. They were met at the station by a crowd of about a thousand people. After they had been garlanded and greeted, the Muhammadans proceeded to the garden near the Railway Station, where about an hour was spent in Juma Nimaz. After the Nimaz a procession was formed. Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari and Abdul Kayum (Secretary to Shaukat Ali) rode in the first carriage which was "driven by Mahomed Shafi, brother of Abdul Jabhar, Pleader and drawn by Mahomedan volunteers Abdul Kalam and Bhurgri, Abdul Jabhar and Hassamal, Pleader, rode in the second carriage, and a number of private hackney conveyances followed. The route through the main bazaar was profusely decorated and the street was packed with male spectators, while women and children crowded the roofs. The portion of the bazaar between the Fort and Fakir-jo-pir was covered with an awning of gold brocade, provided by Sind Workis. The midday meal was eaten at the *Kothi* of Bhai Hariram Hotchand. From there the procession went to Bawa Ramdas' temple, where *kana parshad* was distributed. Throughout the route, the three visitors were garlanded and besprinkled with rose-water, and were given presents of sweets and flowers. Finally, the procession reached Bhurgri's bungalow at about 4-30 p.m., having taken nearly three hours to cover less than two miles.

At 7 p.m. a crowd of Hindus and Muhammadans, about 5,000 in number, met at the Holmstead Hall, when an address of welcome was presented to

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the three visitors. On arrival they were garlanded by Wadhumal Belaram, Pleader, Abdul Jabhar and others. Bhurgri, was voted to the chair, and proceedings were commenced with recitations from the *Koran* and the *Gita.*

The Chairman called on Dr. Choitram for the first speech. Speaking in Urdu he said that Hyderabad was looked upon as a troublesome people. The meeting therefore exemplified the old adage that birds of a feather flock together. The Hindus were indebted to Maulana Abdul Bari for his endeavours to stop cow-killing in deference to their wishes. Shaukat Ali had also urged Muhammadans to abstain from this practice. He had used his best endeavours since his release to cement Hindus and Muhammadan Unity. Shaukat Ali had come out of jail after five years of internment strengthened in his resolve to serve his motherland. As one who had preached, in season and out of season, the gospel that nothing should deter them from working for their country, he, the speaker, bowed before Shaukat Ali.

Jethmal Parsaram said that this was an auspicious day for Hyderabad, when the three great leaders of Hindustan had honoured it with their presence. Abdul Bari was a great religious leader. His name was Bari, and he was bearing the great load of the Khilafat question. They prayed that he would succeed in the object he had in view. Shaukat Ali was the Beloved of All. He was a lion whom the jackals and monkeys greatly feared. He was therefore cast into jail, but had emerged all the stronger for his five years of tribulation. Their third guest, Abul Kalam Azad, was, as his name indicated, the personification of free speech and liberty.

The Khilafat question was one that affected seven crores of Muslims. But it was not a question for Muslims alone. It was a question of East and West. The West was determined to extirpate the peoples of the East, and therefore, it behaved the peoples of the East to unite and fight the Khilafat question which was the first sign of the aims of the West. Sind had produced the great Akbar, and it would not fail now to produce those who were ready, without heeding the consequences, to stand by the cause so dear to their Muhammadan brethren. He prayed that the unity of the Hindus and Muhammadans would become so firm that nothing would ever divide them.

The address was then read.

Abdul Bari, in reply, said that in the past he had avoided politics. But the Khilafat question was so closely connected with politics that despite himself he had been drawn into the whirlpool. He was much impressed by the unity of Hindus and Muhammadans in Hyderabad, and he was grateful of the Hindus for the fevour with which they had espoused the cause of the Muhammadans. It was the duty of the Muhammadans to do their utmost in return to avoid offending the Hindus. He was very grateful for the reception that had been accorded to him and he prayed for still more and firmer unity between Hindus and Muhammadans.

Shaukat Ali, who received an ovation on rising, expressed his thanks for the splendid reception he and his comrades had received. When in jail he had read in the papers that Hyderabad was always in the forefront of any political movement. He had often wondered what the people of

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Hyderabad were like, and was delighted to have this opportunity of seeing for himself. Hindus and Muhammadans were brothers and should help each other when need arose. He was thankful for the aid the Hindus were giving them. Cursed would be any Muhammadan who would not help the Hindus when his help was needed. When he was interned, he had met Gandhi in the presence of his mother, and she had exhorted him to follow Gandhi's example and work for his country. In jest he had told her that Gandhi was a mere handful of bones. His mother had replied that the elephant was huge but was *haram* while the goat was small but *halal*. All those who refused to work for the Khilafat were unfaithful, as this was a religious question. They could sacrifice their bodies, property, power, everything if they wished, but not their religion.

Abul Kalam Azad said he did not thank them for the reception they had given him nor for their garlands. He thanked them for the love between Hindus and Muhammadans which he had found so flourishing in Hyderabad. At present the Muhammadans were asking help from the Hindus. When the Hindus required help, they would not find the Muhammadans backward.

The three visitors left on the 7th February to attend the Khilafat Conference at Larkana.

(*c*) *Larkana, February 11th.*—The Second Special Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference was fixed for the 6th, 7th and 8th February. Pir Rashidullah Shah Jhandewala of Hala Taluka, President of the Conference, arrived on the 5th February by the 2-30 p.m. train from Tullah with his brother Imamdin Shah and his two sons Muhammad Imam Shah and Ihsan Shah and about 100 followers. About 800 men received him at the station and formed a procession. Pir Jhandewalla was garlanded by Sheikh Nur Muhammad, Pir Alianwarshah and Jan Muhammad Junejo. He was taken round in procession, in a carriage drawn by men, through the principal streets of the town to Nawab Ghibikhan's Bungalow where he was accommodated. Khalifa Muhammad Hashim carried a banner of the Pir on horseback. A Sindhi song calling Turkey the Life and Soul of the Mussalmans was sung and cries of *Allah-o-Akbar* were raised. The Conference had been arranged to begin on the 6th February, but as Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad could not come on that day, it was postponed to the 7th February. An open-air gathering for the Juma prayers was held and after the prayers Waiz as delivered by a number of Moulvis.

Hafiz Khan Muhammad of the Khada, Karachi, read a few verses from the *Qoran* to the effect that when Islam is attacked, it is necessary to resort to Jehad.

Moulvi Muhammad Ibrahim of Lahore said that India was in a sad plight as foreigners were ruling over her. He further said that whenever any question arose, disagreement was created in the community and in the question of the Caliphate the Sheriff of Mecca had been put forward as the Caliph.

Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot said that the commandments of the *Qoran* should be faithfully obeyed and that whoever opposed the dictates of the *Qoran* should be opposed.

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Moulvi Faiz Muhammad of Dokri said that the signs of the times were very bad and it would not be very long before they would be called upon to renounce their religion. They should leave all wordly riches and be prepared for Jehad. The people of India helped Government with their wealth and lives (during the war) and the return for all their sacrifices was that their religion was in danger. If the Government showed faithlessness to their Holy places, they in turn should prove faithless to the Government. He then called the attention of the audience to the unity of the Hindus and Mussalmans on the question of the Caliphate.

On the 7th February Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad and Bhurgri arrived at Larkana and were taken in procession to Jan Muhammad Junejo's house amidst shouts of "*Allah-o-Akbar,* Muhammad Ali Shaukat Ali-ki-Jai, Hindu-Mussalman-ki-jai, Tilak Maharaj-ki-jai, Gandhi Maharaj ki-jai". A very large crowd was present at the station and great enthusiasm prevailed. The carriage in which Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad were seated was driven by Caliphate Volunteers and others. Most of the local Hindu Pleaders, including Shewaram Tarachand, "Captain" of the Volunteers, were present at the station and also took part in the procession. H. D. Mariwala, the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, Seth Abdulla Haroon and Ghulam Ali, Pleader, were seated in the second carriage. The proceedings commenced at about 5-30 p.m. with a recital from the *Qoran.* Tahilram Mulchand, Editor of the *Larkana Gazette,* read out a song of welcome, and Pir Alianwarshah sang Dr. Iqbal's "Qaumi Tarna". The written address of Pir Turabalishah was then read out.

The Chairman discussed the Islamic Brotherhood and said that it was shame for Mussalmans not to give their lives and money in order to save other Mussalmans from death and destruction. He accused Europe of crooked tactics and breach of faith and told the audience that the pledges given by the Prime Minister of England were being violated. He said that the powers which were enemies of the Ottoman Caliphate were the enemies of Islam. He asserted that Europe was making every effort to destroy Turkish Sovereignty and the Caliphate of the Mussalmans and to put an end to the independence of the Holy Places, because the Muhammadans are weak. He said that he was aware that Europe and America relied on their airships, submarines, guns and bombs, but that Europe should remember that the Mussalmans would be compelled to give their lives in order to save the honour of the Caliphate and the dignity of the Holy places and the hostile world would then come to know that Islam was alive and would live. He deprecated the deputations, telegrams, petitions and memorials and recommended "practical remedies." He talked vaguely in this respect, but he was evidently referring to Jehad.

Towards the conclusion of this address he levelled invectives against Khan Bahadur Nabibaksh, Abdul Kadir and those *Zamindars* of Larkana who had supported Moulvi Faizul Karim's pamphlet.

The written address of Pir Jhandawalla, the President of the Conference, was next read out. He referred to the sacrifices rendered by the Mussalmans of India during the great war and remarked that as a reward for these sacrifices, preparations were being made for the annihilation of the Mussalmans. He referred to the Martial Law in the Punjab and said that the leaders had been incarcerated, small boys had been whipped and people

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were prevented from carrying umbrellas in the hot weather. He regretted that no attention had been paid to the prayer and petitions of Mussalmans and said that there were only two remedies to ward off the impending calamity, viz., emigration and Jehad. He said that it was not the time for emigration of Jani Jehad (Jehad of lives) but that " Mali " Jhead (Jehad of property) ought to be restored to. He said that all the routes were closed and that Mussalmans could not go to a place where they could do whatever they liked to do and prepare themselves for revenge. He said that the struggle was one between Kaffir and Islam. He recommended the boycotting of European goods and said that people had abandoned their religion by imitating European dress, manners and customs. He remarked that it was a habit of this Government to pay no attention to the prayers of their subjects.

Santdas, pleader of Hyderabad, Gobindbaksh Israni, Bar-at-law of Larkana, Amin-ud-din, Bench Magistrate of Hyderabad, and Haji Abdulla Haroon also spoke at the Conference. Santdas said that Hindus and Muhammadans were like two eyes, two ears and two arms, and urged them to unite. He promised all help in the matter of the Caliphate and told the audience that he had heard from Bhurgri that the Secretary of State was trying his best to have the Caliphate question settled in accordance with the wishes of the Mussalmans. At the end of his speech he called out *Allah-o-Akbar* thrice and thereupon Pir Turabalishah garlanded him.

Gobindbaksh said that the Mohurrum reminded people of Yazid, every year and that rivers of blood had been shed in order to destroy that Yazid. The present was the time when true and false Muhammadans were to be tested. He called the Mussalmans the Army of the Prophet and urged them to prove themselves true Muhammadans. Amin-ud-din, Bench Magistrate, Hyderabad, announced two scholarships in honour of Santdas and Gobindbaksh, one for a Hindu and one for a Mussalman.

Seth Abdulla Haroon said that Mussalmans had to do their duty and that those who feared should stay away. He said that the Mussalmans had told His Excellency the Viceroy what they had to say and that they would stick to it.

Seth Abdulla Haroon said that Mussalmans had to do their duty and that he was not well enough to make a long speech. He paid a compliment to the Mussalmans of Sind for the zeal and enthusiasm they had displayed. He told his audience that what could be done in India had been done and that a Deputation had waited on the Ruler of India. He further said that a Deputation of true Mussalmans had left for England and hoped that the question of the Caliphate would be settled in accordance with wishes of the Mussalmans. He further said that if, which God forbid the question was decided against the wishes of the Mussalmans, he could not say what the Mussalmans would do ; they would do what God wished them to do. He made an appeal for funds and said that the matter for which money was being demanded was a question of life and death for Islam.

Moulvi Abdul Bari said that the Mussalmans sided with Government and got nothing. When they differed from Government, other nations sided with them, contrary to expectations. It is good to differ. The Viceroy would not feel the same sympathy for the Mussalmans as the Maharaja of

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Bikaner would. The Government had no greater helpers than the Mussalmans. If the Government are lucky, the matter would be decided in accordance with the wishes of the Mussalmans. Otherwise the order of God could not be cancelled. He further said :

"This world is a prison. It does not matter whether you are in one cell or the other. We should not be afraid of imprisonment. Zain-ul-Abdin had accepted imprisonment. People who got jail get into a better condition. They reach nearer God. I wish that I may be interned so that I may enjoy seclusion for some days (Pointing to Shaukat Ali). He is there. He was getting Rs. 500 a month and was free from worries. I saw him two or three times and always found him happy. When he was released he became the King of India. I know that Brother Shaukat Ali never remembered his mother or daughters. As soon as these Brothers were released one left for England and the other has remained here for the service of India. A Mussalman is not afraid of death. If you want to be a friend of God, ask for death. None but God has control over our souls. If you want to accomplish something do not be afraid of imprisonment, internment or death. You value a trip to Europe which is not less than the fire of hell. If these people were to become Mussalmans we would elect them as our Caliph, but we cannot do that on account of the bar of "*Kaffir*", because these people deceive God as well as the world.

On the 8th February the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) That a telegram be sent to the Sultan of Turkey saying that we regret the delay and laziness which we have displayed up to this day and that we now promise with the sincerity of our hearts that we shall be steadfast in our homage to him.

Moved by Moulvi Daj Muhammad of Amrot and seconded by Makdoom Basruddin of Shewan, Hakim Fathe Mahommad of Shewan (now living in Karachi) and Pir Imamdin Shah of Thullah.

(2) That an appeal be submitted to his Majesty the King praying that the question of the Ottoman Caliphate be settled at the Peace Conference in accordance with the commandments of God and His Prophet in the interests the Empire.

Moved by Sri Krishin Lula, Pleader, Karachi, and seconded by Abdulgafar Pirzada, Bat-at Law, Moulvi Shamsuddin, Moulvi Abdul Khalik, Haji Abdulla Haroon and Pir Muhammadali Jan Sarhandi.

(3) That God Almighty has ordained that whosoever will help the cause of religion with life or property, shall enter into paradise ; that this is the time of Jehad of property ; that funds are needed for the Caliphate bait-ul-mal and that the Mussalmans of Sind should help this noble cause by paying subscriptions.

Moved by Pir Abdullajan and seconded by Jan Muhammad Junejo, Seth Abdullah Haroon, Sheikh Abdulmajid, Shaukat Ali, Moulvi Abdul Bari, Moulvi Muhammad Ibrahim, Holaram, Pleader, Abdulsatarjan Sarhandi and Moulvi Muhammad Suleman.

(4) That the deputations resolved on in the Caliphate Conference at Amritsar should be sent to other countries without any further delay.

Moved by Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law, and accepted by the audience.

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(5) That a deputation should wait on His Excellency the Governor of Bombay on any date between the 15th and 25th February to be fixed by His Excellency and urge on His Excellency the desirability of taking action against Khan Bahadur Nabibaksh and Abdulkadir for the persecutions engineered by them.

Moved by Jan Muhammad Junejo and accepted by the audience.

In the course of his speech Hakim Fateh Muhammad remarked as follows :

"Assistance was obtained from us by deceit. If we had known that our Holy Places would be taken away from us, we would never have given any assistance. Mussalmans should be careful for the future as other tricks are likely to be played. We are ready to render every assistance even now, not to deceitful people but to our dear Islam. We should be prepared for active resistance and should give no assistance to the religious enemy of the Sultan."

Moulvi Shamasudin said that the Mussalmans should be true to the British Government if the Ottoman Caliphate would be maintained, otherwise they would turn against the Government.

Haji Abdulla Haroon said that the Mussalmans had a right to expel Mushrikin from their Holy places by persuasion, and, if need be, by force. Those flatterers who misled Government by false representations were in fact the enemies of Government. The true friends of Government were like Shaukat Ali and Gandhi who told Government whole truth and informed Government of the real state of affairs. A decision of the Caliphate question opposed to the orders of God and his Prophet, was bound to be unacceptable to the forty crores of Mussalmans and thirty crores of Hindus and thus prove injurious to the interests of the British Government.

Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro said that Europe would never keep promises and that no reliance should be placed on its promises. Mr. Gladstone had said that if Mussalmans were to be ruled the *Qoran* should be burnt Turks were being expelled from Constantinople where the sword and turban of the Prophet were kept.

Moulvi Haji Ahmed, who is very old and crazy-looking, stood up though the President and most of the audience told him not to speak. He threw down his pagri and began to weep. He said that Jehad was incumbent on the Mussalmans who should collect swords, stones and lathis and be prepared for the Jehad.

Jan Muhammad Junejo advised the audience to perform *Mali* Jehad by paying subscriptions.

On the 9th February the following resolutions were passed :—

(6) That Government should be asked to appoint an enquiry committee and punish the officials who had used their official position in order to trouble Ulemas and others and thus vindicate their prestige which was being compromised.

Moved by Gobindbaksh Israni, Bar-at-Law, and seconded by Abdulaziz, Editor, *Al-Haq*, Tahliram, Editor, *Larkana Gazette*, Dr. Nur Muhammad, Nur Muhammad Shah, Zamindar, and Mustafa Kamal.

(7) That in case the Caliphate question was adversely decided, it would be unlawful for the Mussalmans to enlist in the Army or to render pecuniary assistance to Government.

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Moved by Jan Muhammad Junejo on behalf of the President and seconded by Nur Muhammad Sheikh.

(8) That the Ulemas should enjoin on their murids and followers to have no dealings with the persons who took part in the anti-Caliphate propaganda, unless the latter were ready to repent.

Moved by Jan Muhammad Junejo on behalf of the President and accepted by the audience.

(9) That there should be complete unity between Hindus and Muhammadans.

Moved by Moulvi Abul Kalam Azad and seconded by the President Tahilram, Editor of the *Larkana Gazette*, Jiwan Lal of Dadu, Shaukat Ali, Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law, Seth Thanwerdas Saraf, Dr. Nur Muhammad Sheikh, Jotumal, Pleader, Pir Ismail Jan Sarhandi, Shewaram Tarachand, Pleader, and Maulana Abdul Bari.

(10) That Messrs. Bhurgri, Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad be thanked for the trouble they have taken in coming over to Larkana to attend the Conference, and that Bhurgri should also be thanked for what he had done in England in the cause of the Caliphate.

Moved by Holaram, Pleader, and seconded by Tahilram and Jan Muhammad Junejo.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad remarked, towards the conclusoin of his speech, that the greatest of all virtues was to give one's life and property for the sake of God and His Prophet.

The speech delivered by Abdul Aziz, Editor of the *Al-Haq*, was, as usual, couched in a most vulgar style and was quite in keeping with the character of the speaker. He abused Government servants and again and again made insulting and defamatory remarks with regard to the Police Officers who were taking notes of the speeches. He called them the enemies of Islam and repeatedly sought to hold them up to ridicule. This behaviour of Abul Aziz, who took up the position of a buffon on the dais, was particularly mean and cowardly, because he took advantage of the helplessness of the Police Officers. The latter could not pay the unprincipled Editor in kind because they were surrounded by thousands of excitable and ignorant persons who had been considerably excited by the inflammatory and lying statements made by certain fanatical speakers. The expressions used in a tavern or gambling den could scarcely be viler than those employed by Abdul Aziz in his speech. He ridiculed the warning given to him and others by District Magistrate from time to time.

Tahilram Mulchand said that intrigues were being carried on for the destruction of the Turkish Empire but that no one could touch the Caliph and the Caliphate so long as the Hindus and Mussalmans were alive.

Dr. Nur Muhammad Sheikh, the convert of Hyderabad, said that he did not agree with the Moulvis in their statements that this was not the time for *'Jani Jehad'*. He further said that he did not care for the law of Great Britain but he cared for the law of God. He was the personal enemy of the men who were opposed to the Caliphate and that he would not hesitate to kill them.

Nur Muhammad Shah, *Zamindar*, said that he as well as his two sons were ready to sacrifice their lives for the Sultan.

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Moulvi Abdul Bari said that he was a great believer in passive resistance and that he was a follower of Gandhi in this respect. By stopping cow killing the Commissariate would not be able to supply beef to the Army which invaded Holy Places. He said that the British had become intoxicated with victory and had forgotten their promises. If they possessed guns, rifles and bombs, the Mussalmans had with them the earth and sky and their Creator. He further said that the Caliph should be one who should be able to defend the Holy Places with the sword and that he should not be a mere puppet like the Pope of Rome.

The subscriptions promised and paid amounted to about Rs. 8,000. It is reported that the audience consisted of about 15,000 persons on the first day, about 7,000 on the second and about 4,000 on the third day.

Urdu poems containing objectionable matter, and purporting to have been composed at the suggestion of Pir Turabalishah, were offered for sale.

On the 13th ultimo I made the following observations in a confidential communication :—

> "It is disappointing to notice that the Royal amnesty has not been received by the political agitators with a feeling of gratitude commensurate with the graciousness which inspired the Royal clemency. The violent and desperate speeches delivered at Amritsar and the wholesale release of agitators, many of whom had been committed to Jail after many years of most unbridled and openly seditious utterances, have tended to make the evilly-disposed people absolutely defiant and utterly regardless of the emergency and ordinary laws."

Defiance was visible on the face of almost every worker in the Caliphate Conference. The tendency to court imprisonment and internment and to earn the epithet of "Hero" and "Martyr" is rapidly growing. The combination of the Jhandewalla section and the Rashidi Pirs with the Sarhandi Pirs, who still have their connections with Afghanistan, is worthy of notice. Perhaps the most unwelcome feature of the Caliphate propaganda is the ascendency which the Moulvis and Mullahs have suddenly acquired. Many of these people are, as a rule, unscrupulous mercenaries, impatient of continued peace and peaceful Government. Pir Jhandewalla has for many years been under the influence of Wahabi Moulvis, but he has never before made a public speech of any kind. Similarly most of the other Sindhi speakers would not have had the courage of making violent speeches a couple of months ago. The effect of such speeches on an ignorant audience, any of whom are bad characters, is always very bad. I am of opinion that these Conferences should be subjected to some sort of restriction.

The District Magistrate remarks: "As I stated in my former weekly letter, I had sent for and warned the local organisers of the Conference, but though they promised moderation, the only effect seems to have been more veiled references in place of open incitment of Jehad, and even this effect was not apparent in the Case of Abdul Aziz of the *Al-Haq* or Sheikh Nur Muhammad.

"From what I have seen and heard in this district, I feel bound to agree with the District Superintendent of Police's diagnosis of the unfortunate effect of the Royal Proclamation and General Amnesty. All fear of, or respect for, the law has vanished from the minds of political agitators and they no longer shun but positively court prosecution and conviction, feeling assured that after a fortnight, or a month in jail at most, they will be released

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under some 'Proclamation', 'Amnesty' or 'Remission' order, and at that very cheap rate be consecrated 'heroes and martyrs' and entitled to live like princes without working—on the strength of their position as political 'saints'—from the offerings of their faithful followers and admirers."

(*d*) *Larkana, February 22nd.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The effect of the Khilafat Conference has been to unsettle the minds of the ignorant *haris* attending. Two impressions have been more or less created on them—(1) that the British Government is doing something against their religion and (2) that there is no longer any real 'Sarkar' in the land but the agitators are the masters and Government is afraid of them.

"No Government servant actually attended the Conference. Ghulam Ali, Pleader and Assistant Public Prosecutor, on being warned by me that he must consider himself a Goverenment servant did not attend the Conference, but he was in the procession conducting Shaukat Ali and Bhurgri from the station."

(*e*) *S.B., Sind, Karachi, February 26th.*—From reports shown by the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Sukkur, it appears that Pir Ghulam Muhammad of Dinpur (near Khanpur in Bahawalpur State), who was the recipient of secret communications from Moulvi Obeidulla in Kabul in 1916 and whose village was searched in consequence by the Punjab Police at the time of the Silk Letters enquiry attended the recent Caliphate Conference and Larkana and after it was over came to Sukkur and put up near the Musafarkhana with his murid, Fakir Muhammad Lohar. On the 15th February he left Sukkur for Ghotki, where he has murids. It is said that from there he has crossed the river and gone to see "the Sundranis" in the Upper Sind Frontier District.

This may be important because the Sundrani Sardar is the head of many turbulent tribes of Baluchis in Sind, notably the Jaghiranis. Also, it has to be borne in mind that at the Larkana Conference it was openly stated that the next Caliphate Conference would be held in March or April in Jecobabad with the express object of enlisting the aid of the Baluch Sardars who have hitherto stood aloof from the Caliphate agitation.

(*f*) *Bombay, February 26th.*—I attach, for your information, a copy (printed below) of a comprehensive and extremely interesting note by Manley upon the Khilafat Conference recently held in Bombay.

The information upon which it is based has come from reliable sources and I am satisfied that the proceedings have been depicted in proper perspective. Manley himself was an unostentatious member of the audience at the Conference during one of its sittings.

The general tone of the proceedings of the Subjects Committee clearly shows to what extent the Khilafat question is full of dangerous potentialities; and unless the enthusiasm of those now beating the big drum curbed by their own good sense or by other means, the time will not be far distant when the masses will be beyond the control of their *soi-disants* leaders. If this calamity occurs, I fear that we shall have to deal with a very different spirit to that which manifested itself during the disturbances of April last. For direct appeals are undoutedly being made to the fanaticism of the Muhammadans. Even the Bombay Muhammadan, whose fanaticism has been diluted by close association with those of other creeds, is a very tough customer when his religious susceptibilities have been wounded. What, then, it to be expected of up-country Muhammadans who are being exploited by the Khilafat agitators, many of whom, be it noted, are Moulvis?

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NOTE BY MR. MANLEY ON THE KHILAFAT CONFERENCE HELD IN BOMBAY

The third session of the All-India Khilafat Conference was held in Bombay on the 15th, 16th and 17th of February 1920 under the presidency of the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, who owed his election to the nomination of Moulana Abdul Bari in consequence of the Committee's failure to secure from Hassan Imam any reply to repeated telegrams inviting him to preside. About 175 delegates representing approximately 33 Khilafat Committees in different parts of India assembled at the opening meeting, that first of them to reach Bombay being the Amritsar party. While the large majority of delegates were Sunnis, their number included a few Shias, five or ten at most, and three Hindus—(1) Jairamadas, editor of the Sind paper, *Rouzana Akhbar ;* (2) Bansidhar of the United Provinces ; and (3) Lala Gowardhandas of Amritsar. There were many conspicuous absentees, Mohammadan as well as Hindu, chief among them being, on the Muslim side, Ajmalkhan, Dr. Ansari, the Honourable Mr. Fazal-ul-Haq (a member of the next batch of the Khilafat Deputation to Europe) and Hasan Imam ; and, among non-Muslims Gandhi, Tilak, Mrs. Besant, Lala Harkisenlal, Dhuni Chand and Madan Mohan Malaviya. Of the principal absentees, I attach a full list (printed below). No particular public feeling marked Mr. Bhurgri's arrival in Bombay and no notice whatever was taken of Shaukat Ali and Abdul Bari, who arrived the same day fresh from the Khilafat Conference in Sind.

The proceedings opened on the morning of the 15th with the addresses, read to an assembly of about 500 people, of Chhotani and of Bhurgri, the former being the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The addresses contained little new matter ; Chhotani made the usual assertion that England could, if she would, secure the settlement of the Turkish question in conformity with Muslim wishes. He declared that directly or indirectly the whole of Jazira-tul-Arab is now under her control a control which is in itself an act of hostility to the Khilafat. Let England, he urged, prove her good faith towards Islam by evacuating Palestine and Mosopotamia, and by withdrawing support from the Sheriff of Mecca ; and he threatened her, if she should fail thus to act, with the menace of Bolshevism. In view of later developments the most significant fact connected with his speech is the absence therefrom of any threat of reprisals, boycott, jehad and the like. Bhurgri's address was a statement on similar lines of the Muslim view. The rest of the day was devoted to the passage by the Conference of three formal resolutions and to private discussions by the Subjects Committee of the remaining draft resolutions for the following day.

The Conference passed altogether fourteen resolutions (appended printed below). Seven of these were formal. The eighth recast the Committee's funds ; and the twelth voiced the demand for an official enquiry into the origin of the anti-Khilafat agitation in Sind. The real business of the Conference, however, was with the remaining three. One of them demanded the immediate removal of British troops from Jazi-ra-tul-Arab. The second registered a decision to send deputations to Mesopotamia, the Hedjaz and other Musalman countries, for the purpose of bringing about peace therein. The third enjoined upon all Pirs, Maulvis and other religious leaders the exaction of oaths from their followers for the support, when necessary, of the Khilafat cause. Except during the discussion of the resolution dealing with the withdrawal of troops from the Arabian Peninsula, the open proceedings of the Conference were not attended by any marked degree of excitement or enthusiasm, although there underlay many of the speeches a strong

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current of religious fanaticism and political bitterness. Occasionally the speeches were highly flavoured, particularly those of the Hindu orators, and there were many veiled references to Jehad. Attempts by up-country delegates, especially the Hindus, to colour the proceedings with last year's events in the Punjab were defeated by the Chair. While it is reported that the Conference has aroused a good deal of religious fervour among the Bombay Muhammadans, there was no enthusiasm at all in the sitting which I myself attended. On the contrary, the proceedings were uncommonly dull.

The sittings were attended by audiences which occasionally filled the pandal, the capacity of which was five thousand ; but as a rule the place was half empty. The main business of the Conference was transacted by the Subjects Committee in camera. During the first day's discussion upon the constitution it became obvious that proceedings were going to be lively. Chhotani fell out with Nur Muhomed Mojawala, one of the Bombay members of the Reception Committee, who regarded himself as aggrieved at his failure to secure election to the Subjects Committee and who nevertheless attended its deliberations. High words developed into filthy abuse by Chhotani ; and it is reported that Mojawala drew a knife upon the former. This incident embittered the discussion to such an extent that no further progress was made with the constitution. At the close of the Conference Mojawala went to the Chief Presidency Magistrate, and took out a summons against Chhotani for insult and assault. The real battle, to which this incident was a mere preliminary skirmish, commenced on the following day, when issue was joined between the Moderates, including most of the Bombay delegates headed by Chhotani and Bhurgri, and the Extemists comprising most of the other members of the Subjects Committee and led apparently by the delegates from Sind. The questions under consideration were (1) the proposed boycott of English goods, combined with a withdrawal from co-operation with Government, (2) the question whether or not it was *haram* for a Mussalman to serve in the Indian Army, and (3) the evacuation of the Jazira-tul-Arab. The extreme view of all these matters was upheld by the up-country delegates, among whom a Sindhi named Noor Mahomed and one Mahomed Dawood Guznavi of Amritsar were prominent. They were warmly opposed by Chhotani, Bhurgri and their followers. After a long fight, a resolution was adopted urging the British Government to withdraw from the Arabian Peninsula all troops over and above those who are provided for by the terms of the Armistice ; the other two problems being reserved for further discussion the following day. Notwithstanding this decision, the Sindhi delegates gave notices that they would urge in open Conference the view that the presence of any British troops in the Jazira-tul-Arab is an open violation of the rights of the Khilafat and should not be permitted a moment longer. Bhrugri, Chhotani, Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan and a few others tried hard. but without success, to induce them to abandon this unreasonable demand. The Extremists were as good as their word and on the following day persuaded the Conference to endorse their view. The feeling of the assembly at large was so strongly in their favour that the official spokesmen could not obtain a hearing and retired discomfited.

In view of the turn events had taken during this discussion, the Bombay party decided to submit to a meeting of Moulvis, convened by them for the following morning, the question of the Mussalman attitude towards the Army. This meeting took place at Chhotani's house. Thirty-one persons attended, only three of whom were representatives of Bombay. Maulana Abul Kadir Azad Subhani of Cawnpore presided. It was decided at once

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under the inspiration of Abdul Bari that as there was no guarantee that the army would not be used against Mussalman forces it was *haram* for Mussalmans to belong to it. The question then arose as to what steps should be taken to give effect to this decision. Notices were urged for the solution among those present asking issue of *fatwas* for circulation among the troops. When M. K. Azad, a Bombay Barrister and disciple of Horniman, pointed out the illegality in such a course, he was told that in a matter of the kind the religious law must prevail. After a discussion lasting three hours the meeting broke up and reported to the Subject Committee, which resumed consideration of the matter. Another heated debate followed. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, a Bombay Solicitor and the only Shia member of the Subjects Committee, placed on the table the Indian Penal Code and other war legislation and began to explain the law in much the same way as Azad had done. At this point one Noor Mahomed of Hyderabad, Sind, placing the *Quran* on the table beside the law books, asked the Committee to choose between the two. This blunt presentation of alternatives settled the matter at once in favour of the Extremists. M. K. Azad then demanded plainness of speech and asked them what they actually meant. From this point onwards the term Jihad was frequently heard. The heated discussion which followed only obated when Bhurgri urged that until news arrived from Mahomed Ali it would be unwise to commit the Conference to any definite line of action. It was hoped that the reception in England accorded to Mahomed Ali's deputation and its ultimate success, would render unnecessary any action such as that under discussion. This definitely shelved the army question and with it the boycott and refusal of co-operation with Government.

It was announced towards the end of the Conference that the following subscription to the Khilafat Funds had been promised :—Sind—five lakhs ; Bengal—five lakhs ; U.P. and Oudh—four lakhs ; Bombay—eleven lakhs. Chhotani's own subscription was 25,000 rupees. A few thousands more were realised at the various meetings. The members of the Subjects Committee consisted of seventy persons, among whom were sixty-two Sunnis, two Hindus, one Shia, two Dawoodi Boras, one Sulemani Bora, and two Khojas. The different provinces were represented on it as follows :—Bombay City 17 ; Bombay Presidency 5 ; Sind 11 ; U.P. 11 ; Bengal, Bihar and Orissa 6 ; Berar 2 and Ajmere 1. The Conference was attended by very few Shias, the Khoja, Borah, Arab and Moghul communities being very poorly represented, either by their leaders or among the rank and file. There were a few Hindus in daily attendance. Throughout the proceedings the Bombay Extremist Agitators were conspicuous by their absence. Tilak, Baptista, Sarvarkar and others of their following did not apear at all ; but Doctors Velkar and Sathaye and Jamnadas Dwarkadas turned up at a Garden Party given by Chhotani to the delegates on the 17th. I also appended a statement (printed below) of the amended constitution. The Central Committee, whose headquarters will continue to be Bombay, is in future to consist of two hundred members, of whom 25 will form a quorum. Fifty-four seats are allotted to Bombay, 20 to Sind, 15 to Bengal, 15 to Madras and 86 are distributed among other provinces. There is no change in the office-bearers, all of whom, except Shaukat Ali, are Bombay men. The provincial organisation will not be altered.

Advantage was taken of the Conference to advertise the new Extremists papers, the Democrat, and also the Lahore Mahommed Ali's writings on the Khilafat question (*i.e.*, a book entitled "The Khilaphat in

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Islam, according to the Holy *Quran* and the saying of the Holy Prophet," published by the Ahmadia Anjuman Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore, and printed at Mercantile Electric Press, Lahore ; and a leaflet called "The Premier's New Year Message and the duty of Muslims" printed at the Hardinge Printing Press, Lahore). Mr. Lloyd George's reference to the Crusades was a subject to frequent remark, and has evidently made a deep impression on the Muslim mind. Clapping was not allowed during the proceedings and was suppressed from the platform, only acclamations such as "Marhaba" and "Amin" being allowed. It is said that selection of the Mustan Tank as a meeting place was due to the feeling that the good Musalmans had no business even for so high a purpose to enter the theatre in which it was originally proposed to hold the Conference. The comic element at some of the meetings was supplied by a worthy old grey-beard who vociferated his conviction that until Musalmans gave up such new-fangled notions as public meetings and speeches there was no hope for the community : The only real remedy for religious ills being the constant repetition of the Darud Sheriff. The old man soon became a nuisance, but no one dared to suppress him. On the 18th, after the close of the Conference one or two comparatively unimportant public meetings, at which nevertheless some excited language was indulged in about the duty of Musalmans to avoid the army and about the alleged hatred of Turkey by the Christian Powers, were held for the purpose of speeding the parting guests. On the 18th Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abdul Kalani Azad left Bombay for Benares.

List of notable absentees from the Khilafat Conference.

(1)	Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan ...	Delhi.
(2)	Dr. Mukbar Ahamad Ansari ...	Delhi.
(3)	The Honourable Mr. Reza Ali ...	Allahabad.
(4)	The Honourable Mr. A. K. Fazal-ul-Haq.	Calcutta.
(5)	Hasan Imam	Patna.
(6)	The Honourable Mr. Fazle Hussain...	Lahore.
(7)	Sahibzada Aftab Ahamad Khan ...	Aligarh.
(8)	Mumtaz Hussain, Bar.-at-Law ...	Lucknow.
(9)	The Honourable Mr. Yacoob Hassan...	Madras.
(10)	Seth Abdul Latif Safri	Ahmedabad.
(11)	Khawaja Hussan Nizami	Delhi.

Non-Muslims

(1)	M. K. Gandhi	Bombay and Ahmedabad.
(2)	B. G. Tilak	Poona.
(3)	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya ...	Allahabad.
(4)	Mrs. Annie Besant	Adyar, Madras.
(5)	The Honourable Mr. Surrendra Nath Benergee.	Calcutta.
(6)	C. R. Das, Bar.-at-Law	Calcutta.
(7)	The Honourable Mr. Shastri ...	Poona.
(8)	Swami Shradhanand	Amritsar.
(9)	Dr. Sapru	Allahabad.
(10)	Pandit Motilal Nehru	Allahabad.
(11)	Lala Harkishenlal	Lahore.
(12)	Dhuni Chand, Bar.-at-Law ...	Lahore.
(13)	Chowdhary Rambhujj Dutt ...	Lahore.
(14)	Chintamani	Allahabad.
(15)	Pandit N. M. Malaviya	Allahabad.

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List of Resolutions passed by the All-India Khilafat Conference.

Resolution No 1.—" This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference expresses its full confidence in the first batch of the deputation, which left for England on the 1st February 1920, and other batches which are to go, and, in view of the feelings of the Indian and Moslem subjects of His Majesty's Government, urges upon the Right Honourable Mr. Lloyd George and the other British representatives in the Peace Conference to give a full and fair hearing to our deputations, and to impress their representations on the Peace Conference "

Resolution No. 2.—" In the opinion of this Conference the Second batch of the deputation should proceed to England within a fortnight, and that arrangements for its departure be made by the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay."

Resolution No. 3.—" This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference reaffirms the demands made at the former sessions of the Conference and by the Deputation that waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy on the 19th January 1920."

Resolution No. 4.—" That in the opinion of this Conference it is absolutely necessary to urge upon the British Government to remove all those forces from the Jazira-tul-Arab, which are kept there, and to stop all the expenditure, which is now incurred therein."

Resolution No. 5.—" That this Conference earnestly appeals to all Mussalmans throughout India to substantially support the Khilafat Fund to the best of their abilities, so that a sum of, at least, thirty lakhs of rupees may be collected at once, for the expenses of sending deputations to Europe and elsewhere and for keeping up the propaganda of the question of the Khilafat."

Resolution No. 6.—" That this Conference expresses its gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy, to the Government of India and to the Government of Bombay for facilities given to the first Khilafat Deputation, which went to England, and trusts that similar facilities will be given to the next batches.'

Resolution No. 7.—" That this Khilafat Conference authorises the Central Khilafat Committee to make arrangements for sending deputations to the Hedaz, Najd, Yemen, Syria, Palestine, Messopotamia, etc., to bring about peace among the contending Moslems, as ordained by the Holy *Koran.*"

Resolution No. 8.—" That this Conference accepts the 'Constitution' of the Central Khilafat Committee of India for the next year, as approved by the Subjects Committee, and recommends that the 'Constitution' be accepted by all Muhammadans."

Resolution No. 9.—" That this Conference reaffirms all the resolutions hitherto passed by all the previous Conferences, and urges upon the Central Khilafat Committee to give practical effect to them without any furthers delay."

Resolution No. 10.—" That this Conference adopts the following Manifasto." (Moulvi Zafarali Khan moved this resolution and read the Manifesto at length.).

Resolution No. 11.—" That this Conference requests the Ulemas and spiritual heads of India to take solemn pledges, in accordance with the traditions of Islam from their followers, for the latters' loyal support and assistance to the cause of the Khilafat and of the protection of the Holy Places of Islam and the Jazira-tul-Arab.'

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Resolution No. 12.—From the Chair—"This Conference calls upon the Bombay Government to appoint an indepedent Committee to undertake an immediate enquiry into the alleged methods employed by certain Sind Officials in carrying out an anti-Khilafat agitation in Sind, and further states that any such delay in instituting the enquiry will considerably add to the existing feelings of extreme resentment in Sind, which it is the duty of the Government to mitigate as early as possible."

Resolution No. 13.—Regarding vote of thanks to the President.

Resolution No. 14.—Regarding vote of thanks to the Reception Committee and Volunteers.

MANIFESTO

ON BEHALF OF THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE.

I. THE MOSLEM CLAIM.

The claim on behalf of Muhammadans of India in connection with the Turkish Peace Terms may be divided into two sections :—

(1) Regarding the Khilafat ; and

(2) Regarding what is called "Jazira-tul-Arab" and the Holy Places of Islam.

The claim regarding the Khilafat consists in leaving the Turkish Empire as it was at the time of the war, with such guarantee being taken by the League of Nations as may be necessary for the protection of the rights of non-Moslim races living within the Turkish Empire, consistently with the dignity of a sovereign state.

The second section of the claim consists in the sovereignty over 'Jazira-tul-Arab', i.e., Arabia as defined by Moslem religious authorities, and the custody of Holy Places of Islam. Arabia as thus defined is bounded by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates and the Tigiris. The Holy Places include the three sacred Harams, namely, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and the Holy Shrines, namely, Najaf Kerballa, Sammarra, Kazimain and Baghdad. In reality this claim is included in the first, but it is distinguishable from it in that custody of the Holy Places has ever since the establishment of Islam been under the Khilafat, and unlike the boundary of the latter, which has fluctuated from time to time, has never suffered any diminution whatsoever. This claim does not exclude genuine Arab self-Government, but it does exclude the present arrangement because those who know, understand the unreality behind it. The claim now said to be made by Sheriff Hussain and by Amir Feizul is inconsistent in fact with their acceptance of even the spiritual sovereignty of the Khalifa.

II. ARGUMENT.

The claim is primarily based upon the religious requirements and the sentiments of the Muhammadans of India in common with those of Muhammadans all the world over, and is supported, so far as the Khilafat, the Harams and 'Jazira-tul-Arab' are concerned by testimony from the *Quran*, the traditions of the Prophet, and for the rest by other religious authority. It is further supported regarding the Holy Places by the deliberate declaration of the Governmenet of India on behalf of His Majesty's Government, as also the Governments of France and Russia, of second November 1914 which says: "In view of the outbreak of war between Great Britain and

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Turkey which to the regret of Great Britain had been brought about by the ill-advised, unprovoked and deliberate action of the Ottoman Government His Excellency the Viceroy is authorised by His Majesty's Government to make the following public announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia including the Holy Shrines of Messopotamia and the port of Jedda, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of His Majesty's Government in this war in which no question of religious character is involved. These Holy Places and Jedda will be immune from attack or molestation by the British Naval and Military Forces so long as there is no interference with pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and Shrines in question. At the request of His Majesty's Government, the Government of France and Russia have given them similar assurances." The great regard paid in this declaration to the sentiments of His Majesty's most loyal Moslem subjects is especially noteworthy. On the 5th January 1918 Mr. Lloyd George, claiming to speak in the name of the whole Empire, made the following remarkable pronouncement: "We are not fighting to deprive Turkey of Constantinople or the rich renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which were predominantly Turkish racially." President Wilson's twelfth point in his message to the Congress, dated 8th January 1918, is in equally emphatic terms, viz., that the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities now under Turkish rule should be assured security of life and autonomous developments.

Thus the reduction of the Muhammadan claim by a hair's breadth will not only be a violation of the deepest religious feelings of the Muhammadans but will also be a flagrant violation of the solemn relevant declarations and pledges made or given by responsible statesmen representing Allied and Associated Powers and given at a time when they were desirous of enlisting the support of the Muhammadan people and soldiery.

III. CONSEQUENCES.

It is necessary to state the likely consequences of a wrong decision on the part of the Imperial Government or the Allied and Associated Powers. The claim is supported by practically the whole of the Hindu population of India. It has assumed therefore an Indian National Status. The population of the British Empire is predominantly Hindu-Muhammadan, as will appear from the following figures :—

Total population	43,50,00,000
Hindu	243 millions.
Moslems (in India) 72 millions and (outside India but within the Empire)	30 millions.

The policy of the British Government has been definitely stated to be that of making India an equal partner. Recent events have awakened India to a sense of dignity. In these circumstances the British Empire as one consisting of free nationalities can only hold together by maintaining an attitude of absolute impartiality among the three chief communities—the Hindus, the Muhammadans and the Christians. It is therefore urged that the British Ministers are bound not merely to press the Muhammadan or rather the Indian claim before the Supreme Council but to make it their own. If, however, for any reason whatsoever they fail to do so and the Supreme Council also fails to perform the elementary duty of giving effect to the declarations that brought about an Armistice it is futile to expect

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peace in India, and the Khilafat Conference will fail in its duty if it hesitated to warn His Majesty's Ministers that an affront put upon the seven crores of Muhammadans in India supported by 23 crores of Hindus and others will be incompatible with the expectation of blind loyalty. Beyond that, it is impossible for the Conference to foresee the results. It may be added that even if the members of the Conference attempted seriously to pacify the Muhammadan mind, it is futile to expect that they would succeed in healing the wound that would be made in heart of Muhammadan India by the denial of justice and breach of pledges in matter of vital importance to that community.

REGARDING THE 'CONSTITUTION'

(*a*) *Objects.*—To secure for Turkey a just and honourable peace ; to obtain the settlement of the Khilafat question ; also of the Holy Places of Islam and the Jazira-tul-Arab in strict accordance with the requirements of the Shariat ; to secure the fulfilment of the pledges of the Right Honourable Mr. Lloyd George, given on 5th January 1918, and of Lord Hardinge, regarding the preservation of the integrity of the Turkish Empire ; for the above purpose to approach the British Ministers, the Viceroy of India and the British public ; to carry on propagandist work in and out of India ; to take such further steps as may be deemed necessary.

(*b*) *Constitution.*—The Committee should consist of 200 members. The headquarters should be in Bombay ; there should be Provincial Committees to work in affiliation with the Central Committee. Wherever Provincial Committees may not exist, the Central Committee should work. The Central Committee and Provincial Committees should collect funds. The latter to give account to the former of all the moneys collected and spent. The Central Committee to publish the state of its accounts on the 15th of each month. The accounts of the Central Committee should be examined by a Chartered Accountant. The Central Committee should frame by-laws. It should have one president, two vice-presidents, secretaries and treasurers. The Central Committee should keep proper books of accounts. It should arrange to hold the Khilafat Conference at the place already chosen by the previous Conference. When necessary, it should hold special conferences either on its own hook or at the request of a Provincial Committee. It can affiliate and disaffiliate Provincial Committees. It has the right to fill up vacancies in its body according to its own wishes.

There should be a quorum of 25 for a special meeting and for ordinary meetings. Fifty-four members should be from Bombay, 20 from Sind, 15 from Madras, 25 from Bengal and the rest from other provinces. Present office-bearers would be :—President—Mr. Chhotani, Vice-President—Sir Fazalbhoy Karimbhoy and Suleman Abdul Wahib ; and Secretaries—Messrs. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, Shaukat Ali, Badruddin Abdulla Koor and Ahmed Haji Siddik Khatri.

(*g*) *Bombay, March 1st.*—It appears from a verbatim report of the speeches at the Khilafat Conference that, though a total withdrawal of all His Majesty's forces from the Jazira-tul-Arab was suggested, the movers of the amendment of the resolution on that subject might not object to the retention there of Mussalman troops of the Indian Army.

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Tilak's reason for not attending the Khilafat Conference is stated to be a previous engagement to the Astrologers' Conference at Sangli.

Notwithstanding his refusal yesterday, I understand the Khilafat Committee still hope to prevail upon the Aga Khan during the next two or three days to accept their address. In the meantime he is advertised to preside at to-night's monster meeting on the Khilafat question. Gandhi is expected to speak on the same platform.

The Committee has wired in the following terms to all other Khilafat Committees in India:—

"Cable to Montagu Lloyd George Amir Ali strongly protesting against anti-Turkish agitation raging in England for depriving Turks of Constantinople."

They have also wired to Shaukat Ali an urgent summons to Bombay. Arrangements are in progress for making the hartal advertised for the 19th a really big affair in which Hindus will participate as conspicuously as Muhammadans. The support of the big cloth merchants has already been enlisted. The Central Khilafat Committee strongly disapproves the boycott resolved upon by the Calcutta Conference which appears to have adopted, with further embellishments, the extemist resolutions so strongly resisted by the Bombay Moderates.

I saw Gandhi yesterday and showed him the Prime Minister's latest speech on the Turkish question and also the boycott resolution passed by the Calcutta Conference. He noted the obviously inaccurate statement of the *Bombay Chronicle* that he himself was taking a prominent part at Calcutta, deplored the boycott resolution which he thinks is a serious mistake ; and regarded the Prime Minister's declaration as a satisfactory basis of an honourable settlement of the whole Turkish question.

Zafarali Khan ex-Editor of the *Zamindar*, told an audience of 500 in the Pydhonie Mosque on the night of the 2nd instant that the Prime Minister's speech on New Year's day made it quite clear that Christianity is bent upon the extermination of Islam.

The following telegram just received appears to indicate a resolve of the Muslim extremists definately to break away from the control of the Bombay Moderates :—

From—Abdul Bari Abdulkali Azad Mushirhusafi Kidwai Shaukatali, Calcutta.

To—Chhotani, Bombay.

"One lac sixteen thousand announced first instalment, Friday, 19th March fixed for final All India protest against dismemberment of Turkey. Friends decide to start propaganda work with headquarters at Calcutta. Take Committee's sanction."

His Highness the Aga Khan arrived on the 2nd instant. Elaborate arrangements had been made for his reception at the Apollo Bunder, for the presentation to him there of an address by the Khilafat Committee, and for a procession thence to his residence. The text of the address was

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sent by wireless to the approaching steamer, together with an invitation to take part in the procession. The Aga Khan politely refused to countenance the procession, and apparently ignored the address. On arrival he actually landed at the Ballard Pier where he was met by the advance guard of the Khilafat Committee comprising Chhotani, Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy and six or eight others, whose address he declined to receive, thereby offending them to such an extent that they did not follow him to the formal reception at the Apollo Bunder. Leaving the few hundred spectators at the Ballard Pier, the Aga Khan motored to the Apollo Bunder where he was enthusiatically welcomed by an assembly of five or six thousand people. In and around the Shamiana put up for the occasion he found a crush of his own followers together with the main body of the Khilafat Committee. Ascending the dais on which a solitary chair had been placed, he shook hands with S. R. Bomanji, who was standing behind the chair, politely declined to receive the Khilafat Committee address preferred to him by Badruddin Abdoola Koor, bowed to the assembly, and without taking his seat returned to the car and drove away. The feeling of the astonished assembly is described as bitter disappointment which, had the affront come from a less distinguished personage, would doubtless have been termed disgust.

The Caliphate and Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*d*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, March 3rd.*—A report from Hyderabad says that there will be a series of Caliphate meetings at the Ajmer Fair on the 19th and 20th of this month. Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali, Haji Abdulla Haroon and a great number of mullahs are expected to attend.

(*b*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, March 3rd.*—The District Superintendent of Police, Karachi, furnishes the following note supplied by the Punjab C. I. D. regarding Dr. Abdul Majid Ahmad who is taking part in objectionable agitation in Karachi.:—

Dr. Abdul Majid Ahmad is the son of Seth Abdul Rashid, who is an important merchant and Vice-President of the Municipal Committee at Bhera, Shahpur District. He passed the Entrance Examination and went to Cambridge and qualified as a doctor. He then obtained a commission in the I. M. S. and worked in India, Mesopotamia and Italy during the war. On demobilization, he is said to have started a Chemist's Shop at Karachi. Nothing has ever been reported against him and his family. He is younger brother, a student, showed some excitement during the agitation and disturbances in April last, but he received no encouragement from his father and things did not progress very far.

(*c*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, March 6th.*—It is reported that nothing unusual occurred at the Friday prayers at the Butchers' Mosque, Karachi Camp. But at the Memons' Mosque prayers were lead by the Pir of Jhandewalla who, after the prayers were over delivered an interesting speech on the Caliphate in favour of the Sultan of Turkey. He concluded by appealing for funds. A small sum was subscribed on the spot.

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(*d*) *Karachi, March 8th.*—At a meeting of the Caliphate Committee at Haji Abdulla Haroon's Koti, on the 7th March, it was decided to proceed with the hartal of the 19th instant on the same lines as last year. Hindus were invited to attend. The literature has not arrived yet and, so far, no Sindhi copies have been printed.

(*e*) *C. I. D. Bombay Presidency, March 8th.*—The following is an extract from a note on the Ghaznavi family of Amritsar received from the C.I.D., Punjab :—

The real name of Moulvi Abdulla of Ghazni was Muhammad Azad, but he changed it to Abdulla. He was believed to be a very learned Sufi and saintly man. He was born of Qila Bahadur Khel (Ghazni) in the year 1811 in a highly respectable family of Afghanistan. He received his early education from his father and grandfather and afterwards from Mulla Habibulla of Kandahar. After finishing his studies, he spent his time in prayer and worship. He admonished people against paying homage to and visiting tombs, which created a general hatred against him. The Maulvi of Ghazni made a complaint against his doctrines to the late Amir Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul, on which he was expelled from Afghanisthan. After the death of Dost Muhammad Khan and on the accession of Amir Sher Ali to the throne of Kabul, Maulvi Abdulla returned to his native place and there arise the old religious quarrel between him and the local Maulvis with the result that Sher Ali Khan also turned him out of the country. After this, Maulvi Abdulla went to Delhi and learnt Hadis from Maulvi Syed Nazir Hussain Muhaddis of Delhi. During the Mutiny, Maulvi Abdulla was in Delhi. He gave shelter to many European ladies in his own house and saved their lives, for which he was given certificates by European officers. After leaving Delhi, he took up his residence in Amritsar. He had several sons and daughters, of whom the following are of interests :—

(1) Maulvi Abdul Jabbar died a few years ago. He was generally called an Imam by the Ehl-i-Hadis. He left a large number of disciples in the Punjab, Hindustan, Bengal, North-West Frontier Province, Bombay, Madras and Sind. Of is five sons, Maulvi Muhammad Daud is the fifth. He is a teacher in the Ghazavi *Madrassa* at Amritsar. He received his education at Sharanpur, Deoband, Delhi and Gazipur from the late Hafiz Maulvi Abdullha. He always takes part in religious meetings and is fairly well-known in the country. His speeches are said to be very effective. He takes a keen interest in all questions relating to the Caliphate and the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. He attended the Caliphate Conference held at Lucknow and is a Secretary of the Caliphate Committee, Amritsar, and is in correspondence with the Caliphate Committee of Bombay and Delhi and circulates among the people in Amritsar the proposals made by the said Committees. He has relations in Hazara and Bombay. A daughter of Maulvi Abdul Wahid, his uncle, is married to an Arab horse-dealer in Bombay. His present age is about 25.

(2) Maulvi Abdul Wahid is an Imam of the Ehl-i-Hadis sect, Lahore, and is also an Imam of Majid Chiniawali, Lahore, and commands great respect. He has two daughters. One is married to an Arab horse-dealer in Bombay and the other is married in Hazara. He has two sons, Ismail and Abdul Hamid. Ismail carries on some business in Bombay and is now at Amritsar. He also takes an interest in the Caliphate questions and in the agitation for the dismemberment of Turkey, along with his cousin Maulvi Muhammad Daud, and the negotiation with the Bombay

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Caliphate Committee is carried on by Maulvi Muhammad Daud through him. Abdul Hamid carries on some business in Bombay.

(*f*) *Bombay, March 1st.*—The reported decision to leave the Turkish Government in Constantinople was received here with satisfaction, which gave place to indignation as soon as the anti-Turk party at home started to agitate. On the 27th Zafarali Khan of Lahore, speaking in the Juma Masjid after Friday prayers, pleaded for widespread agitation specially to counteract this latest effort to deprive the Turks of their capital. On the same day the following cable addressed to the Aga Khan reached Bombay from Ispahani, London :—

"Agitation against Government decision about Constantinople must be counteracted and Government supported everywhere."

and Chhotani also telegraphed to Shaukat Ali at Calcutta urging him to send a protest against Lord Curzon's attitude about Constantinople. On the 28th a meeting of the Khilafat Committee convened to discuss details of the welcome to be accorded to the Aga Khan, who arrives on March 2nd, postponed all other business in order to consider the new situation. It was decided to organize a big counter demonstration, features of which are to be a public meeting in Bombay on March 3rd, the signature all over India of a monster petition, and the publication in Book-form of the poems composed for and sung at the various Khilafat Conferences. Zafarali Khan is not drafting the memorial, which it is intended to advertise all over the country in such a way as to ensure a maximum of excitement.

On the 29th the Anjuman-i-Atibba met and cabled to the Prime Minister a protest against the anti-Turk campaign. G. M. Bhurgri has also telegraphed in similar terms to the Secretary of State. Another emergency meeting of the Khilafat Committee is fixed for today. Meanwhile the three Mussalman newspapers of Bombay are raising an outcry against the English agitation ; and sympathetic articles frequently appear in the other papers.

Information has just been received that wires to the following effect were despatched on the 28th ultimo by Chhotani and Zafarali Khan to the Khilafat Conference, Calcutta, to the Editor of the *Aftab* and to the Young Moslem Association, Lahore :—

"Arrange meetings throughout Bengal in Lahore of strong protest anti-Turkish and anti-Islamic Crusade now ranging in England and transmit in your own words : Following cable sent by Central Khilafat Committee to Montagu, Lloyd George and Ameerali, Begins. Agitation against decision to allow Turks to retain Constantinople is causing gravest concern to Moslem India. United India demands that Constantinople should remain unconditionally with, and continue to be the capital of, the Khalifa. Some of British statesmen to be profoundly ignorant of intense feeling here. If you yield to uninformed agitation you will ruthlessly wound the feelings not only of Indian Moslems but of whole Islamic world, leading to consequences seriousness of which it is impossible to foretell. We request you to remain firm."

Bombay, March 8th.—On the 3rd instant a mass meeting of about 5,000 Bombay Muhammadans, leavened with a few Hindus, was called to consider the situation. It was attended by a strong contingent of Khojas, attracted doubtless by the presence of the Aga Khan, and by most of the Mussalman leaders. Baptista and other Bombay Tilakites together with Jinnah, Omar Sobhani, M. K. Azad, Sheriff Devji Khanji and a few other Mussalman nobilities were again, as they have been on most precious

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occasions during this Khilafat agitation, conspicuous by their absence. Devji Kanji was billed to propose the first resolution, but although he par of the Municipal Corporation dinner the same evening, he was stated to be too unwell to attend the meeting. Point is given to his absence by the fact that while his business at the meeting was to propose Chhotani to the chair, the advertised proposer of the vote of thanks to Chhotani at the conclusion of proceedings was also conspicuously absent. Moreover, of the three other persons advertised to support these two resolutions, two did not speak though present. These facts suggest that Chhotani's moderation, which has already brought him into conflict with up country Extremists, is causing him trouble in Bombay as well.

The resolutions of the evening were : (1) A protest against anti-Turk agitation in England and particularly against the Archbishops' attack upon Islam, (2) a vote of thanks to Mr. Montagu for his championship of the Muslim cause, (3) a demand that Mussalman members of the Indian Legislative and Executive Council shall resign in the event of an adverse decision of the Turkish question, and (4) a petition for the release of the interned Maulana Mahomed Hasan. These resolutions are moderate in comparison with those passed at the Calcutta Conference. Copies of Nos. 1 and 3 have been cabled by Chhotani to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State and to Messrs. Amir Ali and Mahomed Ali. The language of the speakers was on the whole restrained ; the chief points made being resentment of the fanatical outbreak of anti-Mussalman feeling in England, and Hindu-Mussalman unity. Gandhi delivered an address. He called upon the Viceroy to place himself at the head of Indian Mussalman in the same way as Lord Hardinge made the Indian cause in South Africa his own. He strongly disapproved the boycott, regarded the proposed resignations as justifiable and exhorted his audience to direct their action to the Khilafat alone, without confusing the issue with irrelevant matter. The Aga Khan was present, but stayed only 15 or 20 minutes out of the three hours the meeting lasted. After his departure the Khoja contingent rapidly dwindled away. His omission to speak accentuated the disappointment caused by his refusal, already reported, to receive the Khilafat Committee's address at the Apollo Bunder. Zafar Ali Khan recited during the proceedings a poem on the Khilafat composed by himself, which met with such hearty approval that over Rs. 1,200 were contributed on the spot to the Khilafat Fund by the excited audience. Nanabhai D. Upadhya was as usual much in evidence. After cornering Chhotani, and extracting from him a public promise that he would give up the J. P. ship should need arise for Executive and Legislative Councillors to resign, he put up his gold watch to auction. It fetched Rs. 1,007, which sum was credited at once to the Khilafat Fund.

During the last few days the wires have been very busy. On the 6th Gandhi wired as follows to Shaukat Ali at Calcutta :—

"Preparing appeal regarding nineteenth giving conditional adherence. Advice you temper firmness with moderation and express truth in language love not hate then only shall we win."

The previous day Chhotani received from Bhurgri a wire expressing great surprise at the Calcutta resolutions and inquiring whether he endorsed them. To which two days later the following reply was sent :—

"Time critical owing to anti-Islam agitation. Calcutta Conference compelled to take severe steps though hastily. We considering situation and calling meeting of Central Khilafat Committee in which your presence absolutely essential."

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This telegram explains Chhotani's telegraphic summons a few days ago to Shaukat Ali, and also the impending arrival in Bombay of the Raja of Mahmudabad who is said to have urged further deliberation at Bombay in consultation with the Aga Khan before a decision is reached upon the Calcutta resolutions. Chhotani on the same day wired to Kidwai at Barabanki communicating the Aga Khan's intention of leaving for Delhi on Friday, the 12th instant, and urging him to see him at Delhi if he cannot reach Bombay before his departure. Clearly if the proposed meeting is to consult the Aga Khan it will have to be very quickly arranged. Though he has now been in Bombay a week Khilafat circles still hope that he will receive their address.

A significant exchange of wires has taken place between Abdul Bari and Chhotani. On the 5th the former wired as follows to the latter and Ahmed Siddik Khatri :—

"Calcutta Conference resolutions very urgent in view British Ecclesiastic hostile attitude. If you cannot take responsibility keep aloof. Do not put hindrance. If funds are kept for propagation work do not object. Begin efforts for Khilafat Conference meeting in Ajmere Urs."

To which Chhotani replied as follows :—

"I shall do what I can to see that no opposition here. Do not be anxious. Rely upon my support."

Chhotani added the following :—

"Patna meeting declaration recent selection of Khilafat Deputation invalid. How is it ?"

That this Patna meeting is causing some pertubation in Bombay is clear from the following further telegram on the subject addressed by Chhotani on the 7th instant to the Honourable Mr. Abdul Kasim of Burdwan :—

"Patna meeting declaring recent selection of Khilafat Deputation invalid. Wire what it is. Second batch should go immediately. Arrange passports and wire Kitchlew and Shah Suleman Phulwari's son to be ready."

On the same day Chhotani wired to Shaukat Ali informing him that Mahomed Ali had demanded £ 1,000 for propaganda needs, stating that funds were being collected in Bombay, and asking for remittances from up-country. He has simultaneously cabled to Mahomed Ali £ 2,000 through the Union Bank, Holborn Branch, telling him that there is great excitement in India in connection with the anti-Islamic agitation in England and asking him to cable the result of "Cabinet interviews".

On the 7th instant one Mahomed Khan of Karachi wired as follows to Khilafat, Bombay :—

"No reply received regarding *hartal* telegram. Wire decision immediately."

A similiar wire has since been received from Surat. On the same day Chhotani wired to Shadman, Karachi :—

"Propaganda work started. Telegram sent all over India to make protest. Do all you can. Time critical. Huge meeting held here."

A private wire subsequently published anonymously in the Chronicle, reached Bombay on the 4th instant from Nunir-u-Zamah, Calcutta, outlining in the following words the campaign now inaugurated. It is rumoured that the Civil Services are to be subjected to the same pressure as

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the Army ; and that efforts will be made to rope in Hindu as well as Muhammadan servants of Government in all Departments :—

"From every town big or small His Majesty's Mussalman soldiers and Military servants should impress upon their officers the importance of this religious question and they should inform the Government that they would sever all connections with the British Government if Turkey is dismembered and Holy Places remain in the hands of non-Muslims. Meetings will be held to support the resolutions passed at Calcutta and other places. The masses will be educated with regard to the boycott of British piece-goods. A Sub-Committee is being formed in Calcutta under the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee for propaganda work so that the second Khilafat day may be made successful ; literature on the subject is in the Press ; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has cancelled his tour programme and will stay in Calcutta to supervise the whole work ; Maulana Akram Khan, the energetic Secretary, Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee, is busy in organising the work ; leaders from all parts of India are supporting the movement, and it is rightly expected that the hartal on the 19th March will be most successful. Appeal is being made for worker in each town village large or small who may ask for literature and on its receipt may take up the work of distribution in right earnest. All communications to be made to the Secretary, Provincial Committee. Harenbari Lane, Calcutta."

Abul Kalam Azad has cabled to the following English newspapers a precis of the Calcutta resolutions :—

Times.	Manchester Guardian.
Telegraph.	Nation.
India.	Westminster Gazette.
Daily Herald.	Observer.

On the 4th March the Calcutta leaders wired to Tilak and Kelkar of Poona asking for their support in connection with the hartal fixed for the 19th.

Gandhi's appeal, referred to in his telegram of the 6th, is now to hand. It contains nothing unexpected. He deprecates as usual any violence in thought, word or deed ; and makes it clear that should any manifest itself he will withdraw all Hindu co-operation. He approves as an immediate measure the hartal proposed for the 19th which must however be a purely voluntary and pacific manifestation, and must make no attempt on the mill population. As an ultimate measure, should need arise, he advocates the slow and gradual stoppage of co-operation with Government. He strongly disapproves the boycott, and also any tampering with the army, which he says should be the last weapon to employ and not the first. Withdrawal of co-operation must not affect private employers, but must confine to Government. The appeals refers with approval to the Prime Minister's latest speech and with disapproval to the tone of some of the Calcutta resolutions.

At a meeting yesterday of the Central Khilafat Committee it was decided (1) that the hartal should take place on the 19th as proposed, (2) that on the 10th the Khilafat address should be presented to His Highness the Aga Khan, who is now stated to be willing to receive a deputation, (3) to send to the King and Prime Miniser a cable of protest against recent developments at Home, and (4) to hold a public meeting in Bombay in the immediate future for the purpose of launching the monster petition decided

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upon at the Committee's last meeting. Provincial arrangements for the 19th include the distribution throughout India of appropriate posters, a Hindu-Moslem mass meeting in Bombay, and special prayers in Mosques.

The Aga Khan is reported to view with disfavour the hartal fixed for the 19th. The Raja of Mahmudabad is expected to reach Bombay on the 16th to participate in a Conference at which this question is to be finally decided. *The Times of India* on the 9th contains an appeal to Muhammadans by Mr. N. V. Sharma urging that no hartal shall take place until after the 22nd, on which date the final peace terms are expected to be communicated to the Turkish Envoys. The same postponement was pressed upon the meeting of the Khilafat Committee above reported by some of its members, though for the moment the opposite view has prevailed. On Sunday last a procession of thirty boys carrying Turkish flags and shouting Allah-o-Akbar marched from Madanpura to Chowpatty sands, where they were drilled by the Mussalman Volunteer Corps. They are apparently to be used during the hartal. It is stated that an important Conference of Mussalman leaders is to be called at Ajmer on the 29th of this month, immediately following the annual *urus*. A telegram from Abdul Bari invites Gandhi to be present at the Oudh Khilafat Conference to be held during the second week in April and asks him to name a convenient date.

The Khilafat Committee of Allahabad have appealed to the Aga Khan, Chhotani, Jinnah, Omer Sobhani and Gandhi for help in connection with the prosecution under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, of Ahmad Ahmad, a member of that body. They describe the case, the hearing of which is fixed for Monday, the 15th instant, as the "herald of repression." A long telegram, addressed on the 9th instant by Abdul Bari and Kidwai to Amir Ali, Mahomed Ali and Ispahani at London ends as follows :—

"Delegations interview with Fisher hopeful. Accept Montagu's formula. Countries Muslim before war should remain under Muslim Government and Khilafat's *Syat*".

It is learned from Burdwan that the members of the second batch of the Khilafat Deputation to Europe have got their passports and are ready to start. The following some what incoherant telegram has reached the Aga Khan from "Muhmudabad, Lucknow" :—

"Your telegram thanks. Propose meeting League Council. Agree Hindu presence if moderates join desirable. Please consult Sir Chandavarkar, Wacha, others and wire."

The above account includes all developments reported up to the moment of writing and sums up the situation at 4-00 p.m. on March 10th. The latter part of the narrative is unfortunately disjointed, which is a necessary consequence of the continual receipt of eleventh-hour fragments of information.

Bombay, March 6th.—It would appear from a letter (re-produced below) addressed to Chhotani by one Aquil-ur-Rahman Nadvi, of Kazi Moholla, Saharanpur, that to the latter's initiative must be ascribed the decision to tamper with the loyalty of Moslem soldiers, and to use men of local religious influence as burning glasses for a political conflagration. Aquil-ur-Rahman claims to have pressed this policy on the Delhi Conference in November last, as well as on the Bombay Committee. He also laments the harm done to the Muslim cause by the Ali Brothers Purse Fund; urging that while it fails to attract subscriptions to itself it distracts attention from the Khilafat Fund which but, for it, would draw enormously. The end in view,

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in his opinion, is the creation throughout India of such a spirit " that everywhere men could be found prepared to sacrifice their lives " ; and the means, the establishment of " Recruiting Committees " for the spread through posters, fatwas, etc., of an energetic propaganda.

Kazi Mohalla, Saharanpur,

Dear Sir,

I beg to invite your attention to question of the most vital importance, which on one hand will remove the dark blot from the foreheads of Indian Musalmans which they have earned by siding with infidels and on the other hand will have a sound impression on Government. I am of opinion that the Musalman leaders and particularly Ulemas made an unpardonable mistake at the time when the war was declared between the Khilafat-ul-Mussalmin and the British Government. At that very time they ought to have warned the Muslim community at large not to side the Government so it is incumbent on us to be sincere to Islam. We declare our loyalty to Government and sacrifice of our feelings and sentiments but we cannot side with the Government to shed the blood of our Muslim brethren and destroy them. Had we struck to our principles and religious commandments, the ashaming news from every nook and corner of Europe, to the effect that those brilliant victories in Iraq and Arabia are the outcome of the unflinching loyalty of the Indian Muhammadans which they showed in fighting and destroying the Turks, would never have reached our ears,

" The house was burned down by the lamp in the house itself."

(Meaning that the Indian Mussalmans themselves were instrumental in destroying their Muslim brethren.).

Can there be anything more shameful and degrading for us that it were we, Indian Mussalmans, who were instrumental in destroying a Russian power, and shaking the very foundation of Islam. This will remain a black page for Mussalmans in the history of the world for ever.

But time has arrived to undo this to some extent and who can say that it may not become a stepping stone to our future prosperity, and lead us to good. All our energies, more or less, have now become concentrated and we cannot let this rare opportunity escape without coming to a definite conclusion regarding the subject which I am bringing to your attention. My object is that we may do some such thing which may prove to be a perpetual guarantee for us of saving ourselves from any such danger in future.

I now submit to you (what I have to say) the resolutions in plain words. I do not mind if alterations are made in the word, so long as the meaning remains the same.

(1) That this meeting of the All-India Khilafat Committee hereby requests the Ulemas that they should, without any fear whatsoever (if they at all want to speak out the truth and if they consider the Muslim law their faith), declare that no Muslim should side with the infidel against Muslim Kingdom and it is unlawful to fight against the Muslim brethren. He who forgets this and acts contrary to these dictates is simply an infidel and Allah will assign him to Hell for ever.

(2) That this meeting of the All-India Khalafat Committee most respectfully request the Government that they should never recruit any Muslim in the Army for fighting against a Muslim Kingdom, and should not order any Muslim soldier to march against any Muslim Kingdom, because our

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religion allows us not that we may shed the blood of our brethren by siding with the infidels. We are faithful and our duty lies in observing peace so far only we are religiously bound.

If you, Sir, will pass these resolutions I am sure your name will be engraved in letters of gold in the history of the world, and the Musalmans of India will prove their sincerity to Islam, and will show that in openly declaring the dictates of Islam they never flinched in spite of dangers ahead. (Arabic quotation.) Our eyes should not open after the shameful treatment meted out to us and we must take a lesson from the Islamic defeats in Iraq and Arabia, which were the result of our own actions and the result the failure, through fear, of our leaders and Ulemas at the critical time. It is they who failed to warn the community and Government of the commandments of Islam and did not deter the Mussalmans of India from cutting the throats of their brethren in faith. It is they who kept quiet and suffered the destruction of Islam without moving from their comfortable houses and Madressas.

I request you, Sir, to think over the subject, examine it most minutely and then put these resolutions before the Committee. (Quotation from the Quran.).

I had sent the above request to the All-India Khilafat Conference, Delhi, on the 16th November 1919, and also on the 8th February 1920 to the Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Bombay, with a view to putting these resolutions before the Subjects Committee. However, one of the resolutions passed at the Larkana Conference bears out the idea underlying these resolutions. This is the third time that I come forward with the same request. If we seriously think that we should actually put into force that which we pass in the resolutions, I believe that the subject-matter of the resolution passed in Larkana is of vital importance and requires much more strenuous efforts of counter demonstrations than we put forth in anti-peace celebrations. My humble suggestion, therefore, is that a Committee be immediately formed, under the name of Recruiting Committee or some such name and posters and Fatwahas should be widely circulated. Its branches should be established everywhere and the Committee should work enthusiastically and unflinchingly. Otherwise mere passing of resolutions is no good.

It appears that after the anti-peace celebration movement, the spirit that was brimming has subsided. The Khilafat subscription has only reached the meagre sum of Rs. 16,000 because an appeal was made for the Ali Brothers' Purse Fund ; I have dealt with the subject elsewhere, but regret that the leaders do not pay any attention to this serious flaw. If the Khilafat subscription had been raised without making an appeal for Ali Brothers' Purse Fund, there would have been lakhs and lakhs subscribed towards it by now. Saharanpur, a small and unimportant town, would willingly have subscribed Rs. 4 to 5 thousand to the Khilafat Fund, though it has not subscribed anything towards the Ali Brothers' Purse Fund.

We have two important things to do.

One is the collection of the Khilafat subscription and the other is stopping the recruitment of Mussalmans in the Indian Army. These two things cannot be successfully put into action until we work whole-heartedly. It is useless to give elaborate receptions to leaders and cheer them. Nothing can be gained by this. What is really necessary is that such a spirit be created throughout India so that everywhere men could be found prepared to

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sacrifice their lives. It is therefore incumbent on the leaders that they should concentrate at one centre and by writing, posters and notice stir up the feelings of the people. Such posters should bear the signatures of leaders like Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali. Their signatures can infuse the same spirit which is created by their presence. The benefit of this is that while they can create spirit by their presence in one place only, the posters will create the same spirit at once and the same time throughout the whole of India.

AQUIL-UR-RAHMAN NADVI.

(*g*) *Hyderabad, February 23rd.*—The District Magistrate writes : " A meeting of about 11 Hindus and 150 to 200 Muhammadans was held at Hala on the 17th February in the mosque of Khalif Mohammad in connection with Khilafat. Makdum Ghulam Malir-ud-din walad Makhdum P. Koreshi was Chairman, Khalif Mohammad in charge of the mosque spoke, and also some other unimportant persons. Two resolutions were passed :—

(1) To invite leaders to instruct the people on the subject. (The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri and Jethmal Parsaram were mentioned as leaders.).

(2) To raise subscriptions.

" About Rs. 40 were subscribed on the spot.

" The Honourable Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah came to see me. He thinks that if one or two Muhammadan mischief-makers are given a hint by the District Magistrate the rabid speeches and threats to loyalists will cease. He seems to be afraid of mischief-makers himself and timidly whispers his views. Moulvis Gul Mahomed and Abdul Aziz took no pains to hide their disgust at such mischief-makers ".

(*h*) *Hyderabad, March 10th.*—The District Magistrate writes : " Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sarhandi of Matiari in a long talk with me said that His Majesty the King's Proclamation had done much harm though issued with the best intentions. It and the release of the political-agitators had encouraged agitators to spread the idea that rule had passed to them and that any interference with agitators was followed by the transfer or removal of the Government officers concerned. The Khilafat agitation had roused the Muhammadan masses who were ignorant and easily led. They believed their religion was affected and texts from the *Koran* had been quoted by agitators to induce this belief and the consequence was that he had other leaders though well-disposed to Government and aware that the decision as to Turkey lay in Europe, felt themselves alone against the world as he put it. They were forced to temporise and calm the heated feelings of their followers as best they could. He had no objection to Khilafat Conference but feared the result of wild speeches addressed to the ignorant. Attempts were being made to boycott and harass himself and the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Hussain Sayed Muhammad Shah had invited the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri and others to address a Khilafat meeting at Matiari on 21st March.

" I do not think matters are serious at Matiari. Sayed Muhammad Shah and other Sayeds here are very jealous of K. S. Hassan Ali Shah and I attribute their partiality to Mr. G. M. Bhurgri partly to jealousy.

" The Pir of Jhandewalla, whose village is in the north of Hala Taluka and in which Munshi Obaidullah lived as a school-master, has been away

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for some time. The Mukhtyarkar has not seen or heard of him for a long time. I believe he is in Nawabshah District. He should, I think, be closely watched. I sent a printed manifesto from Munshi Obaidullah addressed to the Wazir of Khairpur to the Commissioner on the 8th January last. Similar manifestoes have probably been addressed to many other persons in Sind and Pir Jhandewalla is likely to be one of them."

(*i*) *Thana, March 6th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "I have just had a talk with a Muhammadan gentleman (who does not belong to this district) and he seems to be positive of two things, namely :—

(1) That this pro-Turkism is skin-deep, and will pass off,

(2) That the Ali Brothers are making a livelihood out of the business (and others are resenting this).

He says that pilgrims report against their treatment by the Turks. In fact, he dubs the Turks as little more than thieves and robbers. The good Muhammadan is a very different person. Political propaganda loves a religious pretext."

(*j*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 13th.*—The English newspapers of the 12th instant contain telegrams from various prominent people, such as Tajuddin (Calcutta), Satyamurti (Madras), Syed Nabialia (Lucknow), Dr. Munje (C. P.), Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Baptista, supporting the proposed hartal on the 19th and wishing the movement success. Abul Kalam Azad is reported to have signed a manifesto to the effect that the work of the 19th March ought to be performed with unity and zeal, but it must be peaceful.

The Dnyan Prakash of the 11th March gives what purports to be the general sense of Gandhi's manifesto regarding the hartal proposed for the 19th March.

All meetings on this occasion should pass the same resolution embodying the Muhammadan demands. There should be no violence of any kind. Should the British Government and the Allies pay no heed to these demands the question of what should next be done will arise. Under the present circumstances it would be out of the question to fight openly or secretly. A method more likely to meet with the approval of civilized people would be to refuse to co-operate with the Government.

This would include the resignation of all Government posts by high and low, but no compulsion would be employed to force resignations.

It is premature at present to consider the possibilities of a military strike, and only as a last resource, in the event of Indians being deserted in this matter of the Khilafat by the Government of India, the Secretary of State or the Prime Minister, should be question of advising the army to strike be considered.

* * * * * * * *

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

Caliphate and Turkish Empire : Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Sukkar, March 7th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "On 27th February a mass meeting, attended by about 150 Mussalmans, was held in the Jama Masjid at Shikarpur by three leading Mussalmans of the town and a teacher in the Arabic School. Its object was to advise loyalty and tranquility, Constantinople having been left in the hands of Turkey.'

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(*b*) *Karachi, March 12th.*—The Honourable Mr. Bhurgri left for Bombay by the *Linga* last night. In the course of conversation with a C.I.D. officer he said that there was great excitement and strong feeling among Moslems caused by agitation over the Caliphate. This was a wrong course. He had been to England and seen a lot. He expressed his opinion that action against one of the agitators would frighten the remainder. He told the officer not to forget to wire his departure to Bombay. He probably knows that wires are sent about his movements. Gulamali Chagla and Jamshed N. R. Mehta saw him off.

It is rumoured that a leaflet on the hartal of the 19th is in course of preparation. It will contain extracts from a speech by Pir Jhandewalla.

(*c*) *Karachi, March 10th.*—There is a rumour that five men have come to Sind from Allahabad to note the names of persons who will stand by the Caliphate movement at the risk of their lives and property. They are at Hyderabad at present. It is said that one of them is a retired Judge and the others are Moulvis.

(*d*) *Karachi, March 11th.*—The Assistant Superintendent of Police C.I.D., reports: "A memon friend of mine told me last night that the Caliphate leaders are endeavouring to arrange that all Moslems who do not take part in the hartal should be excommunicated, no one should attend marriages or funerals in their families and they should be excluded from the burial grounds—in fact ostracism such as to terrify all. He does not believe this will be achieved in Karachi as there is no unity, but 'outsiders—meaning persons from other Provinces—are trying to get the Caliphate party to work it. He further told me that there is a great deal of wild and extravagant talk among the Caliphate agitators, who say they must fight, no matter if they have no arms, and by being shot down they will save Islam through the impression it will make on the world. He says this is very amusing nonsense, but nevertheless anxiety regarding the danger to Islam is growing.

"Pir Gulam Ahmad Sarhandi has announced that there will be a Caliphate Conference at Matiari on the 21st instant and Haji Abdulla Haroon will preside".

(*e*) *Karachi, March 13th.*—Mohanlal, a Cutchi goldsmith, visited many shops in the Sadar last night and told the owners to close on the 19th, adding that neither the public nor the Government would be responsible for damage if they did not comply. One Muhammad Yasin, a Bengali shopkeeper, asked Mohanlal under whose orders the shops were to be closed and he replied under the orders of Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abdul Bari and Gandhi. He did the same in the soldier Bazaar.

The Assistant Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., reports: "A leading Borah merchant told me that the Borhas will probably close their shops on the 19th, not because they are pro-Caliphate, but to avoid trouble.

"At the Memon Masjid, yesterday, after the usual prayers, the Pesh Imam, referring to a pamphlet from Delhi, said that they were awaiting the fulfilment of the promises by Government in relation to the Caliphate. Moslems should keep this matter in their minds. He appealed for Funds for the Caliphate propaganda. He spoke of the unity with which in England ministers of religion have moved against Islam. He asked the assembly to pray for the Caliphate and for a renewal of friendly relations between England and Turkey.

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"At the Garri Khatta Masjid, Hakim Fateh Muhammad said there would be a hartal on the 19th and all business should be suspended.

"Muhammad Khan said it would be a disgrace if Moslems did not observe the hartal, when Hindus had consented to do so, but there would be no compulsion. It was ordained in the Koran that the holy places should remain under Moslems. He announced a public meeting on the 19th.

"A public meeting will probably be held tomorrow when some literature will be distributed."

(*f*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 16th.*—The following is a report of the Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, for the 8th March 1920:—

An informant reports that—

(i) The other day he was informed by Abdul Jabbar, a pleader of Hyderabad, prominent in the Caliphate agitation, that this year the blacksmiths had turned out twice as many axes as usual because people were arming themselves;

(ii) Haji Ahmad the speaker who at the Larkana Conference exhorted the audience to seize sticks and stones and to be ready, replied, when remonstrated with, that public feeling demanded even stronger language;

(iii) The next Caliphate Conference in Sind is likely to be held at Chhor on the J. B. Railway (district Thar and Parkar) because it is thought that the Zamindars of the Eastern Nara have not yet come into the movement.

There are signs that even the extreme factions of Hindu politicians are beginning to get afraid of the violence of the Caliphate campaign and to counsel moderation. Gandhi has told the Caliphate agitators to stick to their minimum demands and he will be with them. The New Times hopes that the hartal of the 19th March "will be characterised by sobriety and moral earnestness".

It would appear to be realised that the feeling behind the Caliphate agitation aims rather at the establishment of an Islamic Empire than at the realisation of Home Rule for India.

Muhammad Khan, Secretary of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee, Islam Club on Kutchery Road (near the Clifton Road Level Crossing), is lighted up every night and frequented by a number of somewhat excited Borhas and Memons.

The Al Wahid Press on McLeod Road is active though nothing has yet been seen of its products.

Muhammad Khan, Secretary of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee, has announced that hartal is to be observed locally on the 19th instant and that literature can be had from the Secretary, Napier Road, Karachi.

(*g*) *C. I. D., Bombay, March 16th.*—Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, reports under date 9th March 1920: "The situation is beginning to crystalize.

"On the Moderate side the following appear not to be prepared to go beyond constitutional agitation.—The Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, Jairamdas Daulatram Advani, Editor, Bharatwasi, and Santdas Mangharam, Pleader.

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"On the other hand, Muhammad Khan of Karachi, Dr. Nur Muhammad of Karachi, Haji Shah Baksh of Hyderabad, Sheikh Abdul Majid of Hyderabad, Abdul Jabber, Pleader of Karachi, Nur Muhammad, Pleader of Hyderabad, and Perial Shah of Naushahro Feroze, appear to be ready to stir up disaffection among the troops if possible.

The following items of information (which may or may not be quite accurate) deserve special attention as indicating the line of action the Extremists are taking or likely to take :—

(a) Haji Shah Baksh was sent to get into touch with the mullah in a mosque in the military lines at Hyderabad and to arrange through him for the distribution of leaflets to Muhammadan sepoys.

(b) Parial Shah has been sent to the Pir of Kingri to get him to issue instructions to his followers who are in military service to refuse duty.

(c) Help is expected on the 19th from Amir of Kabul. If things go badly, a deputation will be sent to get the Amir's instructions.

"A report just received from the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Karachi, C.I.D., is of great significance. According to it Muhammad Khan, after vainly approaching certain Karachi presses to get leaflets printed in Sindhi, left last night (8th instant) for Hyderabad (Sind) along with Jethmal Parsram. It is presumed that he will try to get the printing done at the Bharatvasi Press, but there he will have to reckon with Jairamdas Daulatram Advani, who is of the Moderate faction but the report seems to indicate that Hyderabad, rather than Karachi, is to be the storm centre. This impression is confirmed by the departure of Haji Abdullah Haroon for Hyderabad by the Quetta Mail this morning.

"It is suggested that all civil officers be asked to remain in Head Quarters from now till after the 19th so as to be in a position to take immediate action on cipher wires.

"It is also suggested that District Superintendents of Police should arrange for the movements of the following to be specially followed by a spy detailed for the purpose :—

Dr. Nur Muhammad of Hyderabad.

Muhammad Khan of Karachi

Haji Shah Baksh of Hyderabad.

Haji Abdullah of Karachi.

Parial Shah of Naushahro Feroze.".

Note.—The District Superintendent of Police, Karachi, writing on the 9th instant reports that there is some talk among Railway workshop employees of not attending work on the 19th.

(*h*) *East Khandesh, March 1st.*—The Sub-Inspector, Bhusawal, reports that one Abdul Razak of Calcutta, a servant of a confectionary company at Pachmari, arrived at Bhusawal on the 21st February from Bombay by Calcutta Mail and put up with one Mirza Mohidin Savdagar, a shop-keeper. He called on five or six leading Muhammadians of Bhusawal and asked them to collect subscriptions towards the Caliphate Fund. He also saw Khan Bahadur Kamruddin Abdul Rahiman, retired Police Inspector, in connec-

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tion with subscriptions. On being asked if he has any letter or authority to show he was to collect money, he could not produce any. He collected nothing in Bhusawal. He distributed leaflets giving Bhurgri's speech at the third meeting of the All-India Caliphate Conference Bombay, on the 15th and 16th February, in Bhusawal Town, He left Bhusawal the same day and went in the direction of Khandwa.

(*i*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 19th.*—Under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, a public meeting of the Muhammadans of Bombay was held on the night of the 3rd March at Mustanshah's Tank, off Bellasis Road, Bombay, attended by several thousands to protest against the anti-Islamic agitation now being carried on by a certain section of the British public. Mr. Mia Mahommed Haji Janmohamed Chhotani, J.P., presided. Among those present were His Highness the Aga Khan, who was received with shouts, of "Allah-o-Akbar", and the Honourable Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Haji Esmail Sait Moulana Shah Suleman Phulwari, Khan Bahadur Mohamedali Abdulkader; Messrs. S. R. Bomanji and Syed Gulammohamed Refai.

The President said they had helped the British Government in her hour of distress with 15 lakhs of men of the Indian Army. The Christian powers were guarding their Khalifa with their guns. Not only this but Lord Cecil Bryce and Company, had increased their troubles by listening to the hue and cry raised by the missionaries against Islam who desired the extirpation of Islam from the world. The division of Turkey would create fearful results. He thanked His Highness the Aga Khan on their behalf for his services to Islam at this critical moment and he would do so in future.

Moulana Shah Suleman Phulwari then proposed the following resolution:— That this mass meeting of the Mussalmans of Bombay held under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India views with the gravest concern the agitation started in England against the decision of the British Cabinet to allow the Turks to retain Constantinople and the attempt made by some British statesmen to misrepresent and misinterpret the true Moslem feelings with regard to the Khilafat question. This meeting further deprecates the part which the Archbishops of Canterbury and York have taken in this agitation and protests against it, for the action of the Archbishops gives the movement a religious colour and is apt to be interpreted as an attack by Christanity upon Islam and to create a gulf of bitterness and hatred between the two great Faiths of the British Empire. This meeting demands that the responsible Ministers of the Crown will not yield to this uniformed and fanatical agitation, but will remain firm.

Mr. Gandhi said he had read certain resolutions passed at the Khilafat Conference in Calcutta. While he approved some of them, he disapproved of others. Moulana Abdul Bari had done a perfectly loyal duty at Calcutta in saying what he said there. When some of the clergy had said the war was a crusade, Moulana Bari was justified in replying to them in the manner he did. He acquiesced in the resignations of the Moslem members of the Legislative Councils if the Turkish question were not decided equitably and in this, he said, the Muhammadans would have the support of the Hindus. But he differed from them in the resolution of boycott as he

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was opposed to boycott for any reasons. He asked them not to mix up the question of Khilafat with other things. He deeply sympathised with the legitimate aspirations of the Egyptians but the should not mix it up with the question of Khilafat. He asked them to stick to their minimum demands and the Hindus would be with them. Their cause was righteous and they would succeed in it.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ibrahim, in seconding the above resolution, said that Maulana Shah Suleman Phulwari had made a very impressive speech, and little need be added to it. He could not understand the attitude taken up by Lord Curzon, Lord Bryce, Lord Robert Cecil and others. They had done within constitutional limits all that was possible to do to bring home to the British Government and British people the views and hopes of the Indian Moslems with regard to the fate of Turkey, and especially with reference to the question of the Caliphate. Mass meeting had been held time and again throughout the whole country ; most emphatic telegrams had been forwarded to the Premier and to the Secretary of State apprising them of the state of feelings of the Indian Moslems, and yet these agitators maintained that there was not a very strong feeling in India about the fate of Turkey. Lord Chelmsfor and Mr. Montagu had repeatedly drawn the attention of the powers that be to the marked feeling in India, and had repeatedly urged caution, and yet Lord Robert Cecil and the others with him tried to make out that the agitation was not so acute as was attempted to be made out. If they would not believe their own officials, who were the best judges of the prevailing situation, he wondered what would satisfy them. The question of the Khilafat is most intimately connected with Constantinople and any attempt to sever the connection must deeply offend Moslem religious susceptibilities, and these men, who had taken up their inexplicable attitude now at the eleventh hour, ought to know this. The most immediate effect of this pledge was seen in the great stimulus to recruiting in India to which it led, and had it not been for this assurance so solemnly given, Indian Muhammadans would not have gone in to fight and give their lives for the British. The Prime Minister himself acknowledged that British could not have won this war without this help, and would British statesmen now be prepared to allow the word of Britain to be mistrusted ? They hoped and prayed that better counsels would prevail, and that nothing would be done to needlessly injure the most sacred ties that bound the Muhammadan world to the Caliphate, which was apprehended, and which was clearly shown by the meetings held in different parts of India, since this fresh agitation in England.

Mr. Mirza Alimahomedkhan and Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed further supported it. The latter said the opposition to the Khilafat by the Archbishop of Canterbury was justified because he received a salary from the Government and he must express his views and the missionaries followed him. (Cries of shame, shame).

Mr. Zafaralikhan then further spoke on the resolution and read a poem which was sold for Rs. 1,221 as it treated of the sway of Islam in the past and referred to the duty of Moslems to take part in the Khilafat question.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas then spoke in Urdu and said that Lord Curzon had a hand in the present agitation in England and they should thank him. The foundation of the British Government was based on neutrality in religion. They should serve God who would help them. The time for the

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Muhammadans was a very critical one. The Muhammadans should have determination and 22 crores of Hindus would help them. He assured them their demands were just and the Hindus would help them in getting them.

The following resolution was then moved from the chair and passed unanimously:—That this meeting desired to record its grateful thanks to the Right Honourable Mr. E. S. Montagu for his heroic espousal of the just cause of Islam.

Mr. Mudruddin Abdulla Koor then proposed the following resolution:— That this meeting of Moslems urges the Mussalman representatives on the various Legislative Councils of India including the Executive Councils to pointedly bring to the notice of the representatives of the Crown in this country the cherished feelings of the Mussalmans on the question of the Khilafat, the Holy Places of Islam and the Jazirat-ul-Arab and hereby requires every Mussalman representative on the Legislative and Executive Councils of India to resign their respective seats if the decision of the British Cabinet to allow the Turks to retain Constantinople is reserved and the other demands of the Mussalmans as laid down in the manifesto issued by the All-India Khilafat Conference on the 17th February 1920 are not acceded to.

In proposing the above resolution he said events were moving and unfolding in such a rapid succession that they were hardly able to grap their full significance, but still they did realise the formidable and far-reaching nature of their consequences. Empires had disappeared. Russia was no more a formidable political unit. Germany and Austria had ceased to be powerful and the fate of the Khilafat was now hanging in the balance. With Turkey's existence as a power and with the Khalifa's temporal sovereignty over the holy places unimpaired, the future of the Khilafat was indissolubly bound up. This was the main and central fact to which they had been repeatedly drawing the attention of the British Government. The Turkish problem had been daily changing its phases since the armistice but there was no sign as yet of its solution in a way which would satisfy the just and righteous demands of the Indian Mussalmans. To his mind the last pronouncement of the Prime Minister made by him in the House of Commons was extremely disappointing as it did not give them any just solution of the holy places of Islam and the Jazirat-ul-Arab. He said that Constantinople should be left in the hands of the Turks, but if the Straits of the Dardanelles and Bospohrus were internationalised, the Sovereignty of the Khalifa at the very seat of the Khilafat would be dominated by non-Moslem influence which was totally against the dogmas and the doctrines of Islam. But, further they were amazed that notwithstanding their repeated and strong protests, the Prime Minister's pronouncement did not place even the holy places of Islam under the suzerainty of the Khalifa and they had heard with the greatest sorrow and consternation that almost half of the Turkish Empire was threatened to be wrested from the control of their Khalifa. Against this flagrant injustice Indian Mussalmans should not protest but adopt such practical steps that would convince their Government that they were very serious on this question and their hearts would be deeply wounded if the threatened dismemberment of the Turkish Empire would be carried out. He therefore, urged their representatives on the Legislative and Executive Councils to resign their seats if their just and righteous demands were not acceded to. They were obliged to take this step to express their strong protest and detestation against the threatened

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dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the removal of the holy places of Islam from the control and guardianship of the Khalifa who alone, according to the Islamic doctrines, was entitled to be their guardian. They still hoped that their Government would respect their religious feelings, would use its powerful influence at the Peace Conference and bring about a satisfactory solution of the Turkish question which would satisfy the religious sentiments and aspirations of the Mussalmans of the whole of India. But before the Peace Terms with Turkey were announced, they must be ready to give some Practical shape to their protests and the best way to do so would be to withdraw their representatives from the Legislative and the Executive Councils if their just demands were not acceded to.

Pandit Nekiram Sarma of Delhi in seconding the above resolution said the community which lived like a dead body for over 150 years had now awakened, and if the wishes of the Muhammadans were not carried out 64 crores of Indians would be dissatisfied. They were united at the Sangam Theatre in Delhi and they could depend upon the support of their Hindu brethren. They should have self-determination and success would be theirs. When their religion was at stake, they should unite and work for its defence.

Messrs. Ismail Gora, Abu Yousuf Isphani and Abdul Rauf further supported the resolution.

Mr. Nanabhai Upadhia said they should renounce all titles of Government, even the honour of J. P.'s conferred on them. He questioned the President whether he would do so; to which Mr. Chhotani replied in the affirmative. Here Rs. 1,007 were further collected for the fund.

Mr. Zafaralikhan then moved the following resolution, which was passed unanimously: —This public meeting of the Mussalmans of Bombay approaches the Imperial Government with a request that in pursuance of the gracious Proclamation of His Imperial Majesty Hazrat Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hassan whose prolonged internment is causing great anxiety to Mussalmans may be restored to full liberty.

After a vote of thanks to the President proposed by Mr. A. K. Fazla, the meeting terminated at 2-50 a.m.

(*j*) *Bombay, March 12th.*—Belgaum and Karachi have again applied to the Caliphate Committee, Bombay, for instructions as to the hartal: and the Calcutta leaders have wired direct to various Muhammadans at Ahmedabad and Kalyan, as well as to Dr. Savarkar of the Home Rule League, Bombay, urging them to make the hartal a success and informing them that Caliphate literature has been posted to them. The Central Caliphate Committee at Bombay is still so uncertain of its exact position in reference to the agitation now being directed from Calcutta, that it has just wired to ask whether the Calcutta propaganda is intended for Bengal alone or for the whole of India, stating "that there is no objection if you start. All-India Propaganda under Central Committee's guidance" and asking for an immediate reply "so that we may decide". That the meeting proposed for the 17th is regarded with grave suspicion by the up-country leaders is proved by a series of telegrams despatched to them by Chhotani during the last 24 hours. He explains that the Aga Khan is "ready to sincerely co-operate with us"; that the meeting is "not to hinder the hartal or the Calcutta resolution"; that it was not convened at the Raja of Mahmudabad's instance; that if doubts still exist as to its intention, it "may be postponed until after the 19th"; that if Abdul Bari (a) objects to

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it, it shall be cancelled altogether ; and that in any case no notices regarding it have been issued to the leaders whose amendence is desired. These statements are embodied in telegrams despatched to Abdul Bari, Shaukat Ali, Abdul Kalam Azad and the Editors of the Hamdam (Allahabad) and *Aftab* (Lahore). The last of them is not true. Certain leaders have already been summoned ; and Gandhi has replied by wire that he will try to be present.

Gandhi has also received an urgent request from Chand Karan, Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Political Conference to be held at Ajmer on the 26th, 27th and 28th of March, urging him to attend. A similar invitation has also been sent to Tilak.

A telegram has been sent by "Ahmed, Bombay" to Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy at Delhi, asking for instructions whether or not to close the latter's mills in Bombay on the 19th.

Chhotani has wired to Amir Ali, London, to the effect that he is sending 10,000 blankets "by some reliable messengers". These blankets are evidently an instalment of relief to the Turks of Asia Minor.

The following telegrams are noteworthy :—

(1) From Cherif, Paris, to Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta :—
"Telegram received Most hearty and grateful thanks. May the Almighty help us to achieve our noble and sacred cause."

(2) From O'Gorman, Delhi, to the Catholic Bishop, Mangalore :—
"Regarding Turkish question greatest caution necessary. Advise no action."

Bombay, March 13th.—O'Gorman has now wired in identical terms to (Pais, Vakil, Nesbit Road, Bombay, Mazagaon).

The presentation of the address to the Aga Khan.—After the Aga Khan's speech, subscriptions to the Caliphate Fund, totalling over a lakh and a quarter of rupees, were made on the spot by the assembled delegates. The number of delegates was 25. Over a hundred had been invited to the function.

The Mills and the hartal.—Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy has instructed his brother Ahmad, in reply to the latter's wire reported yesterday (reproduced above), to do as the other mills do.

The meeting proposed for the 17th has been postponed indefinitely, and telegraphic intimation to that effect has been sent to Gandhi and other leaders expected to attend. Abdul Bari has simultaneously informed Chhotani that, his explanations being satisfactory, he had no objection to the meeting as proposed. He thinks, however, it would have been wiser originally to fix it for the twentieth or later, as the earlier date proposed (i.e., the 17th) would suggest the idea that the "nineteenth was fixed for some violence that has been hindered by the proposed Conference." He also hopes to reach Bombay in time for the meeting.

Propaganda and organisation.—Essa Khan Nathalal Sarpanch Afghan of Ahmedabad has wired to Shaukat Ali and other Calcutta leaders to the effect that he has printed and distributed 20,000 copies of the Bombay and Calcutta resolutions and that he has completely carried out their other instructions. The Secretary of the Moslem Association, Chitagong, has pointed out to the Bombay Committee that the 19th is an office day and asked for "instructions regarding Moslem officers." The Firozabad

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Caliphate Committee has wired its thanks to Messrs. Crum and Paton for their intervention. The Belgaum Caliphate Committee has invited Chhotani to attend a Conference which it is proposed to hold there on the 28th and 29th April in order that full advantage may be taken of the new spirit which has appeared in the neighbourhood since the return of the local delegates from the Bombay Conference.

Miscellaneous.—Bombay intends to send a number of delegates to the forthcoming Conference at Ajmer under the presidentship of Ansari. Mojawalla's complaint against Chhotani for assault is fixed for hearing on the 19th i.e., hartal day. Meanwhile Mojawalla has applied to the Police for protection against persecution by Chhotani's adherents, who assert that his object in prosecution Chhotani is to smash the Caliphate agitation. Chhotani has wired to Allahabad for particulars of the Caliphate prosecutions there, in order "to enable us to support case". Tilak has informed Khaparde, who is at Delhi, that he will arrive there on the 20th, which presumably means that he will take no active personal part in the hartal on the previous day. Baptista wired a day or two ago to the Calcutta leaders assuring them of his support in their programme; and Barjorji Framji Bharucha has wired to Sir Fazulibhoy Currimbhoy and eight Hindu members of the Imperial Legislative Council urging them to memorialise the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister in Turkey's favour. Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha has wired from Delhi to N. M. Samarth, pleader, Girgaum, Bombay, as follows:—"Highly expendient you move our Association to declare publicly that we disassociate ourselves from the movement touching coming hartal." The Association referred to is the Western India National Liberal Association. It is understood that the Caliphate Committee intends to apply for the use of the Town Hall for the big meeting on the 19th. Another feature of the day will be the congregational prayers in all mosques.

(*k*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 15th.*—(1) Caliphate agitation. No decision regarding the observance of the hartal on the 19th instant has yet been arrived at in Poona. The shopkeepers have not yet been approached by anyone with suggestions that they should close their shops. They say, however, that if others close they will close also. Amongst the illiterate Muhammadans absurd notions exist as to the reason for the hartal. A Muhammadan butler was heard to say in a book-shop that the Sultan of Turkey was to be deposed on the 19th and that was the reason for the hartal.

(2) The O'Gorman mentioned in the report of the Commissioner of Police as the sender of the telegram to the Catholic Bishop of Mangalore and to Pais of Bombay is W. P. O'Gorman, a retired Colonel of the I.M.S.

(*l*) *Bombay, March 15th.*—Proposed meeting on the 17th. It appears that only one or two out of a hundred intended invitations to Hindu and Mussalman leaders were actually despatched. The other telegrams were made out but held up at the last moment. Abul Kalam Azad has wired from Calcutta applauding Chhotani's action in postponing the meeting and promising to attend on any post-hartal date fixed in consultation with Shaukat Ali and Kidwai.

Post-hartal Conference.—Chhotani has telegraphed to Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad and Shaukat Ali as follows:—

"Aga Khan desires meeting of Hindu and Muhammadan leaders including Members of Councils and Central Caliphate Committee on or before the twenty-second, when he himself and Kidwai should give

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evidence of present situation in England, and Members then to decide what practical course to adopt for pressing favourable settlement with Turkey. Kindly wire if advisable holding meeting."

Kidwai has notified his intention of coming to Bombay at once if the Aga Khan remains here.

The Hartal.—Many copies of two hartal posters have been received from Calcutta by the Caliphate Committee, the Anjuman Zia-ul-Islam and Ahmed Siddiq Khatri. Copies of No. 1 have been stuck up in conspicuous places throughout Bombay. I attach a translation of each. (Reproduced below.) These posters are insidious and dangerous. It is said that the second was intended for distribution among the troops and that the Bombay Committee refuses to have anything to do with it. Chhotani is reported to be informing Calcutta that its issue to the troops is too dangerous a game to play. So far, no detailed instruction for the hartal has been distributed by the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders. The Caliphate Committee will sit tomorrow. Rumours are afloat that the Muhammadan employees of some, at least of the Mills will do no work on the 19th. Ahmed Siddiq Khatri has telegraphed to Calcutta in the following terms :—

"Masses being educated. *Inshaallah,* hartal will be successful and peaceful. Posters distributed."

Miscellaneous.—Abdul Bari's telegram mentioned in yesterday's report ends with the following words :—

"It has now become a question of Islam and Christianity. In these matters all share and cherish some feelings, whether officials or professionals, religions or politicians, or Mussalmans in general. All to be trusted. Rely on God."

Chhotani has declined an invitation to attend the Caliphate Conference to be held at Meerut on the 20th and 21st of this month. His telegrams ends :—

"Hold Conference by all means, but pass practical resolution."

Khatri, Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and the Aga Khan have also been invited to this Conference. The wire of invitation has been signed by Muhammad Hussain and Mushir Hussain Kidwai. Tilak has notified the Secretary of the Ajmer Political Conference that he cannot attend but wishes the meeting success. The Belgaum Committee has invited Zafar Ali Khan to preside at a mass meeting to be held there on the 19th.

In reply to his request for information whether Calcutta is organising propaganda for Bengal only, or for the whole of India, Chhotani has been informed that the Calcutta Propaganda Branch under Abul Kalam Azad is intended "with your Committee's consent and approval to take charge of the work throughout India." Benares, Ferozepore and Calicut have referred to Bombay for instructions as to the hartal. Posters have been or are being sent to all of them.

Movements.—Shaukat Ali has arrived in Bombay from Burhanpur.

Translation of Poster No. 1.

Oh' Community, come and listen to our message.

The question of the Caliphate, Jazirat-ul-Arab and other sacred places.

The last and the final attempt at constitutional agitation. The last and the final message of righteousness from Hindustan. Hence after, there will be no request. We will do as we deem fit.

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The fatwa of the Muhammadan Ulemas of Hindustan issued with one accord.

If any decisions are made against our demands which are based on religious grounds, then only two ways will be open for us : Either we should obey the Islamic Mandate which teaches us to assist and obey the Caliph of the time and to safeguard the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the other holy places, even at the sacrifice of our lives and property ; or we should side with the British Government which does not care to fulfil its promises when the time comes.

It is hereby declared, with the permission of the Central Caliphate Conference and in accordance with the resolution unanimously passed at the Caliphate Conference, Calcutta, that Friday the 19th March 1920, after Jumma prayers, the Muhammadans in all cities, towns and villages should convene meetings and send messages aforesaid to His Majesty the King-Emperor through His Excellency the Viceroy. The messages should be sent telegraphically.

Our Hindu brethren throughout the country are also with us.

The meetings on the 19th instant are not for Muhammadans only, but there should be joint meetings of Muhammadans and Hindus.

Maulana Abdul Bari, Abul Kalam Azad, Shaukat Ali and Mashir Hussain Kidwai request the public that the 19th instant be observed with as unprecedented a demonstration as possible and every effort should be made to enforce the demands.

On the 19th instant business should be entirely stopped and the whole of the day should be passed in prayer and in holding meetings. This last effort should be observed with calm and peace and there should be no processions or gatherings except in the meetings.

Translation of Poster No. 2

Obey God, the Prophet and the Caliph.

The Prophet has said that whoever has stepped out of Islamic duty and died in the same state, his death would be of ignorance. It is not the true death of a Muhammadan.

The 2nd Caliphate Day, Friday, 19th March 1920.

1. The priests and all the Muhammadans of different districts, towns and villages of India have unanimously held that it is a well-known fact to the Muhammadans of the world that His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph of the Muhammadans and that Constantinople is the seat of the Caliphate.

2. It is the religious duty of all Muhammadans of the world to obey and help the Caliphate. Anyone who fails to perform this duty is disobeying the commandments of God and the Prophet.

3. It is the law of Islam that if any non-Moslem tries to take possession of the Muslim Kingdom and population it is the duty of the Muhammadans who are near the country, and then the rest of the Muhammadans world, to stand up and to defend and to restore the country in the hands of the Muslims.

4. Muslims cannot tolerate any non-Muslim in the Jazirat-ul-Arab because no non-Muslim can rule or occupy such a place. If it is going to be so then it is a religious duty of all Muhammadans to make the Jazirat-ul-Arab in every way a Muslim country and to sacrifice everything in the cause of Islam.

5. All the religious places shall remain under the control of the Caliph in which the Bait-ul-Mukadas is also included.

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The Muhammadans held several meetings and sent petitions, giving the orders of the priests and the religious duties, to the Government. They also request saying that a time may not come when it will have to be decided whether they should remain loyal to the British Rule or to Islam. It is a pity that no good result has been achieved. Indifference is shown to the injured feelings of the Muhammadans day by day. It is being commonly said that this is not a religious question. Whatever may be the result of this, there will be no difference between the Muhammadans. This matter has reached its climax.

The commandments of Islam have been clearly mentioned above. If any decision is arrived against our demands, then we cannot remain Muhammadans. If they are not carried into effect, the natural result of this would be that our loyal feelings towards the British Government would cease to exist. If anything is done to the contrary it shall be the duty to take action and to sink our love and thanks to Government. We see that 22 crores of our Hindu brethren are on our side in the cause of justice.

The chief leader of India, Mahatma Gandhi, has said in Benares that the demand of Muhammadans is just, and therefore, the Hindus were ready to given their necks with the Muhammadans. The Central Caliphate Committee hence, on the resolution of the Caliphate Conference at Calcutta, have decided that we shall send our last appeal to His Majesty the king.

You may reside in any village, town or district and if you are Muhammadans and if you are Hindus and if you are Indians, it is your duty to stop all work and business. Assemble in mosques after Juma prayers or in any open place and pray to the King of the World, i.e., God, and then send your last message to the King of the World. The message is only this :—

If the Caliphate question and the question of the Jazirat-ul-Arab are decided against our religious feelings, we shall at once cease our loyal connection with the British Government. That this message should be sent at once to the Viceroy by telegram with a request that it should be conveyed to His Majesty the King. This holy day shall be ended in peace. There should not be any meeting except this meeting with peace. No procession shall be taken on roads. Anyone who disobeys this will bring ruin to our cause.

Signatures :—

1. Shaukat Ali.
2. Abul Kalam Azad.
3. Honourable Fazi-ul-Haq.
4. Maulana Hasrat Mohani.
5. Honourable Abdul Qassim.
6. Muhammad Akram Khan.
7. Tajuddin.
8. Mujibur Rahman.

Office of the Caliphate Committee, Bengal, Siraj Building, Haranbadi Lane.

Telegraphic Address :—Caliphate, Calcutta.

(*m*) *Bombay, March 16th.*—The Caliphate agitation. Movements. Kidwai and Gandhi arrived in Bombay today. Shaukat Ali has been invited to visit Yeotmal and Dhamangaon on his way back to Bombay.

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The Hartal.—The posters reported yesterday were stuck up under the orders of Abdul Raoof, Secretary of the Anjuman-Zia-ul-Islam, Chhotani and Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan, interviewed at 3 O'clock this afternoon, denied all knowledge of them. On being shown copies, the former approved of them, though with some hestitation. The latter disapproved of parts of them. According to them the Caliphate Committee contemplates issuing a manifesto of its own by which it is hoped to remove any undersirable impression created by these placards. The idea of holding the mass meeting on the 9th in the Town Hall has been abandoned. The meeting will take place at the Mastan Tank. Chhotani and Ali Muhammad Khan were confident that the hartal in Bombay will not disturb the public peace. The purpose to organise, for use over the whole area from Bandra to Colaba, volunteer patrols provided with motor vehicles. Chhotani said he would use his influence to prevent any stoppage of the mills, but hoped that Government would give its Muhammadan employees one day's casual leave in order to enable them to take part in the hartal. As to the part to be played by the mill-hands in the hartal, Abdul Bari has wired to Gandhi as follows :—

"Hartal in my opinion means suspension for Juma prayers and joining meeting with mill-hands or others (stop). Leaving free for whole day inadvisable if can partake two functions without suspension of business."

Abul Kalam Azad has informed Gandhi that he has already issued instructions that the Calcutta mill-hands should not join the hartal and that the mills will work as usual throughout the day.

Post-hartal Conference—Chhotani.—Chhotani has been invited to preside over the Ajmer Conference on the 26th and 27th instant. The Meerut Committee has invited him, the Aga Khan and Suleman Shah Phulwari to attend the Meerut Conference on the 20th and 21st instant. Ansari and Ajmal Khan had invited Tilak, Satyamurti, Baptista, Chhotani, Shaukat Ali, Jinnah, Gandhi and the Aga Khan to an important "consultation" on political subjects, including the Caliphate, to be held at Delhi on the 22nd instant. Abdul Bari has replied to Chhotani throwing cold water on the Aga Khan's suggestion for a Conference in Bombay on or about 22nd. He points out that this conference will interfere with that previously settled for Meerut.

Miscellaneous.—Sir Dinshaw Wacha, has again urged N. M. Samarth to issue, in consultation with Sir Narayan Chandawarkar, a manifesto on the lines of that which Surendranath Banerjee has just recommended to the Calcutta League, namely, that, while sympathising with Muhammadan efforts to secure the Holy Places and greatly regretting the agitation in England, the League wholly disassociates itself from the disloyal hartal and boycott movements. It warns all concerned against the grave consequences thereby involved to the highest national interests. Farroquali has wired from Rampur State to Shaukat Ali as follows :—

"Telegram from Muhammad Ali, to you received dated 8th. If you require will be sent by man or post.".

This wire may prove of some importance.

Chittagong has decided to follow Gandhi's advice and that Muhammadan officials and students should apply for leave on the 19th. Girdhari Lal has also wired from Amritsar to Gandhi for instruction as to the extent to which Hindus should participate in the hartal. Abdul Bari's final definition of the peace terms which he is prepared to accept is contained in a telegram to Chhotani, dated the 16th, which runs :—

"Jazirat-ul-Arab Holy places, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palesting must remain under Calipha's 'Ayadat' while other countries including Constan-

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tinople must remain under his possession (Stop.). No Holy places can be placed under common Muslim and non-Muslim 'Ayadat'.".

Chhotani's Mills in Bombay were destroyed by fire last night. The damage, only part of which was covered by insurance, is said to total 15 lakhs. Chhotani connects this misfortune with the Mojawala prosecution.

The Caliphate Committee has received information from Sind that the Calcutta resolutions have divided opinion there ; and from Ahmedabad that the intervention of the Aga Khan and the Raja of Mahmudabad has led to some indecision in reference to the hartal.

Abdul Bari has informed Chhotani by letter that Kidwai has been summoned to Paris by the Chief of the Turkish Peace Envoys, and suggested that his expenses be met from the Caliphate Fund.

The following extracts from the Allahabad Independent of the 13th March 1920 contain a forecast of the text of the resolutions to be passed all over India on the 19th, as well as Shaukat Ali's views of the part which Government servants should take in the hartal:

(1) Maulana Shaukat Ali sends the following to the press :—

"Observance of the 19th March as a day of final protest from all Muslims, Government servants in civil and military and police employ is most essential in the interest of Caliphate work."

(2) Following is the text of resolutions which will be passed from the meetings in every place all over India:—

"Respectfully request Your Excellency to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor that if peace terms with His Majesty the Khalifat-ul-Musalmeen Sultan of Turkey are not in accordance with dictates of Shariat, then commandments of Islam will force Muslims to sever their loyal connection with British Throne."

(*n*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, March 19th.*—Below is the translation of an Urdu poster received through the Poona Divisional Headquarters from the Commandant, 41st Dogras at Dhond, who had received it from an Indian Officer of the regiment.

It apparently is the manifesto promised by the Bombay Caliphate Committee for the purpose of removing any undesirable impression created by the Calcutta placards signed by Shaukat Ali and others.

The Superintendent of Police, Belgaum, has also forwarded a copy of this poster as well as a copy of No. 1 poster from Calcutta, both of which were received by the Anjuman Library and pasted up all over the city.

God is Great

The second Caliphate Day (hartal day) in India and Islamic duties.

The emotions and religious feelings about the Caliphate problem and the sacred places, which have up till now been so religiously and leniently discussed not only by Indian Muslims but by Muslims all over the world, in meetings, conferences, papers and through starting of memorials, has now been cast by Lord Bryce and company into a different light considering it as false and unreal and hence unworthy of any favour, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York painting it with religious colours have declared it to be a regular tumult.

This casting of affairs in such an absurd light has taken such a turn that there is no other recourse left to them but to turn to one of the main resolutions passed by he leaders of Indian Nationalists in the Caliphate Conference

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held in Calcutta on the 28th and 19th February respectively, which says that "the 19th of March should be looked upon as the hartal day and that people should forward their last proposal to the Viceroy of India and the King-Emperor for consideration.

Again, the Caliphate Committee of India, Bombay, declares that it is the bounden duty of all Muslims and their Hindu sympathisers as well, religiously and morally to remember the 19th March 1920 and that day observe the strictest possible hartal in the following ways :—

That all tradesmen should not transact business; that labourers and servants should abstain from going on their respective duties; that Muslims should gather in mosques and religious places, and other countrymen to their respective religious resorts and there pray to God, and that according to the other duties of the hartal day they should attend the public meeting, and pass their last proposal; that they should not break any rules nor create any disturbance; that they should not compel anybody to do a thing against his will and that they should not mar the working of those persons who are working their utmost for justice, and jutice in the true sense of the word.

President.—Miyan Muhammad Haji Jan Muhammad Chhotani.

Honorary Secretary, Central Caliphate Committee of India, Bombay.

Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan.

Shaukat Ali.

Badruddin Abdulla Qur.

Ahmed Haji Siddiq Khatri.

Honorary Secretaries, Central Caliphate Committee of India, Chhotani House, Khadak, Bombay.

(*o*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, March 18th*.—A copy of poster No. 1 mentioned in the Bombay Police Commissioner's report, dated the 16th March, was noticed in the Chambrawalla's Mosque in Poona Cantonment yesterday.

Muhammad Faridudin walad Waziruddin, the Manager of the Mosque and Orphanage, which bears the same name (derived from the founder, Osman Chambrawalla, a Cutchi Memon Hide Merchant), is a very fanatical character. He has a friend, a Punjabi Muhammadan, named Muhammad Shah, who holds the contract for the British Solider's Coffee Shop at Ghorpuri, with whom he is on very friendly terms. They frequently meet and have been heard discussing the Caliphate question.

Faridduin is a resident of the United Provinces and has been in Poona for four years.

The grain dealers in Dhana Alley, Poona City, and the fruitstall holders in the Reay Market have decided to close their shops on the 19th March. The other shop-keepers, both in the City and Cantonment, say they will follow what the majority decide.

The butchers in the Cantonment say they do not intend to close their shops, but it is possible they may be induced to change their minds before this evening.

This week's Kesari appealed to the Hindus to close their shops on the 19th in deference to Moslem feeling and in furtherance of the Hindu-Moslem unity.

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(*p*) *Bombay, March 17th.*—I had a long conversation yesterday with Chhotani and Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan on the subject of the Khilafat movements. I, expressed to them the view which Government would undoubtedly take with regard to the posters sent to the Khilafat Committee for distribution and, as desired by you day before yesterday, pointed out to them that they were incurring heavy responsibilities which would recoil upon them should events on Friday become serious. They both assured me, as I have already told you, that they had taken the most elaborate precautions to see that the hartal should pass off quietly.

We then entered into a discussion upon the general question of the peace terms with Turkey and cognate matters. One thing was very clear to me from what they both said, namely, that the Muhammadans in general firmly believe that the stories told of atrocities by the Turks are pure fabrications prompted by Christian intolerance of the Moslem faith. Mirza Mahomed Ali Khan for instance told me that there is evidence in abundance that the so called Armenian massacres were in point of fact nothing but the restoration of order by Turkish troops rendered necessary by the massacre of Turkish women and children at the hands of the Armenians when the able-bodied Turks had joined the Colours. Mirza Mahomed Ali Khan asserted with vehemence that this was the view held by every Muhammadan. You may think it worth while to consider whether it would be advisable, at a later stage, to inaugurate a publicity campaign, setting forth for the information of the general public the evidence in detail on which the charges against the Turks are based.

(*q*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 19th.*—In connection with the hartal the Reay Market, all the shops in Dhana Alley, cloth shops in Budhwar Peth, and a number of other shops in Ravivar, Shukrawar, Kasba and other Peths were closed. Some shroffs and brass pot sellers in Ravivar Path opened, but are likely to close soon as a few groups of Muhammadan shopkeepers and boys are moving about suggesting general closing. The Co-operative Swadeshi Store is open. None of the Hindu political leaders or important Muhammadan leaders have come to notice and the Dargahs, Masjids show no sign of activity.

In the Cantonment with the exception of a few Bhoris all the shops remained open.

(*r*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 20th.*—The hartal passed off quietly both in Poona City and Camp.

In the former the Swadeshi Store which had opened in the morning closed at noon, and in the afternoon and evening there was practically a cessation of business, only a few shops remaining open, except in Bhawani Peth, where business was carried on as usual with hardly an exception. Apart from the Muhammadans mentioned in the previous report no one was noticed advising shopkeepers to close. In the Camp a number of Bhoris, Memons and other Muhammadans, some of whom had opened for a short time in the morning closed but the vegetable stalls and meet market remained open as usual as did Irani and Moghal tea shops, tailors, Sindhis and Parsis and the Hindu cloth merchants. There was no disturbance or agitation of any kind and the hartal was not so strictly observed as in the City.

Khalifate day was celebrated in the evening by a public meeting held in the Sarvajanik Sabha Hall. A Maratha Narayenrao Gunjal presided and the principal speakers were S. G. Lavate, P. M. Bapat, L. B. Bhopatkar and

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K. P. Khadilkar. The audience numbered from 700 to 800 persons, of whom a large percentage were boys and only about 100 Muhammadans, chiefly traders, none of whom were well educated or influential. No Muhammadan spoke.

The speeches made by the four persons named above tended to be objectionable in tone.

Lavate opened the proceedings by saying that the meeting had been convened, in accordance with the notification of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee, on account of the great calamity that had befallen the Muslim world. The very existence of Muhammadans as a manly race depended on the proper settlement of the Khalifat question. Depriving the Sultan of Turkey of his political power in Constantinople and his hold over the Holy Places was equivalent to cutting at the root of Muhammadanism. At the commencement of the war promises had been made and inducements offered, especially to Muhammadans, by prominent people like Mr. Lloyed George and Lord Hardinge with the object of getting them to fight against Turkey. These promises were now being broken or explained away and the British now at the zenith of their power were at the bottom of it all and alone could mend matters if they chose.

He strongly insisted on the necessity for Hindu-Muhammadan unity, and said that the only way to bring the British people to their point of view was to boycott British goods, trade being the cornerstone of British policy. He regretted that men like Gandhi did not support boycott, but the latter and the Khalifat Committee had suggested another plan, viz., that all Muhammadans should sever connection with the Government. This, the speaker said, they might do. In conclusion, he prayed that the Almighty might help their Muhammadan brethren in their present difficulties.

Bapat, who spoke rather vehemently, accused England of having driven Turkey into joining forces with Germany and so brought her to her present state. The whole thing he characterized as a plot to rid Europe of Turkey. He advocated deeds, not words, and declared himself ready to undertake anything, even to take the last step, but added that the work must be done by stages. All internal differences should be settled so that the country would be divided into two parties only, "British and non-British". His whole speech indicated an anti-European and especially anti-British spirit.

Bhopatkar likened the present crisis to a struggle between the cultures of the West and the East and gloomily forboded that the Khalifat question would not be decided in accordance with the wishes of the Muhammadans and Hindus who, simpletons that they were, had relied on promises made when the allies had need of their services and had rendered assistance without first making conditions. They now realised their folly, but though it might be too late today to save the Khalifat they must not despair. Let all Asiatics join togsther against the people of the West and nothing would be impossible. They might even establish their culture in Rome, the seat of the Pope. He, therefore, strongly insisted on the need for unity and concerted action.

Khadilkar declared that the present treatment of Turkey was unjust and contrary to the declared policy of politicians in the past. Self-determination and justice had been ignored and each of the allied nations was engaged in a game of grab. England had already got Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia and other places and France, Italy and Greece were seeking to share Turkey among themselves. Such self-seeking would lead to Bolshevism and breaches of the peace. If the Allies continued to purse this policy everyone would

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suffer. He concluded with a prayer that the Muhammadans might succeed in their efforts to keep the Khalifat intact.

(s) *S.B., United Provinces—C.I.D., United Provinces, March 2nd.*—From a letter received from a correspondent of his department it would appear that Maulvi Muhammad Fakhir of Allahabad suggested to the subjects Committee of the Khilafat Conference at Bombay that owing to the recent comparison made in the British Press between Mr. Lenin and the Prophet Muhammad a resolution should be passed to the effect that it was not in the interest of Muhammadans to oppose Bolshevism in India or in any part of Asia. The resolution was disallowed, but the correspondent notes that most of the delegates were in favour of employing Bolshevism as a weapon against the British authorities ; 20 per cent. of the delegates at the Muzaffarabad Hall believed that constitutional agitation by itself would not save Turkey and the Khilafat. Apparently the issue of *fatwas* to Musalmans ingeneral and to Muslim sepoys of the Indian Army in Particular was the subject of some discussion. The correspondent also mentions that the Muslim Seths of Bombay are afraid of Bolshevism, and though they are willing to subscribe large amounts for the Khilafat they wish to know the use to which the money will be put.

Recent Bombay Khilafat Conference.

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 24th.—The following is a report from the Special Officer for Bolshevism, Bombay Presidency, for the week ending the 17th March.—Attitude of the Press, etc.—There is no remarkable change in the attitude of the Press. The Caliphate question is as prominent as before. The preliminaries for the coming hartal on the 19th are complete and it remains to be seen whether the so-called Second Caliphate Day will be attended with any new developments. Though Hindus and Muslims are apparently working together, the former, I understand, are apprehensive of the probable consequences which might ensue if the unruly section of the public break into violence. It is likely, in view of Gandhi's manifesto, that the Hindus will withdraw from the Caliphate agitation in the event of the movement becoming unconstitutional.

Bolshevism and the Caliphate Movement.

There was considerable stir in Bombay and elsewhere on the 12th instant owing to the news that Constantinople was to be occupied by the Allies in view of the grave situation. The Madina of the 13th instant construed this step as a precaution on the part of the British against the Germans who were reported to be sending ' ships, arms and money, to Constantinople.

Equally emotional was the news that Enver Pasha was in Berlin since the last X'mas and intended proceeding to Russia to offer his services to the Soviet Government in order to create trouble in Afghanistan. It is rumoured that Dijemal Pasha and Talat Pasha are also in Germany cooperating with Enver Pasha.

Feelings over the Caliphate question are so high in Sind that at a meeting held at a village called Matli in Hyderabad District, a body of villagers are said to have asked permission of their Moulvis to attack the Government Treasury, several Honorary Magistrates have decided to renounce their magistracies and one Ghulam Muhammad, a retired Sub-Inspector of Police, declared that he would renounce his pension. These and similar other events afford reason to believe that the Caliphate agitation has prepared the ground for Bolshevic propaganda.

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Caliphate and Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Thar and Parkar, March 11th.*—There is no sign, reported so far, of Caliphate agitation anywhere in this district. The District Magistrate remarks: "I have heard yet of no intention to demonstrate on the 19th in this district.".

(*b*) *Upper Sind Frontier, March 13th.*—During the Caliphate Conference at Larkana, Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot drew the attention of the leaders of the Caliphate movement to the backward state of the Upper Sind Frontier District. He said it was only the Frontier District in the Province which was fast asleep and showed no sympathy for the religion. It was not because the Baluchis did not want to take an interest in their religion, but it was due to the reason that they did not sufficiently realise or appreciate the validity of the question on account of ignorance. Consequently a sitting of the Conference was proposed for Jacobabad to enlighten the public of the Frontier District on this subject and enlist their sympathies. The proposal was unanimously accepted.

A few days after, the Moulvi of Amrot wrote to Moulvi Abdul Gafur to arrange for the funds required for the Conference. Abdul Gafur wrote back in reply that no funds could be collected without his personal assistance. Hence Taj Muhammad has consented to come over for a short visit to Jacobabad, for which no date has yet been fixed on account of his absence from Sukkur. In the meantime, on the 4th instant, Abdul Gafur called a meeting of the following men of the town to confer with them on the question of the collection of funds and to enlighten them on the recent situation :—

(1) Khudabakhsh Munshi, a petition-writer.
(2) Shabaz Khan, a convict under section 107, C.P.C.
(3) Abdul Razak, cloth merchant of Jacobabad.
(4) Haji Muso, a contractor of Jacobabad.

The meeting dispersed after a short time. Apparently everything is being postponed pending the return of Maulvi Taj Muhammad from Bombay, where he is said to have gone to join a deputation to wait upon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. However, it is presumed here that the Conference will not be held before the 15th April 1920.

Shabaz Khan (No. 2 above) is the son of a deceased Indian officer, Rissaldar Major Imam Khan Sardar Bahadur, of the 35th Sind Horse ; but is unfortunately a blackguard and associate of blackguards.

(*c*) *Karachi, March 15th.*—At 7-30 p.m. on the 15th instant a public meeting was held under the auspices of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee. The leaflets distributed, by Borah boys, stated the subjects to be.—(*a*) "The objects of the hartal on the 19th will be explained". (*b*) "To protest against the article in the Daily Gazette of the 23rd ultimo". About 2,000 persons, Moslems and Hindus, attended. Many labourers were noticed in the audience. Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars presided. Moulvi Khan Muhammad Kari, read out a passage from the Koran calling on People to stand up for the protection of God and His religion. He said that when the war broke out, the English declared that it was in the defence of weak nations. When the Allies were certain that victory was theirs,

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there was a volt face. Now, it is announced that the Caliphate must be punished for having entered the war at the instigation of others. But behind the purdah is the ancient enmity of Christianity for Islam. What true Moslem will not feel anxiety for the danger which threatens the ship of Islam ? The true religious feeling is very dangerous. Government should not hurt religious susceptibility. There is a limit to zulum. They are proud of their guns and armies, but the kingdom of God is greater. He asked Government not to stab the Caliph. The message of God now says that Moslems should gird their loins for Him. If Moslems do not move their hands and feet, the honour of Islam will pass to another race.

Narsinglal Dhamanmal was the next speaker. He said that European philosophers declare that the world is no one's property. As the world progressed the need for Kings became apparent. The people selected good men to be their kings. As the power of these increased, they began to practise oppression. What was the fate of Louis XVI of France ? This is the state of Asia and Ireland. In Ireland the people attack officers whenever they meet them. This is the method of Europe. Formerly in India if the people were oppressed by a ruler and were unable to obtain justice, they removed to the territory of another. Now where can they go? Even to leave India they must obtain passports, which are not granted without enquiry as to whether the applicant is a Home Ruler etc. Shall they adopt the method of Europe ? It is the duty of neighbours to help each other in time of danger-referring to Hindu assistance in the matter of the Caliphate. When Moslems were sent to fight the Turks, it was stated that the Holy Places would remain intact. But these promises are disregarded. One Thakur Gajadarsing writes of the Boxer Campaign : " When I went to fight on behalf of the British, I noticed that the enemy were my Asiatic brothers. My hand refused to lift my rifle. I, however, subsequently fired on them as it was my duty to do so ". Indian soldiers similarly felt pain when they had to attack the Turks. They, however, remembered that they were British subjects and rendered every assistance Because of improper treatment of the Turks and of their removal from Constantinople (sic), there will be a hartal on the 19th, so that Government should see the evil of the course they have taken. It is no offence to have a hartal. The people are merely, thereby showing their dissatisfaction.

If a fire is forced inward the result is very bad. When the news of the Jalianwalla Bagh reached England, the cables were set in motion. It was decided by Parliament to have the Reforms passed before the Congress meeting at Amritsar. Government watched the temperature of the people of India, and as it rises they grant concessions, but refuse them when they notice a fall. When a cat is confined in a room and attacked, it will fly at its assailant and tear out his eyes. It is not impossible to oppress anyone in the world. These people are residents of a cold country. Their ears are heavy ; they can hear only a loud sound. So beat drums.

Hakim Muhammad Hanif said that the previous speaker had advised Indians to make a noise, but, so far as he could see, this has been going on for over a year, but no notice has been taken. They are about to remove the Caliphate from Constantinople. They are endeavouring to extinguish Islam. By complaints Moslems will obtain nothing ; unity is required. Moslems were asleep ; they are now awake. He asked the audience to observe the Islami Hartal, which is an Islami duty. If this is not carried out successfully. it will be disrespect to Islam.

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Haji Abdulla Haroon advised the people to observe the hartal peacefully. No processions, no coercion, directions of the Police to be strictly obeyed.

Muhammad Khan spoke about the article in the Daily Gazette of the 23rd ultimo. He said that Pir Jhandewalla has no concern with the Caliphate movement in Sind and the Daily Gazette proves itself to be mad for calling him a mad Mullah.

Manilal J. Vyas said a few words against the Daily Gazette.

Narsinglal again addressed the audience. This time in connection with the Daily Gazette, which, he said, was acting as a devil between Government and the people. Indians are law-abiding, otherwise they would set fire to the Daily Gazette office. If 32 crores of people were to rise, what would the guns and troops of Government avail? He admitted that India has profitted by British rule; she has also suffered.

A resolution against the Daily Gazette was read out by Muhammad Khan and Dr. Hajee and passed.

Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars, in winding up the proceedings, said "We are acting according to Shariyat and in compliance with the orders of the Prophet. You need not be afraid of any opposition so long as you are doing God's will. If you are true Moslems, you are the highest of all. In our present difficulty, we can only beseech God to help us. We consider the Sultan of Turkey to be our Caliph because he is the protector of Shariyat. The Daily Gazette says nothing can be gained by complaining, but I maintain that everything can be gained. Even if Europeans do not listen to us, God will. There will be a hartal on the 19th and Khutba will be read in all mosques. There should be no coercion of any sort in the matter of hartal. Muhammadans who will not suspend business on the 19th will be cutting the throat of Hussain.

The following is a text of a notice issued by the Sind Caliphate Committee—Hartal :—The second Caliphate day, Friday, the 19th March 1920, Programme.—Suspension of business after the Juma prayers. Special prayers for the safety of the Caliphate-ul-Mussalman and Turkey will be offered in all Masjids. Hindu and Muslim meeting on the open spot adjoining Idgah, Bunder Road, at 7-30 p.m. Resolutions bearing on the Caliphate question will be passed. Please make it a point to attend the meeting with all your friends.

On the 11th March Moulvi Abdul Karim delivered a speech in the Tatta Chauk. He did not say anything against Government. Today again the the same Moulvi gave a sermon in the Juma Mosque. He said that Muslims should express sympathy about Constantinople and the sacred places. He added that he and other people must be loyal to Government, but they must not abandon their religion. On Friday the shops should be closed and prayers offered for Turkey.

(*d*) *Karachi, March 16th.*—Haji Abdulla Haroon Muhammad Khan, Durgadas B. Advani, H. D. Marriwala and some others went round the City yesterday asking shopkeepers to close on the 19th instant. Many promised to do so.

The Cantonment Police Inspector reports that agents of the Caliphate Committee have been round his Division to induce shopkeepers to close on the 19th.

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The Assistant Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., reports: "A section of the Caliphate propagandists." Hindu and Moslem, frightened of the consequences of Moslem fanaticism once properly kindled, have either sneaked away or are counselling moderation. Jairamdas Doulatram of the Bharatwasi, Hyderabad, has denounced certain resolutions of the Calcutta Caliphate Conference as unconstitutional. This denotes the awakening of a sense of responsibility. Some Moulvis, Hakims and a few others are for proceeding on the lines indicated by Shaukat Ali and his supporters. I was present at the meeting of Sunday evening and heard the speeches of Narsinglal (Hindi) and Hakim Muhammad Hanif (Urdu). Both were bad, but the Hakim conveyed far more to the audience though he spoke less. The immediate danger to Islam, the need of action, and the displeasure incurred by those who held back at this moment, were impressed on the assembly in a few brief sentences. If matters are left in the hands of these Moulvis and Hakims, mostly ignorant of the real facts and caring very little about them, they will soon imbue the masses with their fanaticism.

It would be interesting to know how the picture "The Yellow Ticket," which is showing at the Star Cinema, came to India. Was it imported on purpose ? It depicts the terrible oppression carried on in Russia under the regime which the Bolsheviks swept away. We say that Bolshevism is a drerdful thing and that Bolsheviks have committed horrible crimes, but the Indian seeing a picture like the "Yellow Ticket" will argue that there is much to the credit of Bolshevism, if it destroyed a government like the one described in the film. Moreover, the Indian will say that Bolshevism was engendered by that Government. The picture may not be in India for pro-Bolshevic purposes, but it does make one suspicious.

(*e*) *Karachi, March 17th.*—Hindus and Moslems are still going round inducing persons to promise to close their shops on the 19th.

Copies of a leaflet, published by the Caliphate Committee, Calcutta, have been distributed in Karachi and posted in conspicuous places. It begins with an extract from the Koran : "Obey God, Rasool and the Caliph of Islam"; then from Hadis : "Whoever steps a span away from the Jamait of Moslems or from the obedience due to the reigning Caliph and dies in that state, will die the death of ignorance and not of Islam." Among the resolutions of the Ulemas recited in the leaflet is this: "No non-Moslems shall rule in the Jazirat-ul-Arab. If one does, it will be the duty of all Moslems to release the country and to sacrifice all their strengh in the endeavour. In case of a decision from Government contrary to the wishes of Moslems, they will not be Moslems, if they do not act. The result will be they will sever all loyalty to the British Government.".

Another leaflet printed at the George Steam Press, Lahore, has come to notice. It endeavours to excite the people by reference to the bloodshed in Jhallianwalla Bagh : "Awake Moslems, the world is your enemy.".

Copies of a leaflet signed by Haji Abdulla Haroon and the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri have been distributed. After referring to the movement in England and in America to turn the Turk out of Europe, and the futile efforts of Indian Moslems to obtain justice for Turkey, the people are asked to suspend work on the 19th. If the demands are not granted, the loyalty of Moslems will be endangered. Hindu leaders, the leaflet says, are also assisting in making the hartal a success. No coercion is to be used, no crowds are to assemble in the streets, and no processions to be held.

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A poster issued by the Calcutta Caliphate Committee opening with the words : " Arise, awake, or be for ever fallen " announcing a public meeting and hartal on the 19th has been put up at the *Dense* Hall.

(*f*) *Karachi, March 18th.*—A Sikh informs me that there is more about the Caliphate and the hartal in Karachi than in any part of the Punjab except Amritsar and Lahore. The curious feature is that many people believe Government has ordered the hartal and will close all Courts and Offices on the 19th.

A Muhammadan merchant, who attended the meeting of the 14th instant, tells me that the closing words of the Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars. " Muhammadans who do not suspend business on the 19th will cut the throat of Hussain " — have created a sensation and are on the lips of all Moslems. Muhammad Sadik of the Khadda, who was present, shook hands with Abdul Karim and the two enemies are now friends. The former said that the latter has by those words established his claim to be a great doctor. The Khadda Moulvi after the meeting got a carriage and, after seeing Abdul Karim Dars into it, walked home.

It is rumoured that the hartal will be carried on for three days ; the 19th, 20th, which is the Hindu *Amas*, and the 21st, Sunday.

Last evening Narsinglal and Muhammad Khan went to Kiamari and collected about 400 coolies and others at Changa's Hotel harangued them on the suspending business on the 19th. Ismail, a clerk in the S. and T., Hussain Bux, a clerk, and Nur Muhammad, a hotelkeeper, were appointed to see that the hartal is complete in Kiamari. Muhammad Salah, dismissed Sub-Inspector, took the two agitators to Kiamari on his car.

The Anjuman Hamdard, Kiamari, has collected Rs. 107-4-0 for the Caliphate. The Secretary is a Mazalshah of Clements, Robson and Co. Moulvi Usman and some others have been round the Lyari Quarter telling people to suspend business on the 19th. The agitators are working hard to effect a complete hartal on the 19th and it is very probable that they will succeed.

There is a good deal of fear of trouble and even those who are inclined to work tomorrow will abstain from doing so.

A public meeting was held last evening by the Caliphate Committee in Lalchand's Godown, Kharader. About 2,000 persons were present among them many Mohanas of the Khadda and labourers. Abdul Karim Dars presided. A Punjabi stranger read out these verses : We will go to the door of Government and say we are suffering from the Caliphate disease, will you give us some medicine ? This is a disease of country and religion. The K.C.I.E. prescription will not cure us. If we do not get Justice with out tears, by God! We will arouse the wrath of Heaven. It is on the tongue of everyone that we will, to our lives, sacrifice in this cause. Disunity has vanished and Moslems and Hindus in union will show Jalsa of a thousand colours. Abandon oppression and do not eat our rights or the wrath of God will arise, if we shed tears. If we are in the path of truth, will this C.I.D. of Government frighten us ? We are in need of help and Kerballa will render assistance. (A Moslem S. I. says that this is a reference to the slaughter at Kerballa which Moslems commemorate by the Moharrum each year). Your desire will be gratified by Krishin, Ram, and Mahbub of God.

Moulvi Fazal Haq of the Chakiwara Madressa said that when a cruel race oppresses another race, the latter can suffer upto a certain limit. It is

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a principle: "Oppress upto the limit of endurance"; otherwise anger will awaken and it is certain that the oppressed will act like mad men. Islam commands loyalty till oppression is practised. When Umar conquered Jeruselem, he did not interfere with the Holy places of the Christians. But they desire to bring the land where only the cry of La-illaha-Illallah is heard, under the control of the Trinity. The desire that there should be no Moslems in those places. Will anyone, Hindus or Moslems, say if they have not overstepped the limit (of oppression)? Christian ministers are moving round with the Bible in their hands saying that if the Turks are not turned out of those places then we have not won a victory. Point out what degree of *zulum* there is in this. Our Holy places are where our saints are buried. Rasool has commanded that non-believers should be expelled from the Jazirat-ul-Arab. Now the Government which has declared that it would not interfere with the Holy places, why has it broke that promise? Besides breaking this promise, they led the Shariff Mecca to rebellion. If a Governor were induced to rebel against his Government, will not that Government be annoyed? In this way, was not the Sultan annoyed? Where Turks and Indians not annoyed? Why not return the Holy places and set the Sultan free? If not, state so plainly. It is a wonderful exhibition which cannot be understood. The Government of India is in favour of India, but the Government of England is against it. The hartal of 19th must be observed with vigour, but peacefully, so that Government may see it and on the 22nd decide the fate of Turkey. If there is no hartal, it will prove that there is no excitment among Hindus and Moslems. Besides God, there is no one to be feared, who can spoil the few days of this kingdom of authority. These airships, cannon and machine guns what can they do? By the hartal it will be proved that Government is not granting the people their rights.

The black people are respectable and obedient; if not there would have been disturbances. But they are not of that type. The facts should be considered with a cool mind and the C.I.D. should inform Government of these facts. Indians are tired of this *zulum*. Narsinglal said that the British Government had proclaimed that they would not interfere with the Holy places of Islam. Why are these places now molested? He was trying to save this Government from Hell. As a British subject it was his duty to admonish those who are in the wrong. It must not be imagined that the British are infallible. There is no such person except God. Greed is a bad thing. The Bengal Partition was a mistake. The Viceroy said it was engraved on a stone. Swadeshi was started and European merchants suffered. Was this wisdom? The people of Europe rebelled and they got home rule. They are white skins; Indians are black. Who enquires about them?

Amersen, Manilal J. Vyas and Haji Abdulla Haroon also spoke.

The last impressed on the audience to carry out the hartal peacefully.

Abdul Karim Dars said that those Moslems and Hindus who do not suspend business on the 19th will go to Hell for ever. It is everybody's duty to comply. Those who fail will bear a mark which no soap or water will remove. He affirmed his loyalty to Government. If ever there is need again, will Indians assist Government after this Turkish affair? He related a fable to show cautious Indians should be in view of the way they have been deceived.

The postal peons have been approached not to work to-morrow.

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The Tramways employees have written to say that they will not turn up on the 19th.

Among the persons going round Karachi telling people to suspend business on the 19th is one Mirza Muhammad Bux, a driver of the M.T.

(*g*) *Karachi March 19th.*—Last evening the Caliphate Committee held a public meeting in the Runchore Lines. Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars presided. The speakers were Durgadas B. Advani, Hakim Muhammad Hanif, Hakim Shamsudin, Manilal J. Vyas, Narsinglal, Muhammad Khan and Abdul Karim Dars.

They enjoined a peaceful hartal.

Narsinglal made an attack on the C.I.D. because of the notice issued by the District Magistrate. He said that if the C.I.D. had made truthful reports, the notices would not have been issued ; but what are the poor fellows to do ? If they do not report that strong language was used, the officers will say that they are in league with the agitators. Then he proceeded to show how ignorant of Hindi and other languages the C.I.D. staff are. He further said the Viceroy was in favour of the Caliphate propaganda, but Mr. Martin, the District Magistrate of Karachi, is against it, which is strange, but it is not his fault.

Shamsudin said in England efforts are being made to expel the Turks and the Caliph of Moslems and God from the capital. The offence is that it is a Moslem Kingdom and the leader of Islam. Cruel terms were not imposed on Germany and Bulgaria. No attempt was made to turn the Germans out of Berlin. Tomorrow it will be finally announced that if Moslem demands are not granted, their loyalty will be in danger.

Hakim Muhammad Hanif referred to the words of Abdul Karim Dars and said that Moslems should act according to the Koran or say right out that they are not Moslems.

Manilal J. Vyas spoke of the fighting between the French and Arab in Morocco. Many Arabs were killed ; only 200 remained ; they threw their arms away and rushed unarmed on the French Army. This is a kind of Satyagraha. The leaflet issued by the District Magistrate is with the object of causing dissentions. The real Satyagraha will appear when no notice is taken of the cries of Indians. All transactions with Government will cease. Gandhi will move all Government servants, Civil and Military, to act accordingly. The true form of Satyagraha will be felt.

Abdul Karim Dars remarked on the reports of the C.I.D. which have caused the District Magistrate to issue notices. He told the audience that those who will not suspend work will bear a stigma till the day of resurrection. Hartal is not joke. To open shops tomorrow will be tantamount to cutting the throats of the children of the Nation. He concluded with "May the radiance of the sun fall on the crescent bears in such a way that one day they may shine in the world like the full moon.".

Practically all the shops, Hindu and Moslem, did not open today ; the butchers were at their stalls selling meat in the Empress Market and the Aga Khan Khojas did not take part in the hartal. The Mohans, finding the Municipality were buying up the fish, threw a large quantity into the sea. Public conveyances are not plying ; only five or six tram-cars are running ; and the coolies of a number of firms did not turn up the work. Volunteers in khaki uniforms and Enver Pasha caps are on duty on the roads.

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Everything was quiet up to 4 p.m.

(*h*) *Karachi, March 20th.*—The hartal of yesterday passed off peacefully and was great success for the organisers.

In the course of the afternoon prayers were offered in the different mosques.

At the Railway Mosque some Indian soldiers were present and one of them asked the Pesh Imam to pray for Turkey and invoke God to solve the present difficulty. He complied.

At the Chakiwara Mosque, the Pesh Imam, Haji Elias, after the usual prayers, delivered a speech in which he referred to the several appeals made by Indian Moslems in respect of Turkey and the Holy places and to the promises made by Mr. Lloyd George. As the Government did not need these appeals, prayers should be offered to God.

At the Khadda Mosque, the Pesh Imam said that the hartal and the Jumma prayers were arranged to show that zulum is being done to the Caliphate. Prayers should be offered to God to move Government to be merciful and not decide against the wishes of the Moslem.

At the Memon Mosque in Camp, the Pesh Imam said that during the was Government had promised that the country won from Turkey would be returned, but nothing had been done. Moslems had helped Government with men and money. A memon then made a brief speech in which he said " We are requesting Government not to touch our Holy places, otherwise we will fight.".

At the other mosques prayers were offered that the Holy places of Islam should be under the Sultan.

The public meeting held last evening was attended by an immense crowd of about 8,000 to 10,000 Hindus and Moslems. Haji Abdulla Haroon presided. The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Koran and verses in praise of the Prophet.

Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars read out a resolution against the partition of Turkey.

Muhammad Khan, in supporting it, said that the British Government is determined to disregard Moslem Rights. What should they do ? As a British subject, it was his duty to point out on what thorns the Government is proceedings. The Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph ; a non Moslem or any other who is a rebel may not have possession of the Holy places ; the Jazirat-ul-Arab should be protected from non-believers and should not be in the possession of a stranger. These are the demands. If the British Government is firm at the Peace Conference, no one dare go against these demands. Constantinople will be the cause of bloodshed amongst European nations. France and England will fight to death over Syria. There is the same jealosy over the possession of Mesopotamia. When they had declared that the War was not for the purpose of extending their territory, why are they attempting to take possession of Mesopotamia ? They had several times promised Indians Moslems that no one would be allowed to take Constantinople. What has become of that promise? The statement of today is quite different from that of yesterday. Deception of this king cannot command the allegiance of Indian Moslems. The Moslem religion teaches them to defend their religion at the cost of property and life. The existence of the Caliphate is as necessary as the Koran. By obeying the commands

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of the Koran they will reach paradise. On the one hand there is religion and on the other loyalty. They should decide which it is to be. For the sake of wordly comforts Moslems will not ignore the Koran and go to hell for ever. The resolution should be passed in such a way that it may be known to them (Government) that they use arrows and then expect loyalty, which is absurd. It is impossible for them to remove the Turks from the face of the earth.

Durgadas B. Advani said a few words and then Amerssn made a long speech, which was fairly strong.

Narsinglal was the next speaker. He said there was no harm in passing resolutions and sending them to Government. But the Viceroy and others know that Moslems are dissatisfied; they are fully aware of the cause and circumstances. Indians should, however, consider what course to adopt if these demands are not granted. The speaker said that he had fully considered this matter and he would give the audience the benefit of his meditation. Indians are in front of a very serious situation and they must not think that it is a joke. There are four solutions :—

(1) It must be declared plainly that we will go to war with them.
(2) We will fight secretly.
(3) We will suffer all difficulties as Mahatma Gandhi says (Passive Resistance).
(4) We will adopt a sullen attitude, refuse to pay money, provide men or any other help asked for. If anyone is made a Rao Bahadur or a Khan Bahadur, he should say 'I value it like my shoes !'.

If anyone knows of a fifth method let him speak out. I know of none. Nothing will come of it ; it will be put in the wastepaper basket.

(1) It is no crime to fight if things are done against one's wishes or if one is molested. But Indians are not fit to fight. Will they fight with mud or stones, with dhotis or handkarchiefs? With one machine-gun, 1,000 will be blown to atoms. (At this stage Haji Abdulla Haroon pulled the speaker up and evidently told him not to proceed in this strain. After a few wispered words, Narsinglal continued). He said that his friends warned him that notes of his speech were being taken and to be careful. He, however, wanted each word taken down. He was not afraid. He was sure that the officers of the reporters were not fools.

(2) If Indians cannot fight openly they can do so secretly. But as an Aryan he cannot agree to this method. Indians can only fight in a fair manner, not as thieves and badmashes. To throw bombs from 60 to 70 miles and destroy men is not in accordance with their religion.

(3) Gandhi's method is good, and the speaker approved of it.
(4) It is everybody's right to refuse to pay money, to refuse to provide men for war, etc.

Methods (2) and (4) find favour.

He then ridiculed the District Magistrate's notice saying that it was an absurd order, which prohibited the delivery of harangues for a period of two months. Was it meant that such harangues could be delivered after two months without infringing the law ? If not, why was the order issued ? The resolution was then put to the audience by Haji Abdulla Haroon and passed.

The second part of the meeting dealt with Swadeshi and the cessation of the slaughter of cows. Speeches were delivered by Abdul Karim Dars,

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who again referred to the Caliphate concluing with " so long as in Moslem hearts the belief in God reigns, so long as in Hindu hearts Dharam Exists, so long as the world is in the hands of Gods, the Turks will remain in Europe ".

Narsinglal, D.A.H. Ahmad, Hakim Fateh Muhammad and others spoke and the resolutions were passed by the audience. The proceedings terminated at about 10 p.m. The people dispersed peacefully to their homes.

(*i*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 24th.*—The Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi, notes that No. 1 poster from Caluctta and the poster from the Bombay Caliphate Committee have been posted, broadcast in Karachi.

(*j*) *Bombay, March 17th—The hartal.*—The Central Committee met yesterday but was unable to agree upon the text of the resolution to be submitted to the big meeting on the 19th—one party urging the ommission from the draft of all threats, the other strongly opposing the suggestion. The matter will be further considered at an enlarged meeting today. Meanwhile Jehur Ahmed, Secretary to the Moslem League has wired to Chhotani as follows:—

> " *Earnestly advice modification of proposed Khilafat day message as withdrawing allegiance suicidal step neither practicative nor necessary to support our Khilafat or continue struggle for our religious aims re-Turkish* peace ".

The Western Indian Liberal Association has issued the manifesto **out-**lined by Sir Dinshaw Wacha in his telegram reported yesterday. Chhotani, Gandhi and Shaukat Ali have instructed Annusuyabai, Nizamuddin Koreshi and Walubhai of Ahmedabad to confine to attendance at the meeting the millhand's participation in the hartal there, and not to allow them to stop work. It is understood that all meetings are to be held in the evening. Shadman, Karachi, has asked Chhotani to move the Aga Khan to instruct the Khojas of Karachi to join the hartal. The Ajmer Khilafat Committee on behalf of a mass meeting of Hindu and Mahomedan employees on the B. B. & C. I. Railway have applied to the Agent of that line to grant all railway employees at Ajmer a holiday on the 19th, on condition that they work on Sunday instead. Gandhi will be in Bombay for the hartal.

Organisation in the Mofussil.—In reply to that City's application for advice Gandhi has instructed Amritsar to act according to his manifesto. Ahmedabad has asked Bombay to intimate the text of the official resolution to be passed by the meeting on the 19th. M. K. Azad was invited, but has declined, to preside at the Sholapur meeting on that date. M. A. Jinnah has been invited to a similar function at Surat.

Post-Hartal Conferences.—In reply to invitations to the Ajmer and Delhi Conferences, the Aga Khan has informed Hakim Ajmal Khan that he is ill and cannot attend. Gandhi has replied that he sorely needs rest but will go if absolutely necessary. Chhotani and Shaukat Ali have asked Syed Hasan Imam to preside over the Ajmer Conference.

Messages from England.—The cable from Mahomed Ali mentioned in yesterday's report turns out to be a summary of the Khilafat Deputation

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doings in England up to the 8th. Shaukat Ali has since received the following two important cables from his brother in London :—

(*a*) " Very urgent stop most important you should obtain immediately from Aga Khan public declaration that Mussalmans hold it essential and cannot satisfied unless Jahirat-ul-arab including Syria Palestine and Mesopotamia remain in exclusive control of Mussalmans under sovereignty of Khalifa and that sacred shrines of Mesopotamia as well as Mecca Medina and Jerusalem must remain under wardenship of Khalifa himself.

(*b*) " Best friends advise immediate despatch Hindu and Shia representatives like Gandhi, Malviya, Nehru, Rambhajdutt, Harkishenlal Das, Mehmudabad, Raza Ali, Fazulbhoy, Jinnah, Hasan Imam Alyanabi to strength Khilafat case Gandhi, Mehmudabad specially useful desire receive immediately declaration, Hindu Shia support by cable ".

Ispahani also cabled on the 11th from London to the Aga Khan that the Muslim League in London has protested against the Turkish treaty which leaves Turkey mutilated, crippled, economically ruined and defenceless.

Miscellaneous.—Shaukat Ali has wired as follows to Khilafat, Calcutta: " Accept congratulations for Baptismal search ". The Chhotani Mojawala case which was to have been heard on the 19th has been postponed. Mahomed Khan and Mustafa Kamil, both of Karachi, have been invited to take to Smyrna the blankets which are being sent from Bombay as a measure of relief to the Turks in Asia Minor. It is rumoured that the European community of Delhi is leaving for Simla today in order to be out of the way before the trouble begins on Friday.

(*k*) *Bombay, March 18th—Movements.*—Bhurgri and Zafarali Khan have arrived in Bombay. Tilak will reach Delhi by the Mail on Saturday morning and Shaukat Ali, Gandhi and Kidwai will arrive there on the 21st night.

The Hartal.—Zafarali Khan has sent to the Press, under the heading " Hartal is not a threat to England ", a rejoinder to the manifesto of the Bombay Liberal Association. He maintains that the principal object of Friday's demonstrations is to strengthen the hands of the Secretary of State in dealing with the fanatical agitation in England. In reply to the wire mentioned in yesterday's report, the Agent of the B. B. and C. I. Railway has informed the Ajmer Khilafat Committee that applications for leave on the 19th should be made, and will be dealt with in the ordinary way. In reply to query from that place, Shaukat Ali has wired Chittagong to the effect that students in Government offices should apply for leave direct to the local authorities. It is expected that the Bombay butchers, Gharrywallas and shopkeepers will observe the hartal. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy's offices will be closed. So will the Municipal and Cloth Markets. The Secretary to the Khilafat Committee, Calcutta, has informed Shaukat Ali that forty Hindu and Muhammadan leaders at Rangoon have been prohibited under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, from participating in any Khilafat demonstrations during the next two months, and has asked Shaukat Ali to telegraph him instructions how to act in this emergency. Yesterday's meeting of the Central Committee approved the text of the resolution to be submitted to tomorrow's mass meeting. It is understood that the threat to " sever loyal connection " with the British Throne has been ommitted from the draft. Gandhi was present and warned the Committee that should any violence be committed he will withdraw all Hindu support.

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The Committee has not yet issued its final instructions to those participating in the hartal. These are expected to appear today. By way of precaution one or two Christian schools will not open tomorrow.

Post-hartal Conferences.—Abdul Bari and Abdul Kalam are being pressed to meet Shaukat Ali and Gandhi at the Delhi Conference on the 22nd.

Propaganda in England.—Irshad Ali c/o. Ansari, Delhi, has wired to Shaukat Ali as follows :—

" Mahomedali's long cable received, wants 45,000 telegraphically should we send cable Bombay or you coming Meerut twentieth wire immediately "

Miscellaneous.—In an interview with one of my officers Shaukat Ali made it clear that if events run counter to Muslim wishes he and those who think with him will not hesitate to go to extremes. Owing to the futility at present of both Jehad and Hijrat they recognise that their only practicable course is the stoppage of co-operation with Government. They will begin with military service and go on stage by stage until Government is crippled.

(*1*) *Bombay, March 20th.*—The hartal passed without incident. It was complete in the purely Muhammadan locality between Crawford Market and the Bhendi Bazar, and fairly general throughout the centre of the Island. The mill districts were slightly affected. Half a dozen of the mills were stopped, and from most of the others small numbers of Muhammadan operatives stayed away, together in some cases with a few Hindus. The Crawford Market was shut. Elsewhere in the markets business was much as usual. The docks, tramways railways and other public services worked unimpeded. There was no unpleasantness anywhere in the Island—a satisfactory result, for which the Musalman Volunteer Corps were partly responsible. On the whole the hartal was rather less successful than those organised on the first Khilafat day and to signalise Horniman's deportation ; and may be described as a minor success. Friday prayers in the Mosques were attended by larger congregations than usual ; but though the streets were thronged with expectant idlers, there were no large crowds anywhere.

The advertised mass meeting commenced at about 10 p.m. It was attended by 7 or 8 thousand Muhammadans, 2 or 3 hundred Hindus and a handful of Parsis, Khojas, Moghuls and Arabs. Chhotani was in the chair supported by Shaukat Ali Khatri, Kidwai, Zafar Ali Khan, Rafiuddin Ahmed, Neki Ram Sharma, S. G. Banker and other local stalwarts, conspicuous by their absence were Bhurgri, President of the recent Khilafat Conference ; Mirja Mohomed Ali Khan and Badruddin Abdulla Koor, two of the Secretaries of the All-India Committee ; Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Dewaji Kanji, Jinnah Omer Sobhani, M. K. Azad, Baptista, Jamnadas and Kanji Dwarkadas and the local Tilkites. These absentions, together with unobtrusive changes in the advertised list of speakers, bear testimony to the rift in the Khilafat lute which has been slowly widening during the last few days. I append hereto a statement showing in parallel columns the three stages in the development of the main resolution to be discussed at the meeting.

Resolutions as passed at the meeting

3.

This meeting of Hindus, Muslims and other citizens of Bombay hereby enters its emphatic protest against the violent and irresponsible agitation

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going on in the United Kingdom calculated to wound the deepest susceptibilities of the Moslems and therefore the whole of India, and trusts that not only will His Majesty's Ministers and other statesmen who desire the retention of India in the Empire a free partner dissociate themselves from that agitation, but will reassure the inhabitants of India of the fellow feeling of the people of the United Kingdom by securing a settlement of the Khilafat question compatible with the just and religious sentiments of millions of the Muslim subjects of His Majesty.

This meeting further records its deep conviction that any other solution of the question must eventually result in complete withdrawal of co-operation from the Government and therefore appeals to all the statesmen of the Empire to prevent such a severe strain being put upon Indian *loyalty*.

This meeting at the same time wishes to place upon record the fact that whatever joint steps it may be necessary to take in order to give effect to the just sentiments of Indians there shall be no resort to violence whether in speech or deed and is firmly of opinion that any violence practised in connection with the movement will seriously injure it and cause irreparable harm.

In the event of the joint movement, the Muslims reserve to themselves the right of taking such steps as the exigencies of the situation might dictate.

That the President of this meeting be authorised to send a copy of this resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy with a request to convey the same to His Majesty the King-Emperor.

In the first column is the original draft favoured by Shaukat Ali and his Extremist supporters. The programme embodying this form was printed without the knowledge of the Bombay Moderate leaders ; and, also without their knowledge, telegraphed all over India as the form officially accepted by Chhotani and the All-India Committee. When these proceedings came to their notice, the Bombay leaders promptly disowned the draft, and insisted upon amending it into the form shown in column two. The Extremists opposed this decision Shaukat Ali declaring that if it were adhered to he would not attend the meeting. Prolonged negotiations followed, and it was not until shortly before the meeting that the compromise embodied in the third draft shown was agreed upon. In this form the resolution was finally put to the meeting by Mr. Gandhi, and passed, Coor, Mirja Ali Mahomed Khan and Bhurgri are believed to have stayed away from the meeting because they were not prepared to endorse the objectionable suggestions contained in the final draft. The only other resolution put to the meetings ran as follows :—

> "That this meeting strongly protests against the orders of the Government of Burma, prohibiting certain persons from taking any part in the Khilafat meetings. Such orders, in its opinion, are in violation of the repeated pledges given by Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria and by her successors, safeguarding freedom and liberty in religion, upon which the very foundation of British rule in India rests."

The tone of the speeches is reported to have been somewhat violent, though on this point judgment must be reserved till the verbatim report now under preparation is available. Gandhi's speech as reported in the Times of India was remarkable. If approved the Muhammadan programme as embodied in the resolution, i.e., strictly peaceful non-co-operation, should need arise ; followed up, in the event of its failure, by Hijrat and Jehad.

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He frankly recognised that non-cooperation, however peaceful, must lead to "excitement" and that Hijrat and Jehad might include "Bloody revolution" He did not believe however that if all communities held together any need would arise for exteme measures. It is noteworthy that *the Chronicle* report of this pronouncement omits its strongest passages. The other speakers of importance were Chhotani, Shah Suleman Phulwari, Shaukat Ali, Kidwai, Zafar Ali Khan, S. R. Bomonji, Raffiuddin Ahmed, Pundit Neki Ram Sharma and Khatri. The meeting evoked no remarkable enthusiasm and came to an end about 1 a.m. During the latter half of the proceedings the audience gradually melted away.

The Aga Khan left Bombay for Poona at midnight on the 18th. During the morning he visited the Khoja Jamatkhana, where he was followed by Shaukat Ali, who sought an interview. The Aga Khan refused to see him at the Jamatkhana and asked him to meet him later at his residence. Before Shaukat Ail could get there the Aga Khan was on his way to Poona. Tilak also left for Delhi before the hartal began. Kidwai, Abul Kalam Azad, Zafar Ali Khan, the Nawab of Dacca, and the Bengal delegates have arranged to meet at Delhi and Meerut during the next few days. It is understood that Shaukat Ali hopes to obtain from such a political gathering an endorsement in the name of the whole of India of his extremist policy.

On the morning of the 19th Lala Govardhan Das wired from Lahore to the Khilafat, Bombay, as follows :—

> "Heartily support strong national protest Mahomedan cause just and righteous their clamis based on pledged words of British and allied statemen will advise Mahomedans to be firm but remain within constitutional limits and exercise patience and fordearance very large body of responsible and educated Mahommedans and entire Hindu Population objects spirit and language Calcutta resolutions. In my opinion Islamic cause bound to suffer by adopting such methods with a view to united Hindu and Mahomedan action drop Calcutta resolutions and make strong protest always prepared to work with you."

The Bombay Presidency Association, through its President, Sir Dinshaw Petit, has cabled to the Prime Minister protesting against anti-Turkish agitation in England and urging "in the interest of security of the Empire" that a solution of the Khilafat problem be found on the lines laid down by the Prime Minister in his speech on 5th January 1918.

The Khilafat Day observance in Bombay seems to have been only a partial success, which probably caused much bickering among, and a good deal of disappointment to its organisers. There was in it little of that spontaneity which made Bombay's welcome to the Ali Brothers so impressive, and none of the striking success which might have obtained by slipshod organisation. The events of the day have confirmed the impression that the Bombay Musalmans are a powerful brake upon the impartience of up-country intemperates. Hitherto both parties have been concerned to maintain the appearance of united action; but there is at last some indication that the Moderates may make a public stand against the current of extremism which has hitherto seemed to carry them unprotesting along. A comparison of this Khilafat day with the last seems to indicate that in Bombay the masses are so far substantially unaffected by the clamour of the last six months. As an end, March 19th was certainly nothing for Bombay Muslims to boast about; but, as a means, its value has yet to manifest itself.

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(*m*) *East Khandesh, March 15th.*—Shaukat Ali passed through Bhusawal on his way from Nagpur to Buranpur and was welcomed at the Station, where he stayed about 25 minutes, by some volunteers from Buranpur and some Hindus and Muhammadans, and was garlanded on alighting. Gopal Raoji Gogte and Wasudev Vithal Dastane, pleaders, were also present and the latter garlanded him. Of the Muhammadans, Abdul Kadar, a doctor of no importance, and Hasan Ali Jiwaji, a petty stationer and shopkeeper also garlanded him. Shaukat Ali, after being given a meal, left by special train from Buranpur.

(*n*) *East Khandesh, March 16th.*—The following telegram was given to the District Magistrate, East Khandesh, by Tayabali, an Honorary Magistrate and Sina. Commenting on it the District Magistrate writes : "Tayabali does not think any notice will be taken in Jalgaon. The general opinion is that the hartal is likely to be a failure in this district. There might be compliance in isolated cases ; if so, it is likely to be due to Hindu busy bodies like Messrs. Dastane and Gogte more than to the Moulvis or Kajis ; most of the latter I know and think them unlikely to support the organisers of this hartal though I dare say they will not oppose the propaganda such as it is. However, I may be wrong ; we shall see in three days.

Telegram, dated 9th March, from one Abdul Kalamoo Fazlulbeg, Calcutta, to the Khandesh Muslim Volunteer Corps, Jalgaon (Khandesh)—

"Begin educating public, hold meetings, arrange complete hartal on nineteenth March secd. (sic) Khilafat day literature follows Shaukatali".

(*o*) *Ahmedabad, March 17th.*—Dr. Syed Jalaludin Kadri, Secretary of the local Khilafat Committee, circulated leaflets in Gujarati which contained a translation of Shaukat Ali's appeal for funds. Leaflets containing the Indian Central Khilafat Committee's letter on the suspension of business on the 19th also appeared.

Iskhan Jahangirkhan Nastar issued leaflets in Gujarati in the city on the 8th instant containing an extract from the Hindusthan on the resolutions passed at the Calcutta Provincial Khilafat Conference. A translation is attached (reproduced below). This is the only objectionable leaflet that has appeared so far.

(*Translation of the Leaflet*)

Khilafat Conference held at Calcutta

Stopping of co-operation with British Government.

Resignation of the Honourable Mr. Fazul Haq.

This Conference of Hindus and Muhammadans Resolves :—

(1) That it strongly opposes the agitation which is being carried on at present in England by Christians, and that it will not remain loyal if the Turkish question be decided against Islam.

(2) That the present Sultan of Turkey has always been considered our Khalifa and we take pride in having him as our religious head.

(3) The agitations made by the British and the Allies to divide the Khalifat are unjust, selfish and immoral.

(4) That if the Khalifat is divided and even if Turkey submits it is the duty of all Muhammadans to come forward for the protection of the Khalifat.

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(5) That it protests against the establishment of the British power in Egypt.

(6) That as all efforts have turned out fruitless in preventing the expulsion of the Turks from their capital, steps should be taken to wake up the British Government.

The Execution of the Resolution.

(*a*) That there should be suspension of work on the 19th; and that loyalty should cease if no attention be paid to the Muhammadan demands.

(*b*) That it is the duty of every Muhammadan, as directed before serving in the Indian Army to resign the service if their religion is endangered. If they do not do so they would not be considered Muhammadans.

(*c*) That the co-operation of the Hindus be solicited.

(*d*) That it is hoped the Indian Muhammadan States and their subjects will help us.

(7) That all British goods be boycotted.

(8) That we cordially approve of the movements of Mustaffa and Envar Pasha and other Turk patriots.

(9) That holders of titles and high posts follow the example of Mr. Fazul Haq, otherwise they will not be considered as Muhammadans.

(10) That the Viceroy be requested to release Moulvi Hasan from Jail.

(11) That the Muhammadans should not help the British Government in a war against this Muhammadan Turkish Empire in any way, either by Military or Civil service or by money. To give such help is unlawful. Not to help is our duty.

That it is hoped that none will help the British Government in this religious war against the Muhammadans.

(*From* HINDUSTAN.)

(Signed) ISSAKHAN JEHANGIR NASHTAR,
Ahmedabad.

Shri Jain Vidya Vijay Press.

Note.—Writing on the 14th March the Superintendent of Police, Surat, reports that a large number of these leaflets were circulated in Surat during the week. Similar leaflets have also been noticed in the Kaira District.

(*p*) *Belgaum, March 21st.*—Hartal was observed on the 19th and passed off quietly. In the city, with a few exceptions, all the shops were closed. All the Hindus' shops were opened in Cantonment Bazaar. A mass meeting was held in the evening at which G. B. Deshpande spoke, but it was evident the proceedings were not of much interest as nearly half of the audience, Muhammadans and Hindus, left long before it terminated.

(*q*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 16th.*—The District Superintendent of Police, West Khandesh, reports that Sayyid Muhammad Yahaiya arrived in Dhulia on the 17th from Surat and addressed a meeting advocated hartal on the 19th.

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Several local Muhammadans also spoke dilating on the importance of the Caliphate question but refrained from actually supporting the proposal for a hartal.

On the 18th a local Caliphate Committee was formed.

The following day all the Mahammadan and some of the Gujrathi Hindu shops were closed and about noon a meeting of about 4,000 Muhammadans assembled and held a prayer meeting.

At the close a Moulvi proposed that the Government of India should be informed by wire of the proceedings and requested to allow the Turks to remain in Europe.

The District Magistrate writes that he was in the city on the 19th about 1-00 p.m., when almost all the shops on the main road were closed, but he understands that they had been open till about noon and reopened about 3-00 p.m., though some Muhammadan shops remained closed all day.

He concludes.—"I do not think there is much feeling on the subject in the district, and I understand that the Hindu leaders have taken practically no part in the arrangements."

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM.

Caliphate and Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *Karachi, March 25th.*—From a report in the *New Times* of this morning of a Caliphate meeting at Matiari, Hyderabad, it seems that people are to be induced to have their civil and criminal cases decided by their own Committees. In this connection please see Bombay Government No. S. D. 489, dated the 3rd May last. The Volunteer movement is also apparently in the same direction.

(*b*) *Hyderabad, March 8th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The C.I.D. Sub-Inspector came to see me on Sunday evening with a letter from the Deputy Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., Karachi, with a request that he should get authority from me as District Magistrate to search for and detain seditious leaflets in connection with the Khilafat propaganda. The necessary authority was given yesterday. This morning Mr. Tejumal, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad, came to see me with information that a secret meeting was held in Hyderabad about four or five days ago in which it was decided to proclaim Jehad on the 19th March. Ghulam Mahomed Bhurgri secretly informed the Deputy Superintendent of Police that measures ought to be taken against certain people before 19th as though he (Mr. Bhurgri) would support hartal he could not support the men's measures. Jethamal is reported to have refused to join in any proclamation of *jehad* and has gone to Bombay to see Gandhi and ask him to stop the action of the Khilafat extremists. Bhurgri and Jethamal are said to be afraid and are leaving Hyderabad until hartal is over.

"The following persons are reported to have attended the secret meeting :—

Pir Mahbub Shah of Matli, Pir Jhandewala, Dr. Nur Mahomad, Nur Mahomad, Pleader, Haji Ahmad Patoli, Shah Bakhsh Yanj Bakhsh, Kazi Abdul Kayum, Aminudin Munshi, Abdul Jabar, Pleader, Muhammad Shafi (his brother).

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"Three or four days ago the above made strenous efforts to get the support of Mr. G. M. Bhurgri and Jethamal and Dr. Choithram but without success so far.

"At the District Superintendent of Police's suggestion I have called the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Hussain and the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri.

"If necessary I shall take action as District Magistrate under sections 43 and 48, Bombay District Police Act, and call the leaders and warn them.

"This action will probably stop any intimidation of Hindus or moderate Muhammadans. Both want encouragement from Government to stiffen their resistance to the Muhammadan extremists whose action has frightened them."

(*c*) *Ibid, March 16th.*—Last week I interviewed leading Muhammadans and Hindus. A special report on the situation was submitted on the 9th instant. The present situation is that Hindus of advanced views will probably observe hartal to a certain extent as the Central Khilafat Committee have warned all against violence or coercion. There would have been a split between extremist Muhammadans and Hindus and moderate Muhammadans if the Central Khilafat Committee influence by the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Mahomad Bhurgri and others had not acted. Extremist Muhammadans are more or less isolated. The *hartal* on the 19th will now probably pass off quietly, but preparations have been made to suppress any disturbance.

(*d*) *Hyderabad, March 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "Hartal passed off on the 19th without excitement, though many people had been frightened by rumours of disturbances. The Honorary Secretary of the Local Khilafat Committee, Mr. Abdul Jabar, pleader, supplied me with a copy of the programme and leaflet to be distributed. They were quite unobjectionable. He assured me that no posters would be put up and in accordance with this promise copies of the Urdu posters from Delhi "The problem of Khilafat-ul-Islam and the Holy places of Muhammadan on the Island of Arabia" which had come by post and been put up by some persons were immediately torn down by orders of the Committee.

"A copy of this poster addressed to the Subhedar of 2/14th Punjabis was sent to me by the O.C., Hyderabad, and that copy and others addressed to Indian troops were confiscated in accordance with my advice.

"As I was satisfied that most of the members of the Committee intended to abide by the moderate counsels of the majority of the Committee, *viz.*, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Dr. Nur Mahomed, Aminuddin N. Munshi, Haji Shah Bakhsh, Haji Ahmad Patoli and last but not least Pir Mahbub Shah of Matli.

"Information was received that the last was in possession of copies of a very seditious leaflet. A further report is expected from the District Superintendent of Police on this point.

"Most of the shops and the markets were closed till evening, but all the Mukhis kept their shops open and most of the Borhas. Dr. Choitham and Mr. Jethamal went up and down the bazaar advising the people to close. No threats or show of violence occurred.

"A public meeting was held at 6-30 p.m. at the Holmstead Hall at which Dr. Choithram, Sheikh Abdul Majid, Aminuddin N. Munshi and

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others spoke. The first two said that unless a satisfactory settlement was arrived at bad results would follow. That unless a satisfactory settlement was arrived at bad results would follow. That appears to have been the worst item in the speeches. Aminuddin said his mouth had been shut by a piece of paper (i.e., my notification) or he would have said much. Pir Mahbub Shah who is said to be of unsound mind did not speak.

"Strong police forces were hidden at four points by 6 a.m. in case of emergency. The O.C., Hyderabad, took unobtrusive steps to deal with any trouble.

"About 1,000 Muhammadans sat in the Idgah from 1 to 5 p.m. at Tando Mahomed Khan and Moulvi Ghulam Mahommad made an objectionable speech stating that the Holy places had come under the control of the British against religious principles. He said that if their demands were not satisfied they should sacrifice their lives in pursuance of the dictates of the *Qoran* and render assistance to their Khalifat.

"I have a list of the chief men who attended and am proceeding to Tando Mahomed Khan tomorrow when I shall have them up and point out the falsity of the Mouivi's statements, in accordance with the recent Press Note.

"I think a Government leaflet pointing out the efforts of the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy and the position of the King of the Hadjas should be prepared at once in Sindhi and distributed to all *Jagirdars* and leading *Zemindars* and warning them against statements of persons attempting to excite disaffection.

"In accordance with orders from me, the Assistant Collector, Tando Sub-division, proceeded to Matli and considering the situation there issued a notification under section 42, District Police Act. Everything seems to have passed off quitely there and the Hindus refused to join in the *Hartal* both at Matli and Tando Mahomed Khan.

* A Moulvi was found puting up a poster on a Mosque at Matli where there may be possible developments.

"After three days at Tando Mahommed Khan I proceed to Matli and shall review the situation.

"There is little doubt that wilder talk is indulged in by agitators in small Taluka towns than in Headquarters. I have had offers of loyal assistance from some *Jagirdars*.

"Generally I consider that the political situation has cleared within the last week and will continue to brighten if handled with tact and firmness combined with a plain and public statement of facts by Government '*A lead from Government is necessary*'".

(*e*) *Larkana, March 8th.*—Of the persons who took part in the Caliphate Conference held at Bajar, Sehwan Taluka, on the 29th February, the following were the more prominent :—

(1) Maulvi Abdul Razak of Bubak.

(2) Nasir Muhammad Shah of Bajar, Bench Magistrate, and Commissioner's Durbari.

(3) Asadullah Shah, Zamindar of Bajar.

(4) Imdad Ali Shah, Zamindar of Bajar.

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(5) Abdul Nabi Shah, Zamindar of Bajar.
(6) Pir Muin Mahdi of Nawab Shah Taluka.
(7) Abdul Jabbar, Pleader, Hyderabad.
(8) Doctor Nur Muhammad Shaikh of Hyderabad.
(9) Maulvi Asadullah Shah of Tikhur Taluka, Tando Muhammad Khan.
(10) Maulvi Haji Mukhamdin of Hyderabad.
(11) Kazi Siraj-ud-din of Sehwan.
(12) Kazi Muin-ud-din of Sehwan.
(13) Dwarkaprasad, Brahman of Dadu.

Maulvi Abdul Razak was elected President. He recited certain verses from the *Qoran* and said : "This end of the world is approaching and the Imam Mehdi is shortly to appear. You should stand firm by your religion. As our Imam and our Holy places have been insulted we should show excitement".

Abdul Jabbar, Pleader, said :—"Are you aware in what condition our Amir-ul-Momeneen (Commander of the Faithful) and our Holy places of Mecca, Medina and Baitul Mukaddus are ? They have been reduced to their present condition on account of our carelessness and negligence. If we had girded up our lions at the very outset and refused to help the English Government with life and money, our Holy places would not have been disgraced. We blackened our faces and gave our money and blood to Government. It was the intention of Government to destroy the Islam of the Musalmans. They have been making these efforts for the last 100 years. We were deceitfully made to believe that Government was the friend of our Amir-u-Momeneen, but now we see that Government is our enemy from the bottom of its heart and that it is bent on cutting at the root of our Islam.

Doctor Nur Muhammad Shaikh of Hyderabad, said : "We see now that the decision of the Peace Conference with regard to Turkey rests entirely with our English Government and we realise that Government has done injustice to us and broken its promises. It is for this, therefore, that the entire Moslem population of India has got excited and started the Caliphate Conference. Much credit is due to the Ulemas and Hindus and Musalmans of India who have taken so much trouble in the matter, and let the curse of God be on Nabi Bakhsh and Abdulkadir and two or three other such people who have sold their religion for a small gain.".

Dwarkaprasad said : There is no difference between Hindus and Mussalmans. All of us are the creatures of the same Creator. We Hindus are elder brothers and you, Mussalmans, are younger brothers. The slight difference that exists between us will soon disappear by our joint efforts. Our Mahatma Gandhi is on the side of Islam. India originally belonged to the Hindus and Mussalmans and not to the English Sirkar. The Sirkar took our country from us by deceit. The English Sirkar asked our Mahtama Gandhi to assist in the destruction of Turkey, but our Mahatma refused to give any assistance to the Sirkar against Turkey. He told the Sirkar that if it was inimical to Turkey, he would be inimical to it. On this account all the Hindu Rajas have turned against the Sirkar.

Maulvi Muhkamdin of Hyderabad said : The Hindus object to cow slaughter and it is incumbent on you, dear Mussalman brethren, to reduce the custom of cow killing. Besides, you should not give your cow, buffalo, camel or horse to the English Sirkar. He who will give it will be called the enemy of his religion. Whatever you can give you should give to your King, the Amir-ul-Momeneen, so that you may be rewarded by the Almighty.

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Just see how many years have elapsed and we have rendered no assistance to our Amir-ul-Momeneen. Many poor Turks, their wives and children have sacrificed their lives. Thousands of Turks have been killed in the war. Our Mussalman brethren fought with the Turks on behalf of the Sirkar and killed thousands. They bombarded the holy places and burnt mosques. Our Mussalman brethren have done this. I would, therefore request you, Mussalman brothers, not to enlist in the English Army in future. Those who are already serving in the Army should resign. He who will enlist in the Army in future will on the Day of Judgment appear in the shape of a pig. I would further request that those who are in Government service should resign their posts immediately.

Maulvi Asadullah Shah said : "Just see how much *zulum* the Sirkar has done to us. It took from us money, property and even blood. It got our Holy places destroyed and mosques burnt. With what face shall we appear before God on the Day of Judgment. Just as you gave the Sirkar your money, property and blood, in the same way you should give these things to Turkey now. Our Amir-ul-Momeneen will need two things in the war, *viz.*, men and money. If you cannot give men, you should give money. The war of the Sirkar is still going on and has not ceased. The Sirkar will soon start collecting subscriptions and enlisting men. You should neither give men nor money."

Maulvi Abdul Razak and Imadad Ali Shah who claims to be a Moulvi himself were the chief organisers of the so called Conference. The Sayyids of Bajar, including Nasir Muhammad Shah, accommodated and fed the guests. It is said that about 700 or 800 people assembled. Many of them were the Mirbanhars of Manchhar Lake and Baloch and non-Baluch haris. No respectable *Zamindar* residing outside Bazar attended the meeting Special messengers were sent in various directions by the organisers to induce people to come by telling them that several Maulvis were going to deliver Vaiz on Islamic matters.

The District Magistrate remarks : "Asadullah Shah, through a Collector's Durbari and infiuential, has always been more or less of a mischief-maker. It is he who has misled the other Sayyids of Bajar.

Abdul Razak of Bubak was formerly active in the pro-Arab (so-called anti-Caliphate) movement. Having been won over by the Turkish party, he is showing all the seal of a convert.

(*f*) *Larkana March 21st.*—As a result of the efforts of the Home Rulers and Caliphatists, hartal was observed on the 19th instant in Larkana Town and a few other places in the district. After the Juma prayers, an open-air meeting was held at Larkana in which about 500 persons including about 30 Hindus, took part. Pir Imamdinshah, a brother of Pir Jhandewalla, presided but made no speech. The meeting decided that the following resolution be wired to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay :—

> "We respectfully request Your Excellency to convey to His Majesty King-Emperor that if peace terms with His Majesty Caliphat-ul-Muslamin Sultan of Turkey are not in accordance with the doctrine of Shariat the commandments of Islam will force Muhammadans to sever their loyal connection with the British Throne."

This resolution was moved by Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law, and accepted by the audience.

Another resolution was passed urging Muhammadans to refrain from cow-killing. This resolution was moved by Moulvi Muhammad Akil and

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seconded by Muhammad Naurangi, Jan Muhammad Junejo, Pir Haji Mithal, Holaram, pleader, Thanverdas, Saraf and Gobindbux Israni, Bar-at-Law.

One Abdulla Bhuto of Larkana Taluka rose and said that he was not prepared to support the resolution and asked for permission to speak, but it was not given.

Moulvi Muhammad Akil, Moulvi Haji Ahmed, Pir Haji Mithal Rashid Jan Muhammed Junejo, Bar-at-Law, and Gobindbad Isram, Bar-at-Law made speeches. The other speakers merely uttered a few words while seconding the resolutions.

The District Magistrate had called up Jan Muhammad Junejo and Rijhumal Kundansing Lahori on the 18th and warned them against the use of intemperate language by any of the speakers selected for the occasion. The speeches delivered on this occasion were couched in moderate language.

Haji Ahmed, the old and crazy Moulvi, rose up and spoke in spite of Jan Muhammad Junejo's attempt to prevent him. He said that in former days, olive oil used to be burnt at the Prophet's tomb and that now kerosine oil was in use. Owing to the Shrif's misrule out of every 11 houses 10 were lying desolate. He criticised the agitation in England against the retention of the Turks in Constantinople and called the English clergy fools. The Moulvi was less furious on this occasion than on previous ones.

After the meeting dispersed the shops were opened. It appears that the Hindus closed their shops, not on account of any sympathy with the movement, but merely to follow the practice started by the Hindu agitators. The shops of Hindu licencees remained opened.

There was no *hartal* in Sehwan and the Hindus of Kambar did now close their shops. The *hartal* at Dadu lasted some three hours.

Moulvi Ghulam Muhammad Malkani and Pir Muhammad Muinshah spoke at Dadu, and Moulvis Mr. Muhammad, Abdul Wahid, Abdulla and Muhammad Usman addressed the meeting held at Kambar. The two resolutions passed at Larkana were the subject of the speeches made at Dadu and Kambar. Notices under section 42 of the Bombay District Police Act were served on Dwarkaprasad and a few other residents of Dadu on the morning of the 19th. No big *Zamindar* attended these meetings at any place. A petty *Zamindar*, Serai Muhammadkhan Gopang, was present at the Kambar meeting.

The District Magistrate remarks : "Even the Larkana hartal as I saw for myself in a walk through the town, was by no means complete. There were a few shops open in each main bazaar.

"At Kambar the Hindus did not join in, and elsewhere, except at Dadu, which of late has become a seditious centre, it completely failed."

(*g*) *Larkana, March 25th.*—The Disitict Magistrate writes : "Dadu and Larkana were the only places where the *hartal* came to much. In Larkana, though most shops closed thre were a few open in each main bazaar, and owing to Haji Amir Ali's influence the *hartal* was not observed in Lahori village (within the Municipal limits).

"In Dadu it was made complete, but the local agitators could not get it fully going till 2 p.m. and it ended at 5 p.m.

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"I had issued a notice under section 42, Police Act, on the notorious agitator Dwarkaprasad *alias* Dwarkadas and the S.D.M., who was camped there, under my instructions, issued similar notices on two or three other firebrands.

"Regarding the Khilafat Conference got up a Bajar at the end of last month. They were circulating there an effusion bewailing he say of Islam, inciting to 'action', 'tension' or 'vigorous action which is tending to become a more or less stereotyped euphemism for Jehad.

"Many of the *Zemindars* of this district who were joining the Khilafat agitation when it started are now drawing back; some no doubt because their zeal for Turkey is not strong enough to make them court disfavour, but others because they are genuinely alarmed at the lengths to which the speakers and agitators are now going.

The worst feature is the prominence and power it has given to the Mullas—a venal and unscrcuplous class of men—always eager to stir up troubles and excite begotry and religious passions.

"They have been a spreading the most outrageous lies among the ignorant 'haris' (i.e., cultivators and labourers), as e.g. (1) that liquor is being openly drunk by the British in the shrines of Mecca and Medina, (2) that the British have stopped the ceremony of 'Tawaif' at Mecca, (3) that the Moulvies and Imams have been persecuted and driven away from Medina by the British, (4) that Arab women of high birth have been tortured and dishonoured by the British army.

"Information of these and similar false tales being told I have had privately from respectable and fairly trustworthy informants, and they show the means being taken by the pro-Turkish party."

(*h*) *Larkana, March 28th.*—A Khilafat Confeerence was held at Makdum Bilawal in Dadu Taluka, on the 25th instant, at about 8 p.m. under the presidency of Maulvi Abdul Razak of Badak. A large number of people visit the shrine of Makdum Bilawal on the 1st Friday of every lunar month and the majority of then arrived there on Thursday evening. The agitators and seditionists availed themselves of this opportunity of finding a large audience. The principal speakers were Maulvi Muhammad Hashim of Amrote, Maulvi Muhammad Sidik of Moro, Doctor Nur Muhammad Shaikh and Abdulmajid Shaikh of Hyderabad, Maulvi Muhammad Sulleman of Tharri Mohbat, Maulvi Muhammad Saleh of Mehar and Maulvi Muhammad Ibrahim of Khairpur Nathan Shah.

Maulvi Muhammad Hashim said :—

"Our religion has been reduced to a wretched condition. Imam Hussain had received 72 arrow wounds for this very Islam ..... The Prophet himself had sacrified his property and belongings for the sake of Islam. You should follow the Prophet. If we fear jail and death we are not Mussalmans ..... I cannot describe the condition of our Mussalman brethren in Turkey. The soldiers and sepoys say that the Armenian and British armies have besieged Muslim cities and set fire to them. The English people have published in papers that a large number of dead bodies was found lying in a Mosque and that at another place Mussalman women were lying dead with cartridge wounds in their private parts. Such things have happened and this is our Islam at present. .....".

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Maulvi Muhammad Sidik of Moro said :—

"Today is the day when the dead body of our Islam is ready for burial. Today the enemies have got ready to cut the last root of Islam. God's earth is in mourning and God's sky is clad in black ..... That time is gone when we were afraid of our temporal rulers ..... Oh nominal Mussalmans ! You have so far been Mussalmans in name. Now prove yourself to be true Mussalmans and sacrifice your lives and property for Islam ..... My dear brothers ! God has told you in the *Quran* not to look upon the Jews and Christians as your friends. The Jews and Christians are friends to each other but they are your enemies ....."

Doctor Nur Muhammad Shaikh of Hyderabad said :—

"..... Your enemies will give you serious trouble. If you are Mussalmans you should patiently bear trouble. The Mukhtiarkar, Police Sub-Inspector and Deputy will frighten you but you should not fear anyone, be he a Sub-Inspector, Collector or a King, You should not obey their orders. If you will hear an account of the terrible *zulum* which has been exercised on our Turks and our dear friends you will get very much excited ..... It is not easy to sacrifice one's life. The sacrifice of one's life is the last step. Perhaps the time for sacrificing life may come. The war is not between the English and the Turks but between Islam and Christianity. That is to say it is a religious war ..... Orders were issued that from the 18th to the 23rd March no one should call any one a *kafir* and notices were issued with a view to frighten Islam and to prevent waaz. We call them *kafir* because they are the enemies of our religion. Government prevents us from publishing the Commandments of the *Quran*. This is interference in religious matters ..... I advise you not to pay assessment and not to obey the orders. We have to resist English people. If the English people are not going to give us our rights you should cut off all connection with them ..... If you will sever your connection you will achieve a victory unparalleled in the world. Give up Government service and allegiance to Government. Give up chairs and licenres which have made you quarrel with each other. The Magistrates should resign their appointments. The Kurmis should give a promise that they will not cultivate the land of a *zamindar* who will hanker after Government chair or obey the orders of Government ....."

Shaikh Abdulmajid of Hyderabad said :—

"..... Today a serious telegram has been received about the Turks saying that the European powers have taken possession of the capital of the Turks. I call God to witness that I had wept before I came here and that I thought that I should rather kill myself than convey these news to thousands of my Mussalman brothers at Makhdum Sahib. You should not weep. Calamities have be fallen every nations in every age ..... Brothers ! God has said in the *Quran* that no calamity can come otherwise than under His orders. Whoever believes in the Providence of God and turns a rebel against all the kings of the world and sacrifices his property for weak Islam God Almighty will help him. Brothers ! you think that you are poor people and that you cannot render any service to Islam. The Prophet was also a poor man. The strength that exists in you can shatter enemy to pieces. The Collectors, Commissioners and great Kings are afraid of your power and strength. They are afraid of a Muhammadan rising. You possess very

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great strength, but you do not understand it. The enemies are afraid of you, but you do not know how to display your strength ..... Whenever you meet an officer tell him openly that if his king and nation will not give our Khalifat-ul-Ilam his rights you will sever connection with him. ..... Tell the individuals and nations who are the enemies of our Khalifa that you will destroy them in the same manner as they are destroying us ..... ".

Maulvi Muhammad Sulleman of Tharri Mohbat said :—

" ..... The notices which have been issued by Government prohibiting our leaders from lecturing are invalid ..... It is a pity that we 40 crore children of the Prophet are living while the garden of the Prophet has been destroyed. The Khalifat-ul-Mussalmin, the vice-regent of the Prophet, is in the cultches of the enemy and we are sitting quiet ..... "

Maulvi Muhammad Saleh of Mehar said :—

" ..... Our religion is in the claws of wolves, save it. Remember the time when the banner of Islam will be ready. Then follow that banner without delay. The life and death are in the hands of God and not in the hands of anyone else. We have to die one day. Brothers ! if we die as martyrs what a good thing it is ..... When that banner calls you sacrifice your wealth and property and come and stand under that banner, we do not mean that we should go against the English Government as rebels. We mean that whatever rights we have asked for and which the English Sirkar had already promised with their Royal tongue may be given to us ".

Maulvi Muhammad Ibrahim of Khairpur Nathan Shah said :—

" ..... The officials of the English people bribed an Arab, turned him against our Turk and took his country. We cannot recognise such rebels as our Khalifa. The British Sirkar has always been the enemy of the Turks ..... They are King and yet they deceive. This is English civilisation and strength. They think it advisable to make peace with the Bolsheviks but not with the Turks ..... The Egyptian women have told their husbands that if they will agree to be the subjects of the English people their Nikah will cease, ... "

The organisers of the meeting made an appeal for funds and some of the audience offered pieces of their agricultural lands and others offered cash. It is reported that the enthusiasm of people, who numbered some thousands, was at its highest pitch and that the fury of the Mullahs and Amil converts was at fever heat. Shaikh Abdulmajid the ex-internee who was concerned in the silk letter conspiracy, asked the audience to swear by Makdum Bilawal that they would sacrifice their lives when time came. It is reported that the audience did take the oath and said that they were ready and were only waiting for the order. It was announced at the meeting that the next Conference would be held at Sehwan on the 27th of Rajab, viz., 17th April 1920.

No respectable *zamindar* excepting Shah Muhammad Mehesar of Mehar Taluka, a Collector's Durbari, and possibly Mir Muhammad Jamali Jagirdar attended the meeting. With regard to the latter further enquiries are being made.

The District Magistrate remarks : " The agitators have now taken to exploiting religious gatherings at Centres of pilgrimages in order to deliver

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fiery speeches more or less directly inciting to violence and rebellion. Jehad is the thing they are all hinting at, and the effect on crowds of ignorant cultivators and labourers, already filled with religious fevour and excitement by their visit to the shrine, is dangerous in the extreme."

(*i*) *Thar and Parkar, March 17th.*—No preparations are apparent here so far for observing the *hartal* on the 19th. Gurdinomal, whose lead would decide any action to be taken here, has been away towards the Desert for some days. In conversation with my Deputy a little while ago he expressed a disinclination to take any part in the Khilafat agitation and said he felt the Hindus had made a mistake in assisting the Muhammadans. He said that he had been approached by the Khilafat agitators to assist in arranging for a Khilafat Conference either at Mirpurkhas or Chhor but he was not disposed to do so as he distrusted them.

The District Magistrate remarks : "Gurdinomal was away at Chachro lecturing at a Conference of Kitars on social reform. He is, probably, even as some other Hindus, beginning to think a Jehad may have unpleasant results to others than the Government."

(*j*) *Upper Sind Frontier, March 21st.*—The *hartal* came off on the 19th instant and was fairly successful from the point of view of the organisers. In the morning there were a few shops closed only but in the afternoon most of the shops in the town were closed, both Hindu and Muhammadan. The *hartal* was accompanied by no disturbance or objectionable incident.

(*k*) *Sukkur, March 21st.*—It is reported that Moulvi Mubarak, son of Khan Mahomed Bhutto, of the village of Jindo Dero has collected Rs. 2,050 from the inhabitants of that and other neighbouring villages. It is said that the money will be paid to Taj Mohamed, editor of the Al-Haq, towards the expenses of the coming Khilafat Conference to be held at Sukkur.

On the 18th instant a meeting was held in Khushiramabad, Shikarpur, under the presidency of Pir Zial Haq at which it was decided to hold a *hartal* of the 19th in Shikarpur. About 200 persons were present of whom 150 were Hindus. The following spoke :—Mulchand Virumal, pleader, Lunidaam, seth Nariandass Thakurdas Abdul Karim and others. The situation of Turkey was explained. Hindus were asked to co-operate, as without unity they could achieve nothing. A small handbill saying there would be a meeting on the 19th was distributed.

On the 19th but few shops were open in Shikarpur and a state of hartal, existed. Volunteers were round the town urging the few shopkeepers who remained opened to closed down. About 160 people assembled in the Juma Mosque at the Lakhi Gate. A very stirring sermon was delivered there by one Abdul Karim. He commenced by praising the Prophet and his four Khalifa. He then went on to say that the present Sultan is the Amir-ul-Momeneen and custodian of the Holy places. From the time of the Prophet the Muhammadan sacred places had been under the protection of Turkey. Now the British Government wished to deprive us of them. The Government had guaranteed the safety of these places but these promises had now been proved to be false. It was said that it was to be a war of conquest and not a crusade. We now find that it is treated as a crusade since Mr. Lloyd George so expressed it when decorating the Generals who made conquests in Arabia. This is the reward they have

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paid us for the timely assistance (money and recruits) we Indian rendered them during the war. We sent many petitions and deputations regarding the above question, but were told that the decision remained in the hands of the Peace Conference. The Conference left Turkey until the last. President Wilson favoured Turkey. The French Government expressed a desire that Turkey should not be deprived of anything. Japan has nothing to do with the matter : Germany has retired within herself , Russia is ruined and Italy is not powerful enough to go against the wishes of the British. From this it will be seen that this decision lies only with the British. This Friday was fixed in order that Muhammadans and Hindus should meet together and send a final petition to the Viceroy. After this our leaders have decided to send no further petitions but to await the decision of the Peace Conference. If this decision is not in our favour we must be prepared to do what our religion directs us to do. I (Abdul Karim) preach this because my heart burns. I am prepared to suffer the punishment the authorities want to inflict upon me. The Sub-Inspector reports that this sermon was very impressive, many people in the mosque shedding tears.

Similarly in the evening a meeting was held in Khushiramabad where between 1,500 and 2,000 Hindus and Muhammadans were present. Abdul Karim said practically the same things at this meeting. Among the other speakers were Mulan Umanullah, Pleader, Lunidaram, Seth Naraindass, Seth Chainrai Virbhandas and Pir Zial Haq, Pleaber Lunidaram said that the matter had not been put strongly enough, but since the subject had been worded by the Muhamadans themselves he did not wish to add anything further.

As regards Abdul Karim :—He is reported to be a young man of about 20 years of age. He was educated at the Municipal Arabic School, Shikarpur. He comes of a poor family of Dhurchamaya of Shikarpur, He is supposed to be closely connected with Maulvi Taj Mahomed of Amrote. He at present follows the profession of a native physician.

The District Magistrate remarks : "It is misrepresentation of the kind typified in Moulvi Abdul Karim's sermon that requires contradiction ; but this contradiction can only be disseminated by the medium of pamphlets in the vernacular."

On the 19th in Sukkur there was no *hartal* and no meeting. This I believe to be due to Virumul and Taj Mahomed, Editor of the Al-Haq, being served with notices under section 42 of the Police Act.

(1) *Sukkur, March 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "The 19th instant passed at Sukkur and Shikarpur without any incident worthy of note. Shop-closing was limited to a few Mussalman shops.

"Virumal and (editor) Taj Mahomed are said to have had lately some matter of difference between themselves ; regarded as local popular leaders they were in poor spirits, and on the 18th they rather despondently denied their intention of any sort of activity beyond prayers. On the 13th the Al-Haq (Taj Mahomed's paper) had also prescribed quiet prayer and fasting.

"On the 18th, a small Khilafat meeting was called at a village in Sukkur Taluka by a few small local *zamindars* upon inspiration emanating from Karachi through an obscure Pirzado. Only Mussalmans attended, and some were persuaded to sign a telegram addressed to the Viceroy. There is no reason to believe that they know the contents."

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(*m*) *Nawabshah, March 23rd.*—The Caliphate Day passed off quietly in this district. No reports of any disturbance have been received from outstations. Hartal was observed at several places in the mofussil. Details have not yet come to hand. There was almost complete hartal at Nawabshah itself. I found a few shops opened in the morning, but they also were closed at about midday. Shops were again opened in the evening. to procession or public demonstration took place. Sindhi leflets under the signatures of Seth Abdullah Haroon and the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri and another leaflet published by a local Committee consisting of Pir Muhammad Imamshah, son of the Pir Jhandewalla, Hakim Muhammad Maaz, son of Muhammad Araf, a local native physician, and three others, enjoining the observance of the Caliphate Day and what the pople were expected to do. were distributed. Two posters in Urdu and one in English published by the Calcutta Caliphastisu under the signature of the Honourable Mr. Fazal Haq, the Honourable Mr. Abdul Kasim, Shaukat Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others were found affixed to lamp-posts in the bazaar. Only a few copies of the latter appear to have been received. After the Juma prayers a meeting of Mussalmans and Hindus, numbering about 300 (including some 30 Hindus), was held inside the local Juma Masjid. Pir Muhammad Imamshah and Hakim Muhammad Maaz were the chief speakers. They expressed their resentment at the agitation started by the clergy in England and others European countries against the Caliphate question and strongly condemned the violation of pledges made with regard to Turkey. It was resolved to send a final message to the King through His Excellency the Viceroy declaring that in case the Turkish question was settled against the Islamic Shariat and the interests of Turkey, the Government should not expect their Muhammadan subjects to continue loyal in future. Pending the settlement of the above question, it was suggested that no help in men or money be given and all those who were holding honours from the Government should resign them. Reference in this connection was made to the recent resignation of his office by a Bench Magistrate on Matli side. Pir Muhammad Imamshah exhorted the Mussalman audience to give up cow sacrifice in view of the help extended by the Hindus at the present juncture towards the Mussalman cause. Bhai Naraindas, son of Gobindram Jaggiasi, the present Bava in charge of the local temple, in supporting the Mussalman speakers, assured the Mussalmans of the sympathy and co-operation of the Hindus in their present struggle. He further suggested that Indians should exert themselves to improve their local industries and arts. A sum of Rs. 100 was subscribed towards the Caliphate Fund. A telegram was despatched to His Excellency the Viceroy communicating the above resolution.

The District Magistrate remarks : "There were small efforts at hartal at Moro (leaders, Moulvi Muhammad Sidik and his relations) and at Pad-Idan Railway Station (led by Syed Parial Shah, where nothing particular happened. At Pad-Idan Station, a few railway porters, etc., abstained from working. I believe the C.I.D., have their eye on Parial Shah. His life and career are worth looking into Telegrams were sent from both places to His Excellency the Viceroy".

(*n*) *Nawabshah, March 21st.*—The District Magistrate writes : "Nothing worth mentioning occurred in this district on the 19th. The only places where a hartal was organised are, as far as I know, Nawabshah and Maro—

"At Nawabshah posters were put up asking Hindus and Mussalmans to close their shops on the 19th. Leaflets printed in Sindhi over the

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signatures of Haji Abdullah Haroon and the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri were distributed by Moulvi Mohammed Muaz, informing the public of the resolutions of the Central Khilafat Committee and asking for the co-operation of the Hindus in carrying out the *hartal*. The Hindus were disinclined to join, but on the 18th, Pir Mahommed Imam Shah, son of the Jhandewala Pir, came to Nawabshah, and his persuasions led to a closing of shops on the 19th. It began half-heartedly, but by midday practically all shops in the town were closed. In the evening, however, after the departure of the Pir, business restarted and went on as usual. At midday, the Hindus and Muhammadans first gathered in the Tikana and then went to the Mosque where, after prayer the Pir addressed the audience on the subject of Turkey. Dissatisfaction was shown at a section of the Englishmen who had shown themselves opposed to the interest of Islam; it was prayed that His Majesty the King-Emperor might use his influence to stop such anti-Muslim propaganda and to secure such terms for Turkey as would satisfy Muslim sentiment; the loyalty of Muslims would be adversely affected. The Pir declared that he could not undertake to remain loyal himself under adverse conditions. Speeches were made also about Hindu-Muslim unity and the stopping of cow-slaughter. Collections were made for the Khilafat Fund. The leading spirit of the movement at Nawabshah, apart from Pir Mohammed Shah, is Moulvi Mohammed Muaz, who is not a person of any great consequence.

"At Maro, the leaders are Maulvi Muhammad Siddik and his brother Mohammed Sadik and half-brother Nabibaksh. Here the shop-keepers are all Hindus and the feelings between the two communities are very unfriendly. Consequently, no *hartal* occurred. Only sellers of fish and meat closed their business for the 19th. The Friday prayers were held at the Idgah and were attended by over 1,000 persons, including some leading *zamindars* of the taluka and a few Hindus. Nothing particular happened. The speeches made were moderate.

"A movement is being organised for sending a telegram from Nawabshah to His Excellency the Viceroy, submitting that, under religious law, the Muslims will have to be disloyal to the British Government if the Holy Places are taken away from the possession of the Khalifa, the Sultan of Turkey".

(*o*) *Karachi, March 16th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The chief matter of interest during the past week has been the agitation on the subject of the Khilafat and the proposed peace terms with Turkey. The New Times of the 4th and 5th instant had republished the resolutions of the Calcutta agitators or most of them. Included was the one suggesting an agitation amongst soldiers. With the approval of the Commissioner in Sind I asked the editor of the New Times to call on me and warned him that the communication was in my opinion a breach of the Indian Penal Code and its republication an abetment of the offence. The editor told me that he himself did not agree with the Calcutta proposals and had already considerably censored these communications. I suggested that his censoring might with advantage be more extensive and stricter in future. The doings of the local Khilafat Committee during the week have been reported by the District Superintendent of Police. The extreme and dangerous nature of the proposals which originated from Calcutta has created a great deal of difference of opinion regarding the hartal proposed for Friday, the 19th. I have seen various men of influence during the week including Ghulamali Chagla, the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai and others. The former, though

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a Muhammadan is standing aloof from the agitation and giving it no encouragement. Of course he is a Shia, but even so a number of Shias and others who do not recognise the Sultan as Khalifa have been taking part in the agitation. Mr. Harachandrai, whom I asked as head of the Municipality and responsible for the markets to take measures to see that the food supply of the town is not interfered with ; was of opinion that no disturbance was to be feared. Other moderate leaders whom I have seen, such as Jamshed N. R. Mehta and Hirdaram Mewaram, are of the same opinion. They have been standing aloof from the agitation or actively working to prevent the acceptance of the extremist policy. I interviewed Haji Abdulla Haroon, the Chairman of the local Committee, on Friday last. He assured me that he was all in favour of a Constitutional agitation and would do his best to see that no intimidation or coercion was practiced in connection with the projected hartal. I warned him of his responsibility and of the fact that it was easier to stir up the passions of the ignorant mob than to control them when aroused. As far as he is concerned I do not think that he is out for trouble at present, but it was noticable that more than once in the course of his interview he himself used the words ' at present ' when talking about his determination to adhere to moderate and Constitutional agitation. He admitted that some of his young men were hotheaded and rash but said that they were being kept in check. The violent nature of the Calcutta proposals has done more good than harm, at any rate in connection with the hartal, which according to present indications is likely to be only a partial success. The District Superintendent of Police in his note of the 13th instant has referred to the activities of one Mohanlal who has been visiting shops and telling their owners to close and hinting at damage, if they did not do so, for which neither Government nor the public would be responsible. I have instructed the District Superintendent of Police to send for the man and warn him that such menaces fall within the scope of section 503, Indian Penal Code, and must be discontinued.

(*p*) *Karachi, March 23rd.*—On the 19th a *hartal* was observed at Sujawal, Karachi District. Hakim Akbar, son of Pirbux, took a leading part in getting the shops closed and called a meeting in the garden of Syed Abdul Rahimshah, a leading *zamindar* of Sujawal. It was attended by about 1,000 Hindus and Moslems. The following *zamindars* attended :—

(1) Syed Haji Abdul Rahimshah, (2) Shaikh Gahi Khan, (3) Muhammad Kasim Shaikh, (4) Khudadino Somaro, (5) Khalifo Ghulam Muhammad, and (6) Nur Muhammad Shoro.

Akbar said that India had helped the Allies during the great war with men and money. He pointed out to the audience that it had been declared that there would be self-determination and the sacred places would not be interfered with, but these promises were not fulfilled. He requested them to join in a body and request Government not to interfere with the Caliph and to leave the Holy places intact. If these request were not granted then life and property would be sacrificed. (Akbar is a man of no position or means and he is merely a tool in the hands of Syed Abdul Rahim, Vice-President of the Local Board, who remains behind the *purdah.*)

Moulvi Ali Muhammad of Khorewah, Hyderabad District, said that the Holy places should remain intact. Any injury to the Caliph was to Hazrat Muhammad. If nothing was done to aid their religion, Moslems should drown themselves.

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Moulvi Yar Muhammad of Rip, Badin Taluka, Hyderabad District, Sind, said that prayers for the safety of the Sultan should be offered. He announced that subscriptions for "*wafaos*" are required and the money will be utilised by the members of the Deputation which has proceeded to England for the cause of Turkey.

Haji Hamidullah of Pithan, Guni Taluka, Hyderabad District, said that the sacred places were trodden by Non-Moslems. People living there had abandoned their homes and women and young children had been killed. If the Prophet Muhammad were alive, this would not have happened. Government had given assurances that the sacred places of the Moslems would not be interfered with and declared that the war was against the Germans, hence Indians had helped with men and money, but that very money had been utilised for the purchase of bullets and powder which was used against the sacred places. Government should be requested to fulfil its promises and the Holy places of Moslems should remain intact. If the request is not granted, property and lives should be sacrificed. Any Moslem not so doing would be *karoon* and *dajal*. It will be the duty of Government servants to resign their appointments and of title-holders to give up their titles. People who had gone to Jallianwalla Bagh to discuss law, had been fired on with machine-guns. This was the *zulum* on them Indians have no arms but must use their tongues. If their prayers are not granted they should act in accordance with the Koran.

Some of the audience subscribed towards the Caliphate Funds in money; others in land and cattle. The following are the names of those who have given land :—

(1) Moulvi Hamidullah gave half his garden, $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
(2) Mistri Karimbux of Sujawal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres.
(3) Haji Muhammad Dahri, 1/8th of his land which is $84\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

In Bathoro, Karachi District, the hartal was observed by Hindus and Muslims. After Juma prayers, Moulvi Muhammad Usman offered prayers for the Caliph. Muhammad Jaffer, *zamindar* of Bathoro, had a hand in the closing of shops.

On the 17th instant at Sann, Kotri Taluka, Karachi District a Caliphate meeting was held. It was attended by about 500 persons. A *vaiz* itals was preached. The audience was told that the Caliphate Conference was in need of money. On the 19th instant a hartal was observed. Syed Ghulam Murtza, son of Syed Muhammadshah, had prepared a petition addressed to the Government of India to the effect that the people will be greatly dissatisfied if their Sultan is molested. Moslems and Hindus, however, refused to sign it.

On the 19th instant at Kotri, all Moslems observed the hartal. Hindu shops were open as usual. Moulvi Allahbachaya preached *vais* in the Juma Mosque, after which the assembly with bared heads offered prayers to God to avert the trouble from the Calipha-al-Moslem and to preserve their Holy places.

On the 16th instant Pir Jhandewalla arrived in Kotri from Hyderabad and stayed with Haji Muhammad, Memon, shop-keeper. He left the same evening and was next noticed at Gopang, Kotri Taluka, on the 20th idem, on which date he proceeded to Bakrani, Larkana. The Inspector, Kotri, thinks he is on his usual tour among his murids.

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On the 19th instant a hartal was observed in Tatta. Copies of Caliphate leaflets and of resolutions passed by the Caliphate Committee, Calcutta, on the 28th and 29th February 1920 were circulated in Tatta and had the desired effect on the Tatta Moslems. Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars preached twice on the hartal at Tatta and on that account the people were prepared to suspend business on the 19th. Notices were circulated by Jamaldin, son of Abdul Karim, of Tatta a B.A., student of the Junagadh College. The shops of Moslems were closed but those of Hindus remained opened till 12-30 p.m., when Moslems, along with one Narayandas, a merchant got the shops of Hindus closed on the understanding that Moslems would cease from cow-killing. About 15 shops, however, kept open in different parts of the town. The meat, fish and vegetable markets were closed. The meat was bought up by Moslems. At prayers in the Juma Mosque about 700 people, both of Tatta and the surrounding villages, were present. After the usual proceedings prayers were offered that a decision in favour of Turkey might be arrived at. Hakim Muhammad Sharfi, Punjabi, spoke in Urdu, which was not understood by the audience, and Moulvi Muhammad Hassan was requested to preach. He told the audience that the Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph therefore prayers should be offered that no decision should be passed against him. He advised Moslems to cease cow-killing in order to bring about unity between Hindus and Moslems. After evening prayers Shah Ismail Shah Shiraz was elected President. Muhammad Hassan, Memon, spoke, thanking Hindus for joining Moslems. He assured them that cow-killing would be stopped. According to the principles of Islam, the Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph of Moslems. It would be hard for Moslems to see their Holy places snatched away from the Cultan. Therefore, Government should be requested to pass a decision in accordance with the desires of Moslems. If this request of Moslems were not granted, then the ties of fidelity would be severed. Resolutions in accordance with the above were passed.

(*q*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, March 22nd.*—Below are translations of two extracts from the Hindu and Bharatwasi, dated the 21st instant, which contain an account of the Caliphate Conference at Sann :—

"At Sann a Caliphate meeting took place on the 17th March under the presidentship of Maulvi Fatteh Muhammad, Hakim, about two thousand Hindus and Mussalmans were present. From Karachi Maulvi Fatteh Muhammad, Hakim ; Shamsudin, Shaikh Abdul Aziz and others had come. From Hyderabad, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Dr. Nur Huhammad, Syed Hithan Shah (Bookseller) and others had come. There was a great weeping and crying among the people and the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) Faithfulness to the Sultan-ul-Muzam was expressed.

(2) Unity of Hindus and Mussalmans.

(3) Severing of connections with the Government and congratulations to the four Honorary Magistrates who have resigned.

(4) Swadeshi.

(5) Subscription for the Caliphate Bait-ul-Mal.

A sum of Rs. 400, one camel, a bullock and some ornaments were collected on the spot. Serai Nabi Bux, a chair holder, expressed that he would give up the chair (*purwana*)".

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(*r*) *Karachi, March 27th.*—The New Times writes : "In view of the fact that the Premier reply to the Caliphate Deputation is anything but satisfactory, we should also have a Caliphate meeting during the National Week, preferably on Friday, when there should be prayers in mosques and a mass-meeting in the evening. Little time should be lost in forming a Committee which may make arrangement for observing the National Week in a manner such as may do credit to Karachi's public conscience".

(*s*) *Karachi, March 22nd.*—The following review of the Khilafat Agitation in Sind received from the Sind S. B. is published for general information :—The Khilafat Campaign in Sind is the leading feature in the present political situation in the Province. The Khilafat agitators, some of them previously unknown as politicians, have put the old extremists largely in the shade and at the moment they are to the public mind the most important and the most formidable men in Sind. The seriousness of this phenomenon lies in the aggression and lawlessness that have, since the date of the Amnesty, characterized the movement. The Editor of the *Daily Gazette*, who is not well-informed on local and provincial politics, writes as if the Hindu Home Rulers were responsible for the agitation and were using the Muhammadans as a catspaw to gain their own ends. This view appears to be incorrect. The Home Rule faction have undoubtedly participated in the campaign to some extent and they may have done much to promote it in its early stages. But the majority of them are now thoroughly startled at its violence and they openly counsel moderation. They realise that at the back of the Pan-Islamic mind is a fanatical hatred of all other creeds, and that the present situation in the middle East makes the idea of a great Muhammadan Empire possible, if not probable.

The only Hindu politician who has kept in the forefront of the political stage of late is Narsinglal Dhamanmal of Karachi, and the qualities that have kept him there are his bitter race hatred of Europeans and his Poisonous oratory.

The leading steps in the Campaign have been :—

January 4th to 6th	...	Khilafat Conference at Hyderabad (Sind), Two speakers openly advocated Jihad.
January 23rd	...	Khilafat Meeting in Nawabshah at the time of the Agricultural Show.
January 30th	...	Meeting in the Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad.
February 3rd and 4th	...	Visit of Mahomedali to Karachi on his way to England. Interview published in New Times.
February 4th-11th	...	Tour in Sind of Shaukatali, Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad. They spoke in Hyderabad, Larkana, Sukkur and Karachi.
February 6th-9th	...	Larkana Khilafat Conference presided over by Pir Jhandewalla.
February 15th-17th	...	Sind delegates lead the extremist side in the Bombay Khilafat Conference.

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February 29th	...	Khilafat meeting at Bajjar in taluka Sehwan, district Larkana (reported on by District Superinendent of Police, Larkana, in his confidential diary for week ending 6th March 1920).
March 14th ...	...	Khilafat meeting at Matli, district Hyderabad, presided over by Pir Mahbub Shah, brother of Pir Jhandewalla. Four Honorary Magistrates renounced their appointments. One of these is a pensioned Sub-Inspector of Police.
March 17th ...	...	Khilafat meeting at Sann, taluka Manjhand, district Karachi. Dr. Noor Mahomed and Shaikh Abdul Majid were openly seditious.
March 14th, 17th, 18th, 19th.		Hartal meeting at Karachi at which some of the speeches were seditious. The District Superintendent of Police, Karachi, has reported separately on each.

One noticeable feature of the campaign which distinguishes it from the Home Rule agitation is the apparent desire of the organisers to hold meettings unknown to the C.I.D. The Home Rulers were usually only too anxious that Government should know all that they said. The Khilafatists, especially in out-of-the-way places, have sometimes let themselves go in the apparent belief that no C.I.D. reporters are present, and where found they have singled these out for threats and abuse, sometimes in a very vile and disgusting fashion.

There is no doubt that in these circumstances, C.I.D. officers are averse to exposing themselves by attending meetings, especially as they see that no steps are taken to prosecute the offenders. In Hyderabad, there have been threats of violence to Muhammadans who took a leading part in the Peace Celebrations and in the anti-Khilafat propaganda of last year.

The *hartal* was only a qualified success for the agitators, even in Karachi. The shops were shut, but the workmen in the Loco. and Carriage shops of the Railway were at work in even greater numbers than usual, owing to the warning that they would lose their previous service if they stayed away. The workmen employed by the two leading private engineering companies, Cosser and Harman, stayed away and no work was done by those firms that day. One of the managers said that his men had been way laid on their way to work and given Rs. 2 each and told to take a holiday. This betrays one motive for the collection of Khilafat funds.

Another form of aggression that is becoming noticeable is the elaboration of praying places and Muhammadan tombs, particularly when they are in a site about which a controvercy is likely to arise. Several attempts have been made at Malir, where, owing to the opening oif a road from Karachi, land has gone up rapidly in value, to enclose plots on the pretext of Idgahs.

(*t*) *Bombay, March 22nd.*—The following cable has been despatched by Bhurgri to Amirali :—

"Agitation here will soon get out of control if no response comes immediately from British Government. Insertion of clause suggesting movement

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for severance of India from Britain altogether was only kept back from yesterday's Bombay resolution after hard fight by few who still retain faith in British statesmanship. Press for immediate declaration, at least sating that Holy Places will be under suzerainty of Khilafat and Constantinople seat of Khilafat. *See* India Secretary.".

According to my information it is a fairly accurate statement of the situation. In the heated debate on the draft resolution, Shaukat Ali on the one hand threatened to remove the seat of the All-India Committee elsewhere and so end the influence of Bombay; while on the other hand Bhurgri, Devji Kanji and Mirza Ali Mahommad Khan declared they would resign their membership of the Committee if disloyal expressions were included in the resolution. It was apparently Gandhi who shaped, and prevailed upon Chhotani and the other waverers to accept, the compromise finally adopted. As already reported, Bhurgri, Devji Kanji, Mirza Ali Mahommad Khan and Badruddin Abdulla Koor absented themselves from the meeting.

I forward a verbatim report of the speeches made at the meeting. During the earlier part of the proceeding there were many references to "the sword" as an ultimate means of obtaining redress. Gandhi's address was in this respect especially noteworthy. At the same time the blunt threat of "bloody revolution" which distinguished the *Times of India's* report of his speech found no place in the address as delivered, which in other respects too differred very considerably from *the Times'* version, which I am informed was supplied by Gandhi himself.

Chhotani has told me that Shaukat Ali will return to Bombay in a day or two hence for an extended stay. He added that so long as Shaukat Ali is here he will take care of him and prevent him from going too far.

A report of Abdul Bari's, speech on February 29th at the Calcutta Conference is just to hand. It was a flaming oration, and suggested, among other things, that Christians should be kerosined and burnt alive. The Bombay leaders are said to have tried, without success, to obtain copies of it from Calcutta. Had I been armed with a copy myself when I interviewed Chhotani and Mirza Ali Mahommad Khan on the 16th I think it likely that a final and public breach between moderates and extremists could have been secured and the entire Khilafat agitation robbed of its fangs. As it is, the influential Muhammadan businessmen of Bombay are gradually being jockeyed into dangerous ways.

Amirali has wired as follows to the Aga Khan, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and Chhotani :—

"Dire distress. Moslems Asia Minor appalling mortality from starvation. Help Farz. Wire funds.".

(*u*) *Palanpur, March 20th.*—The Political Agent writes :—

"Posters inciting the people of Palanpur to a hartal yesterday were put up on one of the Mosques here, but I do not believe that the slightest interest was taken in the subject. Whether this was so or not, His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur put his foot down on it and there was no hartal.".

(*v*) *Kathiawar Agency, March 24th.*—The Superintendent of Police reports : "The hartal for protesting against the Turkish settlement was celebrated at Vasawad and at Bantwa. It was also observed by a few people

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at Bhavnagar and Jetpur. Elsewhere there were no Caliphate Day celebrations. The Vasawad meeting was due, no doubt to Chhotani's visit in January last and is significant as the Police were stationed there originally because of Hindu and Muhammadan antagonism.

The Agent to the Governor remarks : " So far as I can gather little attention was paid to the hartal except at the big Memon centres mentioned above. The Administrator, Junagadh, mentions that there was some abstention from work and closing of shops at Verawal in consequence of leaflets emanating from Jetpur, but no demonstration of any importance. He knows of no movement or action in Junagadh or elsewhere in the State.".

(*w*) *Kathiawar Agency, March 25th.*—The Superintendent of Police reports : " Posters were put up at Dhoraji, Jetpur and Upleta at Dhoraji printed notices were circulated on the 18th instant. A meeting was held on the 19th with Abdul Ghani Musa in the chair, at which the Muhammadans pledged themselves to follow Calcutta's lead in this question.

" At Jetpur, a notice was issued on the 17th March calling out a hartal, a meeting was held under the leadership of Adamji Abdulla Shakur and Abdul Rahiman Haji Rahimtullah, at which the usual resolutions were moved and carried.

" At Bantwa, Sultan Abdul Karim convened a meeting and Gauri Shanker P. Vyas took a prominent part in the proceedings. Business was also suspended at Kutiana, Upleta, Amrelli, Mahuva, Porbunder and Bhavnagar. Few Hindus closed their shops unless they had business relations with Muhammadans. The Muhammadans who observed the hartal consisted chiefly of Memons. No violence is reported from any place in Kathiawar. It is, however, clear that the local Memon is in touch with the Calcutta agitators and a stronger agitation is probable.".

(*x*) *Ahmedabad, March 23rd.*—The Second Caliphate Day on the 19th passed off without trouble. There was a complete suspension of business, and no public conveyances plied for hire. Precautions were taken to prevent a breach of the peace. After the Jumma prayer a mass meeting was held in the Jumma Masjid courtyard at which about 10,000 Muhammadans and 1,000 Hindus were present. With the exception of Jivanlal V. Desai, who had gone to Kapadvanj, all the leading Hindus politicians were present. The original resolution which was to have been put before the meeting contained a threat of disloyalty. As the Hindu leaders refused to attend unless this was modified, a resolution to the effect that their loyalty ' would break ', it, etc., happened, was passed. Syed Ahmed of Khanpur presided. Dr. Jalaludin Kadri proposed the resolution which was seconded by Fatteh Muhammad Fakir, Muhammad Munshi and supported by Nazir Jan Muhammad Shaikh, pleader, and Vallabhbhai J. Patel. Imam Saheb of the Ashram explained to the meeting the meaning of the word Jehad. He said people had a mistaken idea of its meaning ; it did not mean a religious war in which they should vainly throw their lives away by fighting against the Sirkar. It meant that they should show their feelings and put forward their views before Government and carry on a constitutional agitation for their cause unitedly.

Dr. Kadri possesses a weak voice and only those in his immediate vicinity heard him when he read out the resolution.

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Vallabhbhai Patel, speaking on behalf of the Hindus, assured the Muhammadans of their support in a peaceful agitation. No attempt was made by anyone to play on the feelings of the masses.

The crowd dispersed very quickly when the meeting was over. There had been so much talking of rioting and murder during the week, that the whole City was in a state of nervous tension. The Revd. G. M. Lyle of the Irish Presbyterian Mission was molested by a party of Muhammadans while preaching in the open near the Astodya Gate on the 14th. An attempt was made to wrench his stick out of his hand, and a hymn book was thrown on the ground. The Police rescued him. I have persuaded him to refrain from outdoor preaching for the present.

Mr. Gandhi, either because he anticipated trouble or because he resented his own particular weapon being wielded by anyone else, asked the millhands not to take part in the hartal, and an article to that effect appeared in the Navajivan of the 14th. On the following day a deputation of Muhammadan leaders went to him to induce him to change his mind. He refused to cancel his instructions, but left it to Anusuyabai to decide what part the millhands should take in the observance of 'Caliphate Day'. A telegram was received on the 17th from Chhotani to the effect that he, Gandhi and Shaukat Ali desired that the millhands should go to work on Friday and should only attend the meeting held after the prayers. It was obvious on the 17th that the leaders were getting nervous. The local Caliphate Committee issued instructions as to how the day was to be observed. Special emphasis was laid on the necessity of peaceful behaviour. The Indian Christians were thoroughly unnerved on account of the number of threats they had received from the Muhammadans. I assured them of special protection in case of necessity. Many Christians left Ahmedabad. My Head-quarters, Jamdar, a Pathan, reported on the 15th that when he was in a bicycle shop on Richey Road on the 9th or 10th, a Hindu, whom he did not know, mistook him for a military man and asked him what the men of his regiment intended doing in connection with the hartal. He replied that the Muhammadans in the regiment did not give the hartal a thought and were going to do nothing, and added that it was easy for men like him to sit and talk, but when trouble arose they would be the first to hide themselves. The Hindu then asked him why they did not resign Government service and take up private employment. He replied that they had taken an oath of loyalty and were much better treated by Government than they would be by a private employer. He added that they were ready to obey the orders of Government that any time and were prepared for any trouble. On being asked if they were in readiness, he replied that they only required the order. He then left the shop. The Officer Commanding the Station has been informed of this.

Writing on the 29th item the District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, reports : " I called up the Hindu in question, who happened to be the owner of the cycle shop, and am satisfied that he had no evil motives in the questions he put to the Jamadar. He has been warned to curb his curiosity in future.".

(*y*) *Ahmedabad, March 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes : There was perfect calm in the City and district on the 19th. All mills stopped work and all shops closed in Ahmedabad and Viramgaum. I have not yet received reports from elsewhere but believe that hartal was also observed at Dholka. There was considerable nervousness on the part of the missionaries and

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native Christians. The European Missionaries at Viramgaum and Dholka moved into Ahmedabad and military and police forces held in readiness at various points of the City.

On the 18th I had up Syed Jalaluddin Kadri, Secretary of the Local Khilafat Committee, and cautioned him. He assured me that the speakers at the coming meeting would be careful not to excite their hearers and named them to me. They were five in number. The President Syed Ahmed Alavi, Munshi, owner of the Match Factory; Mahomed Nazim Shaikh, Pleader; Vallabhbhai Patel and Jiwanlal Desai. He stated that Isa Khan Nastar, who has been issuing objectionable pamphlets is a nobody who is trying to advertise himself. These statements were borne out by Mr. Munshi whom I interviewed on the morning of the 19th.

The mills were obliged to stop work on the 19th because their hands did not turn up or left early in the day. Large numbers returned to their villages, it is said, in order to avoid being involved in any kind of disturbance. The prayers at the Mosque began after 1 p.m. and the meeting was held after it at about 3 p.m. The president Ahmed Alavi addressed the meeting briefly and asked Kadri, the Secretary, to read out the resolution which it was desired to pass. He did so, but in a low voice, which must have been inaudible to the bulk of the enormous crowd of listeners. Temperate speeches were then made by the speakers I have named as on the programme, with the exception of Mr. Jiwanlal Desai, who was absent. The resolution was declared passed by acclamation and the meeting dispersed in a quiet and orderly manner to their own homes. On the morning of the 20th ordinary business was everywhere resumed and the mill-hands returned to work (the Postal strikers have also returned).

The telegram which was despatched to His Excellency by Syed Ahmed Alavi contained the resolution passed at the meeting in the Jama Musjid. It was of an offensive nature and threatened that unless the peace terms were in accordance with the "Sheriat commands the Moslems would disavow their allegiance to the King-Emperor. Few of the audience can have heard the words of this resolution, which they declared passed; they would have held up their hands in favour of almost anything which was read out. It appears to be drawn up by some Central Committee and has probably been passed in other places also. The local leaders are not at all dangerous, I think, and honestly desire that there should be no disturbance, but they are not people commanding very much influence. Danger will arise if there are disturbances elsewhere. Gandhi has left Ahmedabad temporarily to be out of the agitation and instructed Banker and Anasuya not to move about amongst the hands on the 19th. The only Hindu speaker at the Masjid was Vallabhbhai Patel.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have learnt that *hartal* was observed at Dholka. All was quiet.

Healy writes that Police Sub-Inspector Umarbhai who attended the meeting at the Masjid was unable to catch the exact wording of the resolution owing to Kadri's weakness of voice. Kadri says that the words used in the Gujarati resolution signified that "their loyalty would break". If their request were not granted. From other sources Umarbhai has ascertained that this is correct.

Bachubhai (Krishnalal Desai) told Pegge today that at a preliminary meeting of the Muhammadan and Hindu leaders the latter objected to the

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original draft resolution threatening disloyalty and said they would not attend unless the wording was modified. The President seems to have wired the original draft resolution to His Excellency and not the modified one which was actually passed.

The Commissioner, Northern Division, adds.—At one time certainly attempts were made to work up the mass to a high pitch, and the situation threatened to be serious. Subsequently the leaders themselves got afraid lest they had overdone it and frantic efforts were made to smooth down the people. I should not also be surprised if they are holding back their cards till the peace terms are announced.

There was a widespread scare this time, and more restlessness than at any former hartal. A few more of these and there is bund to be an explosion, for it cannot be denied that these tend to undermine the prestige of Government.

Several respectable and loyal citizens have approached me with inquiries as to why such seditious handbills are allowed to be published or such disloyal resolutions go unpunished.

The Labour Day was to be held on the 20th, but to avoid hartal two days running this has been postponed to 4th April. Thereafter we are promised the Anniversary Week, 6th to 13th April. The programme for this is not out yet. All this combined with the announcement of peace terms is sure to keep the City in a disturbed condition and might result in serious consequences.

I have warned the C.O. here to be ready against emergencies.

(z) *Ahmedabad, March 29th.*—On the evening of the 26th instant a Constable learned that there was a seditious notice pasted up on the wall of the Juma Masjid, Ahmedabad. On going there he found that it had been torn down, but a portion of it was still adhering to the wall, on which was written that for a Muhammadan to take up British military service was the act of an infidel. The Constable gave information to the Sub-Inspector in charge of the Intelligence Branch who made enquiries and assertained that the notice, which was in manuscript, appeared to have been put up on the night of the 25th and was torn down by the servant of the Masjid.

It read as follows : "The relations of the Ali Brothers have been imprisoned by the Nawab of Rampur. O Muhammadans wake up now and put aside your sloth. Get ready now. For a Muhammadan to take up British military service is the act of an infidel."

(1) *Kaira, March 22nd.*—The 19th instant was observed as 'Caliphate Day at the following places :—Kaira (partially only), Umreth, Chikodra, Thasra, Dakore, Sevalia, Kathalal, Anand, Bhalej, Kapadvanj, Borsad, Matar and Nadiad. Meetings were held at Kathalal and Nadiad only. At the former place some 50 persons collected under the leadership of Mohanlal Kamishwar Pandya, Shankarlal Dwarkadas, Ratanlal Bhulabhai and Bohra Muhammad Saji.

At Nadiad about 4,000 persons of all castes collected at the General Library and at the suggestion of Fulchand Bapuji Shah, Nathu Hasan was placed in the chair ; Batushankar read out their resolution of protest against the dismemberment of Turkey and it was carried. He went on to say that he did not believe in the report of the American massacres. That as the European politicians believe that the Caliphate agitation was carried on by

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a few Indians in their own interests, it was necessary, therefore, to disprove this by holding meetings of the present type. Hahdavlal Nabubhat and Ismail Aliji Alad in supporting the resolution, said that the people would not be tempted by false promises and if justice were not done stronger measures would have to be adopted. Finally Ismail Rasool Gandhi said that Islam and the Caliph are the same according to Kalame Sharif, sections 24 and 55, and if they were to be preserved, funds were necessary; Rs. 1,000 had been collected, but Rs. 5,000 were required and he asked for subscriptions.

The Secretaries of the Caliphate Fund are :— Fulchand Bapuji Shah and Gafur Rahim Chaklasia.

No disturbance occurred anywhere.

The District Magistrate remarks : "So far as one can Judge, there is no great excitement on the subject in this district."

(II) *Kaira, March 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "So far as I have heard up to the time of writing the Khilafat *hartal* of the 19th instant has passed off quitely everywhere. In Kaira town, nearly all shops were closed and most people stopped work (though it is said that many Muhammadan dyers and others went on working inside their houses) ; everything was most orderly, there were no processions, and not even a meeting. In Nadiad there was a complete hartal, and the mills, though kept open, were deserted ; a public meeting was held at which 4,000 people attended. All however was orderly. Various leaflets and handbills have been circulated in the district. It is noticeable that those coming from Bombay and Nadiad are really free or almost free from objection being entirely without the objectionable threats of disloyalty that appear in the leaflets of the Calcutta Khilafat Conference. Leaflet of the latter description appear to have been printed at Ahmedabad. The Nadiad leaflet is quite properly worded.

The missionaries of the Christian Missionary Alliance at Kaira told me that the people of their branch at Ahmedabad were much frightened as they had received warnings from friendly Muhammadans and others that there would be trouble on the 19th at Ahmedabad and they would be in danger. Consequently 25 Indian girls of their mission at Ahmedabad had come down to Kaira for safety. They were anxious to know if trouble was expected here, but did not seem nervous and said they had no warnings here.

I think these *hartals* are having some effect here in the seens that they seem to be implicitly obeyed even in a quiet place like Kaira Town ; this indicates a good organisation. But so far I see no sign of ill-feeling of the Muhammadans towards us. I fancy that the "week of prayer" that is being announced along with *hartals* on the 6th and 13th April will be looked on by many as a nuisance.

(III) *Panch Mahals, March 20th.*—The *hartal* was strictly observed throughout the district on the 19th instant. Nothing unusual occurred.

(IV) *Broach, March 20th.*—On the 17th instant a mass-meeting was held at the Fanta Talao presided over by Kazi Syed Nuruddin Hussen Ahmed Hussen. Hindus, Muhammadans and Borhas attended in equal numbers and four Parsis were also present. It was decided that copies of the resolutions protesting against the "threatened dismemberment of Turkey" should be forwarded to the Viceroy, the Governor of Bombay and the Chairman, Central Caliphate Committee.

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The leading figures at this meeting were :—(1) R. B. Ambashankar Malji, (2) Kazi Syed Nurudin Hussen Ahmed Hussen, (3) Sardar Pirsaheb Amirsaheb, (4) Alibhai Isabhai, Pleader, (5) Haribhai Javerbhai Amin, (6) Sakerlal Dayabhai, Pleader, and (7) Haji Sheik Hussen Rasool (gharrywalla). The last named exhorted the people, before the meeting was broken up not to forget that the 19th was to be observed as *hartal* and that no compulsion was to be resorted to or disturbance created.

The enthusiasm at the meeting was not very great and speeches were characterised by marked moderation. The 19th instant was observed as *hartal*. Hindus and Parsis joined in. All shops in the City were closed and all business stopped for the day, with the exception of one hotel-keeper, who had to provide refreshment for the visitors from outside. All the mills were closed, except the Bachia Ginning Factory and Phirojsha Vakharia's Press. All vehicular traffic was entirely stopped. Prayers were offered at the different mosques in the City. The Hindus and Parsis did not take part in these, no fasting was observed nor was any meeting held that day as announced. The Hindu leaders were not active and the Muhammadan leaders seemed apathetic, possibly owing to fears of trouble arising.

The *hartal* which was very well organised gave the impression that the under-current is much stronger than appears on the surface.

It is rumoured that Mrs. Annie Besent is expected here on the 29th instant and that the 6th and the 13th April 1920 will be observed as *hartals*.

The District Magistrate remarks : The *hartal* in Broach was certainly very complete and well organised, besides being absolutely orderly. It was, perhaps, however, not quite so complete in some points as the District Superintendent of Police's report suggested, e.g., though all trade and business in the town was completely stopped, there seemed to be a good deal of cotton business going on as usual at the station. Phirozshaw Vakharia told me his press was able to carry on because it had a non-Moslem engineer.

"Again, although there were no *hackney gharris* or bullock carts on the streets, there was no lack of private conveyances about.

"At Palej most of the Gins and Presses were working as usual and most of the shops were open, at any rate in the morning.".

(V) *Broach, March 21st.*—In Ankleshwar town all the shops and the Ginning factories were closed and the *hackney* carriages did not ply on the 19th. Similarly, the hartal was observed quietly at Jambusar town also. The Muhammadans assembled in the Jumma Masjid for prayer and thereafter held a meeting in the Jaganath Mahadev temple under the presidentship of Swami Sankaranand Saraswati. It was attended by about 1,500 men, Hindus and Muhammadans, and a speech was made by the Swami explaining the benefits of unity from a religious point of view. Sympathy was expressed towards the movement of the Calcutta Caliphate Committee and it was resolved to send a message to His Excellency the Viceroy requesting him to move the Secretary of State to support the cause of the Caliphate.

Kazi Sayyid Ahemad of Jambusar expressed sincere thanks on behalf of the Muhammadan community for the sympathy displayed by the Hindu community and it was announced by him that the slaying of cows will hence forth be stopped in Jambusar. The day passed off peacefully. The Ginning factories and the Press were working.

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In Hansot town shops were closed on the 19th and a meeting of Hindus and Muhammadans was held in the evening under the presidentship of Ismali Hidat. The principal speakers were Abdulla Rahimtulla, Gulabkhan kalekhan, Harkhji Mulji, Mulla Doctor and one Ghelabhai, a teacher ln the English School. The meeting was attended by about 1,000 persons and it was resolved to send a message to Government asking for sympathetic consideration of the question of the Caliphate and of the Holy places.

(VI) *Broach, March 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes : A mass meeting was held in Broach at the Fanta Talao on the 17th in connection with the Khilafat question under the presidency of the Kazi of Broach. R. B. Malji, the Pir Saheb and Haji Sheikh Hussain were among those present. A resolution was passed protesting against the threatened dismemberment of Turkey, and against the 'anti-Khilafat movement started in England'. The speakers declared that it was a fundamental matter of the faith of Islam that the Sultan should continue as Khalifa and that the Muhammadan religious places should be under his suzerainty. It was also resolved to carry out a *hartal* on the 19th and Shekh Hasu (the 'extremist') warned all present that no violence or force was to be used to those who did not observe the *hartal*. The speeches were all characterised by moderation and the enthusiasm shown was not very great. But the arrangements made for the hartal must have been very well organised. for when it took place on the 19th, it was singularly complete and successful. Practically all shops were closed ; the only shops I saw open were two small retail shops catering for millhands : one refreshment seller remained open for the benefit of country visitors. All business was stopped, except perhaps the cotton business at the station which seemed to be proceeding much as usual. The mills were closed, and some of the Gins, but one Gin and one Press were working the latter belonging to Mr. Phirozshaw Vakharia, and being staff by non-Mussalmans.

"No hired carriages and carts were available, and no cotton carts came in from the district. There was not the least sign of disorder in the town, which merely wore the appearance of keeping a singularly complete holiday."

"At Palej the Gins and Presses or some of them were working as usual and up to 9-30 A.M. at least most of the shops were open as usual. Of other parts of the district I have heard no report yet.".

"The District Superintendent of Police remarks, and I agree with him that it would be a mistake to attribute the peacefulness of the proceedings to any real lack of interest in the matter, at any rate among the Muhammadans. There appers to be little doubt that it would be as easy to work them up to a state of excitement over the Khilafat question if any of the local Mussalman leaders cared to do so. Fortunately they have too much sense, at any rate for the present, to try it."

(VII) *Surat, March 21st.*—The Second Caliphate Day was observed in Surat by the cessation of almost all business. The Mills were closed down for the day ; the shops were shut with the exception of the tea-shops, a certain number of liquor shops and a few shops of Parsis ; and the Gharriwalas did not ply. The Muhammadans attended prayers in their mosques and in the evening a meeting was held in the Tilak Maidan. There were no disturbances ; the people were quiet and most of them remained in their houses throughout the day. Though the shops were shut a fair amount of business was done on the quiet.

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(VIII) *Thana, March 19th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "The Amlatdar of Bhiwandi reports a movement there to collect for the 'Khilafat Fund'. About Rs. 1,500 are reported. Amongst the leaders are, of course, Gulam Nabi Faki and other Muhammadans ; and also some Hindus. Some persons in Bhiwandi find it convenient, apparently, to back both sides.

"Today shops are shut for the hartal. An Honorary Magistrate (of the Thana Bench) seem to have been keen on the closure, as a Muhammadan gentlemen tells me who kept his open. It is probably one of the Bania class ; and I can guess the answer. In Bandra and Kalyan, of course, we have special bundobast ; and also many friends. I do not anticipate anything ; but, contretemps may occur at any time.

(IX) *Nasik, March 24th.*—The hartal day of the 19th March was observed by the shopkeepers of the Saraf Bazaar, Nasik City, by closing their shops for the whole day. The cloth shops of some of the merchants were also closed at the instigation of a Gujrathi Municipal Councillor. At other places in the City the shops were open as usual. No placards were posted in the City and no notices, etc., were distributed to the public. The Muhammdans in the City in general have taken no part in the hartal, but on the contrary they engaged in the Urus dance and festival. With the exception of a few Muhammadans, nobody knew there was a hartal day.

(X) *East Khandesh, March 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "I enclose two telegrams indicating the tendency of respectable Muhammadan opinion here. So far as I know there has been no attempt to have a hartal any where, but I have not heard from all places. In Jalgaon a telegram, received by one of the Moulvies from Calcutta directed 'intense propaganda' or something of that sort on behalf of the hartal. Instead of complying he handed the telegram over to one of the Bench Magistrates who brought it to me, and I sent it with the District Superintendent of Police's confidential diary to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. In Bhusawal at the time of Shaukat Ali's visit (he only stopped at the station) some leaflets, of which a specimen was submitted by the District Superintendent of Police, are said to have been distributed. The enclosed telegram from K. B. Kamruddin indicates that the leaders at any rate of Muhammadan opinion, in Bhusawal have no use for the Khilafat propagandas, and in fact see through it. The fact is, the ignorant Muhammadans know nothing, and care nothing, and sober intelligent ones see quite well that the Khilafat agitation is an attempt to exploit religious sentiment for political ends, *viz.*, to make trouble for the Sarkar—in which a certain number of Muhammadans who have no right to style themselves leaders of Moslem opinion are playing into the hands of the extremist party. In fact they see it for this dishonest political attempt which to a large extent it is, and are quite content to trust the Sarkar to bring about the best conclusion they can arrange of the Turkish business. About the Turkish Empire as a sample of Government I don't think honest Muhammadans who have any occasion for thinking about it at all have any illusions. It is a little hard to swallow all the statements made about the genuineness and universality of Indian Muhammadan opinion on this question."

(1) Telegram from Vazir Hidayat, Bodvad, to the Collector of East Khandesh, Jalgaon Peth, dated the 19th March 1920 :—

"We, Muhammadans here, are opposed to Khilafat movement started by some Muhammadans in India and declare that we shall always be loyal to the British Raj."

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(2) Telegram from Kamordin, President, Anjuman, Bhusawal, to the Collector, East Khandesh, Chopola, dated the 19th March 1920 :—

"Anjuman Islam assembled today condemns present movements started by few Muhammadans in India and solemnly declare that Bhusawal Muhammadans will be ever loyal and faithful to British Raj."

(XI) *Ahmednagar, March 20th.*—The shops of both Hindus and Muhammadans were closed on the 19th instant. A few bidi shops remained opened. Prayers were offered by the Muhammadans in the Juma Masjid. Everything was quiet. Notices in Urdu and Marathi, including one from Sholapur, were circulated in the town. One Shasaheb Farid Saheb, after the prayers were over, delivered a lecture in which he said that the British Government should keep their promise already given regarding the Caliphate question.

Hari Keshav Patwardhan and Vinayek Balwant Chowkar, pleaders of Nagar, arrived at the Juma Masjid when the people began to disperse and delivered lectures on the same subject.

(XII) *Ahmednagar, March 30th.*—The local Muhammadans seem to care very little about the Caliphate question. Hartal was not observed anywhere within the district except in Nagar City. The Muhammadans of Sangamner sent a wire to the Viceroy on the 19th insant saying that the dignity of the Caliphate should not be lowered.

(XIII) *Sholapur, March 21st.*—In connection with the hartal fixed for the 19th instant, posters were stuck up in the town and notices issued by the local Caliphate Committee enjoining all to take part. Most of the shops in the town closed for a great part of the day and those that did not close hung up clothes in front to pretend they were closed and did business in a quiet unobtrusive manner. Practically no tongas were plying for hire and my own hired tongawalla, although he turned up to take me to office, told me he had been instructed by Caliphate emissaries not to ply for hire.

The Sub-Inspector reporting on the hartal day's proceedings says that a meeting was held in the compound of the Juma Masjid. About 3,000 persons were present of whom about 1,000 were Hindus. One Abdul Rahiman Bandagisaheb, a Pesh Imam of the Juma Masjid, recited a short prayer from the *Koran* while all present stood up. The prayer ended with "*Allah-ho-Akabar*", which was loudly repeated by the audience.

Abdul Haq Rajak Kambale, President of the Caliphate Committee, Sholapur, then proposed Dr. Waman Vinayek Mulay for the chair. After this was seconded and supported, Dr. Mulay occupied the chair and gave the following address :—That the Caliph was the Viceroy of Muhammad Paigambar ; the present Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph of the Muhammadans. According to the Islamic religon, the Caliph must be an independent Prince and there should be no sovereign Prince over him. The great war has changed the whole, and things which had appeared impossible before had now turned out to be possible. Before the war our Government were saying that India was unfit for Home Rule because there were so many castes and creeds and men of different religious—especially the Hindus and Muhammadans who would always be at variance and unable to co-operate as citizens of one nation. But the present meeting fully showed that the Hindus and Muhammadans had now become one and that they were in

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sympathy with each other. It was an unfortunate thing that the Sultan of Turkey did not heard the advice of Moulana Bari that, being a constant friend and ally of England, he should not join Germany. However, during the great war the Muhammadans loyally fought against their own brethren in Mesopotamia on a solemn promise given to them by the Viceroy and Secretary of State that England did not want any part of Turkey and that the question about Turkey would be decided according to the religious feelings and opinions of Muhammadans ; but it now appears that there is a party in England which wants England to repudiate the above pledge. Mr. Montagu who gave it is still in office and holds the same opinion, and these meetings are meant to support him there. There is every hope of success and the question will probably be settled by the end of this month. Before sitting down he called on Abdul Haq to move the resolution of the day and this was done.

Munshi Dost Muhammad, Pathan, of Sholapur, a leather merchant in seconding the resolution, said that Government should take care not to break their promise as they would thus wound the feelings of thousands of Muhammadans who would be ready even to die for their religion. If the peace terms are not to the satisfaction of the Muhammadans, they will have to do what their *Koran* lay down for such a crisis.

Jagannath Moreshwar Samant, pleader of Sholapur, supported this resolution. He read out a Marathi translation of it and said that the strength of mental and heartfelt prayer was greater than the sword, and as the Muhammadans had such a prayer today (the 19th instant) God Almighty would see that there would be a proper and satisfactory solution to the Caliphate question. He said that the breakers of solemn promises would have to go to Hell for their sins, and he hoped that the British Government would not commit such a sin. In the course of his speech he several times called out "*Allah-o-Akabar*", which was repeated by all present. The resolution was unanimously passed.

Ladalesaheb Khatalsaheb Manyar brought in a second resolution to the effect that the meeting should authorise the President to send a copy of the first resolution to His Excellency the Viceroy. This resolution was seconded by Hussainsaheb Kashimsaheb and was unanimously passed.

One Isa Mohidin, a youth, then got up and sang a Shahiri (Urdu song). Its purport is as follows :—

> "We, Muhammadans, were born and bred under the blade of a sword and if Allah is pleased to create us a hundred times, we will always be ready to die for Islam. India is ours ; Arabistan is ours, the whole world is ours, but we have lost them now through ill-fortune and they are in other hands, etc."

The song was only half finished when the Bangi of the Juma Masjid called out the usual cry for prayers. Abdul Haq then got up and said that as it was the time for prayer the meeting had to be dissolved. Otherwise other resolutions would have been moved. He thanked the Hindu community for having co-operated with the Muhammadans in the observance of Caliphate Day and promised that the Muhammadans would always be ready to stand by the Hindu whenever necessary.

There was no other meetng in the City and no special prayers in the Hindu temples.

(XIV) *Bijapur, March 21st.*—The feeling of Muhammadans was watched throughout the district and, except a few Muhammadans at Bijapur and

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Bagalkot, no Muhammadans, who exhibited any sort of feeling or agitation regarding the Caliphate question or observance of hartal on the 19th, came to notice. The Muhammadan population of this district is in a poor condition, without education, and mostly of the labouring class.

(XV) *Satara, March 21st.*—The *hartal* of the 19th was not observed to any extent in Satara City. The Sub-Inspector reports that all shops were kept open. In Mahableshwar, the shops of all Muhammadans and Hindus were closed, but no wire was sent to the Viceroy although the *hartal* proclamation enjoined this. At Panchgani a meeting of Muhammadans and Hindus was held and a wire was sent.

The District Magistrate remarks: "Some Mussalman shops were closed at Karad on the 19th, but otherwise the *hartal* was not observed and I was received in a very friendly fashion by the Mussalmans at a pan supari in their principal mosque on the 21st."

(XVI) *Belgaum, March 28th.*—A public meeting was held on 19th March in connection with the Khilafat at which G. B. Deshpande presided. About 2,000 persons, Muhammadans and Hindus, were present.

Allauddin Moulvi in opening the proceedings informed the audience of the critical and dangerous situation of the Khilafat and prayed to God that it might be left intact.

Mahomed Husen Gousumiya Jangli, Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Islam, welcomed G. B. Deshpande and asked him to preside. He was seconded by Mahomedgous Katgeri.

Mahomed Husen Gousmiya then addressed the audience in Urdu ; he said the Muhammadans were in a difficult position, as they owed allegiance to the British Government and also to Islam and both question deserved the same amount of attention. He then moved the following resolution :—" This meeting of the Muhammadans and Hindus earnestly brings to the notice of the British Government that the religious feelings of the Muslim community are greatly disturbed by the attitude adopted by a section of the British clergy, Cabinet, and Press, etc., with regard to the settlement of the Turkish question and demand that the pledge of the Premier of the 5th January 1918, be adhered to and Constantinople and other Holy places be allowed to remain unconditionally under the Sultan, and finally brings to the notice of the British Government that any violation of the pledge will wound the loyal feelings of the Indians and might lead to serious and unforseen consequences.". The resolution was seconded by Khutabudin Moulvi of Belgaum who quoted some verses from the Kuran and exhorted the Muhammadans to follow the dictates of the Holy Book.

Abdul Razak Muzawar said Hindus and Muhammadans are the sons of one mother, India, and the question affected both parties. G. B. Deshpande spoke in Marathi and explained what the Khilafat means to non-Muslims. He said that pledges were freely given when the Kaiser was in power and the German troops were nearing Paris, and there was every likelihood of the enemy being victorious owing to the British troops being weakned and reduced in number. The time was so important that if the Muhammadans and Mahrattas had not sacrificed their lives, this day we might have seen and heard strange things, we would not have assembled today to pray to God and to request the British Government to fulfil their promise (shouts).

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Now we are told that success was due to Generals like Foch, etc. ; but this is all nonsense. Success was due to the shedding of blood of Muhammadans and Hindus in the biggest battles, to the money that was spent by India. For centuries the British policy has been the same. When they are in need they do not hesitate to make any promise to gain their object but when the occasion passes the promise is at once broken. Had not the Indians given whole-hearted support in men and money by this time the British Sovereignty would have been destroyed. God will not tolerate such things in future and the British have been given their last chance to see whether they adhere to their promises. If Christ were to come to earth, he would see what acts were being done by his followers. He would see nothing but Satan's ruling Christians have no faith left ; it is only to be found in Hindus and Muhammadans.

Narayan Gururao Joshi, Pleader, then addressed the audience in Kanarese. He condemned the British policy, and said it was only when in need that they made promises and broke them on the first occasion. The Turks have been accused of murder and tyranny, but what right had a nation who had such men as General Dyer to make these accusation. The speaker then practically repeated what G. B. Deshpande said and added that the British think there will be no other war ; but they are wrong. One nation is watching all the unjust acts of the Christians ; that nation is Japan, and it belongs to the Asiatic Continent. He concluded his address by again condemning the British policy.

Balkrishna Malhar Lad expressed his sympathy for the Muhammadans.

The President in summing up advised the Muhammadans to be true to their religion, and said if the pledges of the Premier were not fulfilled and the Khalif removed from Constantinople, serious and unforseen consequences would follow.

Mahomed Husein moved that the President be authorised to forward the resolution by wire to His Excellency the Viceroy for transmission to His Majesty the King.

The assembly dispersed amidst cries of Tilak-ki-Jai, Gandhi-ki-Jai, Mahomed Shaukat-Ali-ki-Jai.

(XVII) *Belgaum, March 21st.*—The District Magistrate writes : "The *hartal* passed off without incident. Shops were closed in the City, both Mussalman and Hindu, but not generally in the Continment bazar. The Mussalman servants of Marwaris or Gujars were seen in the market advising the shopkeepers to close their shops and vegetable sellers to stop selling vegetables, but they sheared off when they saw the Sub-Inspector of Police. Some Hindu shops in the City kept open.

"On the 12th Moulvies started preaching *hartal*, but no posters appeared till the 16th, when a couple, one issued from Calcutta and the other from Bombay, were freely posted. On the 18th two more appeared. I left them up as they were in such high flown Urdu that few of the Mussalmans here could understand them and it would only have irritated the agitators and brought unnecessary prominence to the posters.".

(XVIII) *Kolaba, March 21st.*—From reports so far received, the *hartal* on the 19th instant was strictly observed by both Muhammadans and Hindus at Uran.

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(XIX) *Kolaba, March 28th.*—The *hartal* on the 19 instant was observed at Panwel, Mahad, Poladpur and Uran by both Hindus and Muhammadans; and in Panwel Taluka at Taloja, Vindhana, Barapada and Apta. There was no disturbance of the peace.

(XX) *Kanara, March 26th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "The *hartal* of March 19th was a very insignificant affair. In Bhatkal where there is a large Muhammadan population both Hindu and Muhammadan shops were closed. In Sirsi, V. V. Kolhali, a pleader, and two Hindu merchants induced the shopkeepers, who are mostly Hindus, to close their shops from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. In Haligal, after the usual Friday's service at the mosque, one Lal Ahmad a retired school-master, read out a printed "Jahirnama" in Urdu. This is said to have been received from Calcutta ; it was sent by the Sub-Inspector of Police to the District Superintendent of Police and has not yet reached me. A telegram was sent to Government (?) praying that the Holy places might remain in the custody of the Khalif. These are the only incidents that have been reported to me. There seems to be very little feeling about the Kalifat among the Muhammadans, who are mostly poor and ignorant ; and the only Hindus who take any interest in the matter are the few who like to pose as "politicians", i.e., as anti-Government".

(XXI) *Kolhapur, March 27th.*—The Resident, Kolhapur, and Political Agent, Southern Maratha Country State, writes : "The *hartal* was celebrated at Miraj on the 19th instant. At Jamkhandi a meeting was held to declare agreement with the resolutions passed by the Calcutta Committee. Eleven persons were the promoters of this meeting, but of whom only one was a Muhammadan.

(XXII) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 26th.*—The Dnyan Prakash in its issue of the 25th March announces that it is understood that Gandhi is shortly to proceeed to England in connection with the Caliphate Deputation.

(XXIII) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 23rd.*—The Pioneer has the following in its issue of the 20th instant :—

ENGLISH PROFESSOR'S SOLUTION

Position of Indian Moslems

Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, Kavacs, Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature and History at London University, and recently member of the Middle Eastern Section of the British Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, is the author of an interesting article on the question of the Khilafat in the February number of the "Contemporary Review.".

Professor Toynbee begins by pointing out that "the Ottoman Sultan's claim to be their Caliph, as well as his claim to be their sovereign in the ordinary sense of the term, was repudiated during the war by the majority of his Arabic-speaking subjects, and they felt so strongly on the question that they took up arms to make good their point of view. On the other hand, the adherent of the Sunni sect in India who have never been Ottoman subjects and do not wish to be, are such warm supporters of the Ottoman Caliphate that they have been urging the British Government ever since the Armistice to consent to nothing in the Peace settlement which might weaken the Ottoman Sultan's claim to be also Caliph of Islam.

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" Now, the Indian Sunnis are our fellow citizens and the ex-Ottoman Arab Moslems are our allies, and the question at issue between them interests the entire Moslem world. Can either party speak for Islam as a whole ? Can we discern, beneath their differences, any general Moslem point of view ? And if we can is it one with which we ought to indentify ourselves ".

Political or Spiritual Authority

" The Indian Sunnis ", continues Professor Toynbee, " maintaing that the Caliph is not a " spiritual " but a temporal or in other words a political authority; and that we shall accordingly be weakening the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph in so far as we weaken him as sovereign of the Turkish Empire."

" The early Caliphs were undoubtedly political sovereigns. But as we follow the history of the institution we come across two developments that considerably modify its original character. It becomes partitioned between rival calamaints and it becomes divorced from the exercise of ordinary political authority ".

Today the Ottoman Caliph is not recognised by the Shias " and the Shia demoniation, though a minority in the Moslem world, is after all the State religion of Persia, and is followed by perhaps hardly less than 20 per cent. of the Moslems of India ".

" The Imam Yahia of Sanala, the most powerful Prince in South Western Arabia, is a Shia and has never acknowledged the Ottoman Sultan's Caliphate, though he was compelled, before the war, to accept his political suzerainty. The Sultans of Morocco, who, like Yahia, trace their descent from the Prophet, have also never acknowledged a Caliph of Turkish descent, nor, again, have fanatical or reforming sects like the former Mahidists in the Egyptian Sudan, the Sonussi in Libyan desert, or the Wahhabis in Central Arabia.

" But the most significant discent is that of the Arabs in the ex-Ottoman territories of Hedjaz, Palestine and Syria, which contain Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and the tomb of Abraham of Heborn, the greatest Holy places of the Muhammadan religion. These Arabs are ordinary Sunnis, agreeing with the Turks on all past questions of Moslem doctrine and law ; but they have rejected the Ottoman Caliphate since their revolt against the Ottoman Sultanate in 1915.

" Even this brief historical survey makes it evident that the title to the Caliphate is the most controversial question in the Moslem world, and if we grant that it is a political question that only strengthens the case against its being taken into consideration by the British Government in the approaching settlement in the territories of the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Sunnis as the largest section under any one Government of the largest sect in Islam, are, of course, entitled to great consideration when they speak on Moslem affairs but they are not co-extensive with Islam, even in India itself, and it would be a grave mistake to treat their view as if it represented a Moslem consensus on the Caliphate question when, in fact, such a consensus has never existed ".

As regards the " political " character of the Khilafat the Professor argues that " surely the whole position of the Indian Moslems, the whole moral claim upon us which their well proved loyalty gives them, rests upon their

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maintaining a rigid distinction between the Ottoman Sultan as sovereign of Turkey and the same individual as Caliph of Islam, or, in other words, upon their regarding the Caliphate, at any rate now a days, as a 'spiritual' and not as a 'temporal' power. Indeed, the Caliphate must be regarded 'spiritual' by any Moslems subject to a Government whether Christian or Islamic, which does not acknowledge their Caliph's political suzerainty".

The Professor proceeds to state that "the 'spiritual' Caliphate in the sense of a Caliphate divested of political sovereignty, is far from being a novelty, as we can see by tracing the Ottoman Caliphate back to its origin.

"The Caliphate was acquired for the Osmanli dynasty in 1517 A.D. by Sultan Selim I, who caused the office to be invested in himself and his heirs by the contemporary Caliph of the Abasid line. This Abasid, and his ancestors before him since 1258 A.D. had been residing as pensioners at the court of the Sultans of Egypt, and if they were not 'spiritual' dignitaries during this period it is difficult to see that they were anything at all, for they certainly did not possess a vestige of political power at Cairo".

The Real Problem

"Yet", continues the Professor, "We may loose ourselves in these historical discussions without getting to the heart of the question as it exists today, for it is essentially a practical and not an academic problem. The Indian Suni does not support the Osmanli title out of antiquarian zeal, but because he feels that it supplies in some way an essential need of the Moslem world. The Caliphate of the Ottoman Sultan means for him above all that the Ottoman Empire is a Moslem 'great power'—a Moslem State which in face of the growing ascendancy of Christendom, still holds its own in international politics and maintains its sovereignty over Christian subjects. And in this he does express an almost universal Moslem feeling, for many Moslems who do not acknowledge the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph look up to the Ottoman Empire as the Moslem State which champions the Islamic cause in a hostile world.

"Now this is a natural and a very genuine point of view, and one can sympathise with the resentment of an Algerian or Punjabi Moslem soldier who has fought loyally for France or England in the war and now suspects that the victory he has helped to win is going to be used by his Government to break up the last independent Moslem State and make the political subjection of Islam to Christendom complete. Presumably this is not the intention of the Allied peoples or their Governments; but how are we to make that clear? For though we shall not take advantage of the Turkish settlement for anti-Moslem purposes (which we do not entertain) it is also out of the question that we should deliberately favour Moslems in this settlement in violation of our principles.

"It is not open to us, for instance, to soothe Moslem susceptibilities by leaving under Turkish Government the Armenian or Greek Christians whom the Turks have maltreated, or non-Turkish Moslems like the Arabs, who have fought to liberate themselves from Turkish rule. Nor could we really provide the Moslem world with what it wants by bolstering up the Ottoman Empire. For Moslem sentiment about Empire is largely a delusion.

"Turkey ceased to be a great power at least a century and a half ago, and during the past century she has only preserved her existence by becoming

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the client of successive Christian powers. She is a sham, and Moslems beyond her frontiers would be bound, sooner or later, to see through it, as the Moslems inside her frontiers, who have suffered from it, have done long ago. Turkey has fallen by her own rottenness and cannot be resuscitated ; but what substitute for her supposed services can we offer to our Moslem fellow citizens, among whom may henceforth be numbered the major part of the Moslem world ?

" The answer is clear. The sentiment of Moslems for Turkey is derived ultimately from a feeling that, in some form or other, the Islamic community ought to have political self-expression, and it is in our power to help them to find it in all those Moslem countries which will be directly or indirectly under British control. The void left in Islam by the collapse of Turkey will only be filled by the progress of self-Government in India, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Persia ".

(XIV) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, March 23rd.*—The following appeared in the Pioneer of the 21st instant :—

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

A Lucknow Proclamation

The following is a translation of a proclamation issued by three Shia Mujtahids of Lucknow regarding the Khilafat question and the Khilafat Day proposals :—

" Orders of the Shia Mujtahids regarding the Khilafat question and the Khilafat Day proposals. In the name of God, glory be to him. Every sect must promulgate its religions, commandments and directions when necessary, and at the present time there are being published, with quotations from or references to religious commandments, some proposals which are not lawful under the Shia religious laws and in which it is not advisable for the Shias to take part. But as they are likely to create suspicion as regards the attitude of the Shias, a few (religious) doctrines which have always been believed and followed by them in future, are promulgated for their guidance in this matter.

1. The Shias have sympathy with all Islamic countries and they may properly join in all representations for the protection and maintenance of the said countries made in a respectful, loyal and peaceful manner.

2. The Shias have no concern with the present Khilafat question, because, according to the Shia religion, there is no *Khalifa* (successor) or viceregent of the Prophet (may peace be on him) except the Amirul-Muminin Ali, son of Abu Talib and his eleven glorious descendants (may peace be on all of them). A Shia who belives anyone else except these innocent persons to be a Khalifa or successor of the Prophet will thereby be totally excluded from the pale of Shiaism.

3. The Sultan of Rum (Turkey) and the Shah of Persia are neither Khalifas of the Prophet nor religious leaders according to the Shias.

4. The Shias sincerely desire that the Sultan and the Shah remain in possession of their countries and rule over every class and sect with justice and equity, and the downfall of these powers, which God frobid, will cause serious grief to Shias. But this will not break their relations with the British Government as its loyal subjects, inasmuch as according to religion it is forbidden and unlawful for us to oppose the British Government or to give up our relations of loyalty with it.

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5. The Shias should strictly keep aloof from the proposals published by the Khilafat Committees for the 19th March.

Signature and seal of Shams-Ulama Maulana Saiyid Nasir Husain, Mujtahid.

Signature and seal of Maulana Saiyid Muhammad Baqar, Majtahid.
Signature and seal of Maulana Saiyid Aqa Hasan, Mujtahid.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

Turkish Empire : Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *S.B., Sind, Karachi, March 30th.*—The *Mirpur Khas Gazette*, dated the 24th instant states that Haji Abdulla Haroon has invited the attention of the public to a telegram from one Amirali that in Asia Minor several people are dying of starvation owing to famine. Haji Abdulla Haroon in the capacity of Secretary, Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference, has appealed to Hindus as well as Muhammadans for funds to help those who are dying of famine in Asia Minor.

(*b*) *S.B., Sind, Karachi, March 31st.*—It is reported that on the 25th instant Shaikh Nur Muhammad, M.B.B.S., and Sheikh Abdul Majid went towards Dadu. It appears that their visit was due to a Kaliphate meeting at Pir Bilawal. They returned to Hyderabad on the 26th idem. On being questioned they said that the meeting was well attended and that the Mukhtiarkar and the Sub-Inspector of Police of that place were present. The meeting consisted of about 3,000 persons.

(c) *S.B., Sind, Karachi, April 1st.*—An officer reports : "Today I came to know from Maulvi Mukhamdin that there was Khilafat meeting at Khandiaro on the 19th March 1920. Accounts of the meeting were published in the Al-Khalil and the Medina of Bijnore, both Urdu papers, but it is rather strange that they have not been published in any Sindhi paper. He also said that the Deputy Collector, the Mukhtiarkar and the Police Sub-Inspector of the place were present at the meeting, which consisted of some 4,000 people. No influence was brought to bear on the public and resolutions similar to those of Calcutta Khilafat Conference were passed."

(*d*) *S.B., Sind, Karachi, April 1st.*—The next Khilafat meeting will take place at Dhoro Naro in the Thar Parkar District. The Sirhandi Pirs are taking keen interest in it. Pir Gulam Majadid visited that district lately. The object of the meeting appears to be to awaken the *zamindars* of the place as they have up to the present evinced no interest in the matter. Funds are being collected to defray the expenses of the meeting.

(*e*) *S.B., Sind, Karachi, April 1st.*—It is reported that the following Nawabshah District Khilafat Committee has been set up :—

President.—Pir Mahomed Imamshah, son of Pir Jhandewalla.

Secretary.—Maulvi Mahomed Mawaz of Chattanshah in Nawabshah District. This man has studied the Unani System of Medicine at Lucknow and Delhi.

Workers.—Pir Waddal of Pir Khiaran, (2) Haji Ahmed, a shop keeper, (3) Ali Mahomed, a shopkeeper.

(*f*) *Karachi, March 29th.*—Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars preached at the Doli-Khata Masjid on the 26th instant and exhorted the assembly, among whom were a few Indian soldiers, to be Moslems and obey the *Koran*. He

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added: he did not mean that they should fight the Government. At the Khatri Masjid he advised the assembly to subscribe towards the Khilafat Fund.

(*g*) *Karachi, March 29th.*—Professor Waswani is publishing a series of articles in the *New Times* on the Prime Minister's reply to the Caliphate Deputation. The first article appeared on the 27th and is likely to cause disaffection.

(*h*) *Karachi, March 29th.*—The Assistant Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., Karachi, reports : "A Muhammadan merchant informed me last night that there is a scheme on foot to raise a large fund from which a sum of money will be paid to each Indian soldier to induce him to leave the Army."

(*i*) *Karachi, March 30th.*—Dr. Haji Gulam Hussain Kassim, anti-Aga Khan Khoja and a Shia, has written a letter to the *New Times* (reproduced below) on the stress laid by the Premier, in his reply to the Caliphate Deputation, on the Armenian massacres. He says in effect that England is unfit to rule owing to the massacres of Amritsar and Egypt. While recounting the atrocities committed by Christians, he mentions the butcheries by Czarist Russia, but not a word about the atrocities by Bolshevik Russia, which is noteworthy.

THE PREMIERS REPLY

Dr. Haji's criticism

To the Editor of the *New Times.*

Sir,

The Prime Minister's reply to the Khilafat Deputation has come as a shock of disappointment to the people of this country. The arguments adduced by him are the same familiar ones refuted the times over by impartial people, both in England and India. One thing of which he has made the most of is the so called 'massacres'—made the most of in other quarters too, in the shape of moving pictures, the Auction of Souls, and the rest of the propaganda of take. "It is true that impartial investigation has not taken place"—We shall grant that to the Premier, however much we may be convinced of a different story and we await the appointment of an impartial Commission, and meanwhile are "not in a position to affirm or deny anything." We want to know whether these 'massacres' were merely the losses suffered by the Armenians during the putting down of their treacherous armed risings when they were butchering Moslem women and children at a time when all the male Moslem population was away engaged in a life and death struggle with the greatest enemy of Islam, the Czarist Russia, or cold, calculated massacres of inoffensive Armenians. If the latter be established to the satisfaction of the world, "we will wash our hands of the Turks." We utterly detest such conduct and have full sympathy with the sufferers, whether the heathens of Congo, Buddhists of China, or Christians of Armenia.

We are for justice and justice all round. We whole-heartedly join that League of Humanity and Justice, which applies its "pretty terrible Justice" and that too "ruthlessly". The Turk-Armenian massacres being sub-judice we rule out of consideration for the present, however much we may be convinced that they are simply manufactured by the diplomats for their propaganda. Now, I only beg to place before this League of Justice and Humanity the following facts for its consideration with a request to apply

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the same principles as are proposed to be applied to the Turks to the nations that may be found guilty. Let us have Justice and Justice all round :—

1. Belgian massacres of the heathen of Congo.

2. Massacres of Chinese Budhists by the Civilized Powers during the Boxer affair.

3. The terrible atrocities by the Italians during the Tripolitan war.

4. The awful butcheries at Tabviz and Mashed (Persia) by the Russians (1911).

5. Slaughter of 500,000 Kirghiz Musulmans by the Czarist Russia (1916).

6. Amritsar and Egypt.

7. Massacres in the Republic of Azerbaijan by the innocent lambs, the Armenians. One hopes that the Azerbaijanis will not like the Turks, forfeit their independence for being butchered by the harmless Armenians. Even the Georgean Christians detest these cut-throats heartily. The Republic of Georgea is pro-Turk and knows well the qualities of her neighbours.

8. The general massacre of Moslems in Abyssinia by Christians (1916).

9. The recent Greek massacres at Smyrna, and the pillage, burning and complete destruction of several towns and villages. In 1821 all the Moslems in the Morea and many thousands in northern parts of Greece were massacred. Crete had a population of 49,000 Moslems but nearly all of them were butchered. We admire the old Hellenic civilization, but the modern Greek is a blot on the name of old Hellas. Even Byron calls him a ' scoundrel '. The modern Greek knows how to shoot and shoot well—women and children—and burn and plunder into the bargain, provided there is no armed man to oppose him. His bravery we know too well from his wars with the Turks. Yet this very Greek is to get Thrace, Smyrna, etc.!

10. The campaign of extirpation of the Moslems in the Balkans during the last fifty years or more : Servia, that favourite protege of the now, by the Grace of God, defunct Czardom, had of course special privileges to shed Moslem blood. Some hundred thousand Moslems were turned out of Nish and Varanya, dispossessed of their property and driven out of Servia to die of hunger and starvation. During the Balkan War more than half a million Turkish unarmed men, women and children were butchred in cold blood, their properties burn down and looted away, and houtrages of which even a savage would be ashamed were perpetrated by the Balkan Christians. But these very states are allowed to live and expand :

My bag of the people that have forfeited the right to govern is not yet empty. But my letter is getting too big. Let the League of Humanity and Justice ponder over these facts for the present, and decide whether she can throw stones at the Turk.

Yours, & c.,

Dr. HAJI G. H. KASSIM, M.B.B.S.

Karachi, 26th March 1920.

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(*j*) *Karachi, April 1st.*—The following from a Calcutta journal is interesting :—" The Friday hartal passed off quietly, and we don't care whether the Sultan of Turkey feels any the better or any the worse for it. Whether the Turk stays on goes, the hartal has been a great political success in this sense that it marks a step forward in the political schooling of the crowds. This is the first successful effort in collective self-restraint, and if repeated it is bound, whether for good or evil, to prepare for Home Rule a people thoroughly disciplined and trained to follow its leaders.

" This aspect should not escape the notice of students in politics. A *hartal* is only a bit of political drill, and it matters little to what object the drill is applied. At the first trial, Drill Sergeant Gandhi coached his people on the Rowlatt Act, and the pupil broke down ; this time he has made them practise on the Sultan, and may be the Sultan will break down, but the pupil has been broken in. It promises well for the future."

(*k*) *S.B., Sind, Karachi, March 31st.*—Muhammad Hushim, Editor of the Kach Kol, is the author of a leaflet in verse entitled " *Feryad-i-Mussilnun bi Bargah-I-Rasul Allah*", that is to say, " The Complaint of Muhammadans in the Court of the Prophet of God." There are altogether thirty verses, each one ending in the word ' Turkey '. At the foot of the leaflet is printed in English, " B.P., Hyderabad, Sind. First Edition, 17th October 1919."

The following is a rough translation of a portion of the poem :—

" The wrath of God is the sword and lance of Turkey."

" The Kaffirs were startled and fled from the place of death when the lion of Turkey came into the field "……

" The friendship of Turkey was the pride of Europe.

" Turkey was the helper of all. It was the duty of Europe to admire Turkey."

" Oh, Prophet of Arabia arise now and help us "……

' Turkey was the defender of Islam from the beginning. All Muhammadans pray to God that the dynasty of Turkey may continue for ever."

It was reported that this poem was read at the Larkana Conference in the first week of February and that the leaflet was distributed at the Sann Caliphate meeting on the 17th instant.

(*l*) *Karachi, March 29th.*—The Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, reports: " It is reported that a Committee has been formed under the presidentship of Pir Mahbub Shah, brother of Pir Jhandewalla, to educate the people of the mofussil in the present situation particularly with reference to Caliphate and the Sultan of Turkey.

" The first meeting is likely to be held at Tando Muhammad Khan this week under the auspices of Mir Hussain Bux Talpur. The next meeting is likely to take place at Saidabad, Hala taluka, the chief organiser being Pir Muhammad Imam, brother of Pir Jhandewalla. The third place likely to be visited shortly is Tando Jam.

" On the 27th instsant, Aminuddin left Hyderabad for Tata, probably with the intention of calling a meeting there. This Aminuddin formerly reported to the district authorities in Hyderabad against the Home Rule agitators. It is said that his volte face was due to his not receiving an invitation to the Peace Celebrations at Hyderabad. An invitation was sent to him, but Ali Akbar, Barrister, and Kazi Abdul Kayum arranged

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for its interception knowing that this would give great offence and would be likely to win over Aminuddin to their side. Whether the story is correct or not, it is certain that Aminuddin is now one of the leading Caliphate agitators.

"Abdulla Jan, son of the Sirhandi Pir Agha Hassan Jan, of Tando Saindad, Hyderabad District, is becoming prominent as a Caliphate agitator. The District Superintendent of Police, Thar and Parkar, reports that he presided at the meeting of Dengan in that district on the 19th instant at which speeches foreshadowing open violence were made. A later report says that this man came to Hyderabad on the 17th instant and attended a small meeting of the leaders. It is also reported that his father, Pir Aga Hassan Jan, has consented to preside over the next Caliphate Conference which is likely to be held at Chor on the J. B. Railway.

"The aforesaid meeting of the leaders of Hyderabad on the 27th instant was not entirely harmonious. Nur Muhammad, pleader advocated a moderate policy as advised by the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, while Dr. Nur Muhammad was for more extreme measures. Another cause of dissension was the complaint received from some *zamindars* that at the Matiari meeting on the 21st instant, Pir Ghulam Majid, as chairman of the Reception Committee, collected some Rs. 3,000 and passed no receipts.

It is suggested that the extreme party of the Caliphate agitators suspect the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri of advising the District Magistrate to serve notices under section 42 of the Bombay District Act, and also that the Hindus of the Indian Home Rule League are annoyed with the Caliphatists for their lack of heartiness in the reception of Tilak. On the other hand, the Caliphatists are offended with Tilak for omitting to mention the Caliphate in his speech at Hyderabad and also for a passage in his speech in which he made an incautions reference to idolatry. He said: "We are idolatets ; let us idolise Home Rule." The Caliphatists present looked as if he had slapped their faces when he said this.

At the same time, from the fact that Tilak visited Ajmer on his way from Delhi to Hyderabad, it may be presumed that he is not altogether uninterested in Islamic agitation, of which Ajmer is, of course, one of the chief centres of India, particularly at the time of the fair now in progress there.

(*m*) *Karachi, March 30th.*—The Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, reports: "The following note, dated the 25th March 1920, has been received from the United Provinces Criminal Intelligence Department :—'A correspondent reports having been told by Sayyid-ur-Rahman of Lucknow, brother of Altaf-ur-Rahman, that the object of the hartal and general agitation is simply to awaken the public. Sayyid-ur-Rahman said that if they succeeded in their effort they will be their own masters in no time. So far they have surmounted every obstacle and are only waiting for the co-operation of the Hindus. When they see that the Hindus are quite ready to die with the Muhammadans, the latter will show the world that they are spirited and as warlike as of old. He said that they had agent working in the Army. The people of Sind are even now ready to die with them and if *jihad* is declared, Sind will be the first to start it. Abdul Bari also addressed all Native Moslem Princes and expects help from them."

(n) *Karachi, March 31st.*—The Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, reports. "Collection of money for *jihad*.—On the 26th instant, the Sub-Inspector, Tando Jam, reported to the Assistant Superintendent of Police,

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Riverrain, that Pir Mahbub Shah, brother of Pir Jhandewalla, visited Tando Kaisor, a village in his charge, and exhorted the villagers to subscribe money to carry on war against the British Government. He said that the Pir Pagari of Kingri would provide arms and men, only money was required. The Nizamanis and the Shedis of the village subscribed Rs. 500. Pir Mahbub Shah afterwards went to the village of Hussein Khan Thoro where he collected Rs. 250 more. The Mussalmans and Mirs of Tando Jam are said to be also collecting money to give to Pir Mahbub Shah.

"Further enquiries are being made into this report by the C.I.D.

"Meantime with reference to the mention of Pir Pagari of Kingri in the above report, the murder of a Larkana district Police Jamadar ten days ago by two Morrs of this Pir is significant. The Jamadar was making enquiries about these two men and had them under detention. They watched their opportunity, and when he was going to offer his prayers they struck him down with an axe.

"The Pir of Kingri is, of course, the head of the fanatical Hur sect who, not many years ago, terrorised the Thar and Parkar and Hyderabad districts and whom even a show of military force failed to quell. Their outrages only ceased when the Pir was induced to make a public declaration that their continuance would incur his displeasure."

A report received from Sukkur today contains the information that men working in the Railway Workshops there are said to be discussing how many English people there are in India and to be saying that if Indians in the Military and in the Police Departments unite soon not a single Englishman will be left in the country.

(*o*) *Karachi, April 1.*—The Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, reports: "The Caliphate agitation is passing beyond any pretence of Constitutionalism, so much so that the *Bharatvasi*, the most extreme paper in Sind, has taken, in a somewhat same faced manner to counselling moderation. The issue of the 18th March contained a long and somewhat obstruse letter from Sheikh Abdul Majid defending the disloyal resolutions passed at the Calcutta Caliphate Conference and calling on Hindus to help to carry them out. Below this, the Editor placed a note saying pointedly that non-Moslems would support the movement in so far as the law permitted. In its issue of the 24th March, commenting on Gandhi's speech in Bombay, it condemned the resolutions passed there and in its issue of the 25th March an article appeared entitled 'The meaning of severing connections with Government.' The article pointed out the reduction absurdom of dissociation from Government. First of all titles had to be resigned, then taxes were not to be paid, then no one was to have resort to Government courts of law, then everyone in Government service was to resign, including sepoys in the Army. 'When that takes place', asked the writer, 'will Indians be able to face an outside enemy without the help of Government? Will not this state of affairs be bad for India? Let everyone, then, think twice before he begins to sever connection with Government. This is no question of Satyagraha, it is something very different.

"It cannot be too strongly emphasised that these discussions at the present time are not at all acadamical, but severely practical. On the very day when the last-mentioned article appeared, Dr. Nur Muhammad, Sheikh Abdul Majid and other Caliphate extremists exhorted a crowd estimated at 3,000 assembled at the shrine of Makdum Dilwal in the Sehwan Taluka of the Larkana District to refuse to pay taxes and to refuse to work for any *jamindar* who helped Government.

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"Almost every day meetings are being held in the Sind mofussil which are arranged secretly and of which no account appears in the press of Sind, although some of them are mentioned in the pan-Islamic papers in other Provinces. The limited Provincial C.I.D. is unable to report on a tithe of the speeches delivered, but from the unmerous reports received every day, it is clear that the only outcome of the propaganda, if allowed to continue, can be rebellion. At Matiari, where C.I.D. officers had gone to watch the proceedings of a Caliphate meeting on the 21st March, they were turned out before the meeting by the Caliphate volunteers. In other words, the unofficial police resisted the official police.

"The orders issued recently under section 42 of the Bombay District Police Act to certain agitators to refrain from speeches likely to cause disaffection or religious animosity have, it is true, had a restraining effect in the town of Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur but they have not touched the mofussil agitation.

"The *Bharatvasi* of the 30th March states that at the Meerut Provincial Caliphat Conference, Mahatma Gandhi declared that the leaders in Delhi had resolved on three steps if the decisions about Turkey were inconsistent with their honour and respect, *viz* :—

(1) All titles and civil appointments were to be resigned.

(2) The Police and Military were to refuse duty.

(3) No taxes were to be paid.

"There is not the slightest doubt that these steps are now being openly advocated in Sind, and it appears Mullahs, and Pirs are beginning to lend their great influence to bring them to pass. Indeed, it might be said that in ecclesiastical circles in Sind disloyalty has become fashionable, and that any mullah or pir, at least in certain localities, who does not follow the fashion is relapsing into obscurity while the others are gaining in prominence and power.

The District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police, Larkana, anticipate trouble on the 17th April at the shrine of Sehwan where on that date the annual pilgrimage is to be observed. The Sehwan pilgrimage has always been notable for exhibitions of maddened fanaticism, and at a time like this an open out burst of violence is to be anticipated. In this connection a report just received from Hyderabad is of great significance. The report says that Sheikh Abdul Majid and other Caliphate agitators have "Received an invitation" to attend Caliphate meeting at Sehwan on the day of pilgrimage.

"A still further indication of something out of the common being afoot at Sehwan is a manuscript leaflet sent to this office by the District Magistrate, Suktur, on the 21st March 1920, with a note saying that it was passing from hand to hand in Garhi Yasin Taluka. The leaflet is worded in the mystical language of the Sufis. It announces that the Imam Mehdi has appeared and that he lives with the powerful Kalandar at Sehwan. There is a useless quarrel in the Empire. Sayyids are the apparent and latent kings. The Imran will deal with Kaffirs and with the Faithful. Those who want to see him should come to Sehwan on the 22nd of Rajab 1338 A.H. (i.e., the 17th April 1920)."

(*p*) *Hyderabad, March 24th.*—As was to be expected, the political agitators of Hyderabad made the most of the opportunities afforded them by the decision to hold a *hartal* on the 19th instant.

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The extremist Muhammadans began their preparations in good time and after a series of meetings a party headed by Dr. Sheikh Nur Muhammad, Nur Muhammad, Pleader, Abdul Jabbar, Pleader, Sheikh Abdul Majid, Amminuddin N. Munshi and Pir Mahbub Shah of Matli decided that the Calcutta resolutions were to be followed in *toto,* and that a jehad was to be declared against all Hindus and Muhammadans who refused to close their shops on the day of mourning. The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri was consulted and was asked to co-operate. Various Hindus were also approached. Bhurgri, who is, in these days of violent agitation, a decided Moderate, refused to have anything to do with so foolish a scheme and attempted to dissuade the hot-heads from running the cause of the Caliphatists by their ill considered proposals. The hot-heads were not to be deterred and finally threatened to treat Bhurgri as an enemy if he failed to support them. Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, thoroughly frightened by the violent turn things had taken, rushed off to beseech Gandhi to issue a manifesto to the effect that Hindus were to co-operate with the Moslem brothers only in action which was strictly constitutional. Up to this point, the Extremists were still determined to cause serious trouble on the 19th. The situation was reported to the District Magistrate and he sent for Bhurgri. The Honourable Member admitted that our information was correct, and that disorderliness was contemplated. He expressed his disapproval of the plans of the extermists and stated that he was unable to influence them. He, therefore, suggested that the District Magistrate should send for the leaders and warn them to restrain their ardour.

On the 19th instant, under his orders the two Nur Muhammads, Abdul Jabbar and Sheikh Abdul Najid, appeared before the District Magistrate and after declaring that nothing was further from their intentions than to forment disorder, they gave an undertaking to submit for approval copies of all leaflets and posters and to refrain from violent speeches and action, and to refrain from compelling people to close their shops, and to submit for approval their programme for the 19th. After this interview with the District Magistrate their ardour cooled considerably and all likelihood of trouble in Hyderabad disappeared.

Before the 19th, however, Sheikh Nur Muhammad, Sheikh Abdul Majid, Haji Shah Bax, Amminudin N. Munshi and Pir Mahbub Shah were served with notices under section 42 of the Bombay District Police Act, warning them to abstain from delivering inflammatory speeches, etc. The result was that the 19th passed off quietly in Hyderabad.

On the 12th March, Dr. Sheikh Nur Muhammad and Amminudin N. Munshi visited Matli and held a meeting. Violent speeches were delivered by Moulvi Attaullah and Pir Mahbub Shah, to effect that the holy places of Islam must be left in the custody of the Sultan, and that it was necessary in order that Government should understand fully how deep Muhammadan sentiment on the point was, that all persons holding honours from Government should surrender those honours, and that all Muhammadan servants of Government should tender their resignations. Shahvali Khan Nizamani, Vali Muhammad Khan Notkani and Ghulam Muhammad Khan Nizamani, a retired Sub-Inspector of Police, announced at the meeting that they would forthwith tender their resignations from the Bench of Honorary Magistrates. Amminudin N. Munshi stated that he would resign from the Hyderabad Bench on his return.

The *hartal* on the 19th extended to most parts of the district with the exception of the south, whither, thanks to its inaccessibility, no agitators had

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penetrated. Shops, therefore, were not closed anywhere in the Badin or the Tando Bago talukas, nor in the south of the Guni Taluka : In Matli, where the S. D. M. was encamped, notices were issued to the leading *zamindars* and moulvis to refrain from making inflammatory speeches. The *zamindars* countered by issuing a notice to the Mukhitiarkar to vacate the house of Shahvali Khan Nizaman which he had rented, as the house was required for the Caliphate Committee. The S.D.M. found a moulvi, Attahullah, sticking up an objectionable notice on the wall of his mosque. He was ordered to remove the notice, but refused point blank to do so. It was, therefore taken down later by the Police. No shops were closed, but special prayers were offered at the Juma nimaz and Moulvi Attabullah delivered a short speech to the effect that Islam was in danger and it behold all true Moslems to rally to the cause of their religion and to defend it to the last. Government servants should resign and those holding honours should give them up as the Honorary Magistrates had done.

In Tando Muhammad Khan about 1,000 persons collected for the Jumma nimaz, the majority being people from outlaying villages. The butchers shut their shops, but the rest of the bazar was open. After the nimaz, Moulvi Ghulam Muhammad of Tando Saindad was elected President of the meeting and proceedings opened with the recitation of prayers for the welfare of the Sultan and his Empire. Moulvi Ghulam Munammed, addressing the meeting, said that the holy places of Islam were in the custody of unbelievers. True, they were nominally in the charge of the Mir of the Sherrif of Mecca, but his position was similar to that of the Mir of Khairpur, who was a King only in name and could in no sense be described as an independent monarch. The tenets of their religion laid down that these Holy Places must be in the custody of a Caliph who was independent. The Sultan of Turkey has been the custodian for the last 1,300 years, and as he was the only really independent Muhammadan ruler, it was essential that he should be left in a position of independence so as to enable him to fulfil the Koranic injunctions regarding the safe custody of the Holy places. The British had made specific promises that they would not touch the Holy places of Islam ; they should now show that these promises were not empty, but meant to be fulfilled in the spirit as well as in the letter. A resolution was then put to the meeting to the effect that they were not revolutionaries, but they prayed Government to fulfil its pledges and safeguard the interests of their religion.

Pir Assadullah Shah of Tikkur said that Turkey had been defeated with the aid of Muhammadan soldiers, but now the religious feelings of these soldiers had been forgotten. Germany and Austria had been left intact, and it was only Turkey that was to be dismembered. Their prayer was that Turkey should be left as she was before the war, and they made this request, not as revolutionaries, but as friends who had cause for a quarrel, which they desired to void.

After a few words by one Jivatram, an Amil, the meeting dispersed.

The most striking feature of the meeting was the participation of several of the leading Muhammadan *zamindars* who up to the present have restrained studiously from taking any part in these matters, chief among them being Syed Muhammad Kamil Shah of Syedpur and his brother, Muhammad Salim Shah, Abdul Hakim Shah of Hajipur and Ali Asgar Shah of Tikkur. The presence of these *zamindars* and their interest in the movement led to the closing of shops in practically every village in the north-west of the Guni Taluka.

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In the Hyderabad and Tando Allahyar talukas the day was not observed in any special manner.

At Matiari, the Muhammadans closed their shops, and asked the Hindu to do so also. The Hindus replied that they would close when the Muhammadans returned the wife of the Hindu Head Master who was abducted some time back by a Muhammadan of the town. Special prayers were offered at the Juma nimaz and in the evening a meeting was held at the Juma Masjid when prayers were again read. Energy was apparently reserved for the Caliphate Conference which is to take place on the 21st.

At Hala special prayers were offered at the Jumma nimaz at the Dargah of the Makdum. In the evening a meeting was held in the Masjid of Mullah Muhammad when resolutions were passed praying that the power of the Caliph, the Sultan of Turkey, should not be impoired and that the Holy places in Islam should be left in his custody. A telegram to this effect was despatched to the Viceroy. The tone of the speeches were moderate. There was no *hartal.*

Special prayers were also offered at Saindad and at the village of the Jhandewalla Pir. At the later place speeches were made by four Mullahs, but nothing objectionable was said, beyond advising people not to appeal to Government officer when they had cause to do so, but to settle matters through their *jamaiyats.*

At Hyderabad, despite promises to the contrary, Hindus joined in the hartal, and practically no shops were opened. Only one instance of compulsion came to notice and in this case there was a certain amount of private enmity at the bottom. Special measures were taken to deal with emergency, but the Police were kept well out of sight and to the man in the street there appeared to be no Police on duty other than the usual point duty constables. The O. C. Station took no risks and was fully prepared for all contingencies. Early in the morning Dr. Choithram and Jethmal Parsaram went round the town persuading Hindus to close their shops and Sheikh Abdul Majid and Amminudin N. Munshi visited the reluctant Muhammadans. There was no semblance of disturbance and the day passed off peacefully. Special prayers were offered at all the masjids and at the temple of Bava Vastiram. Manuscript placards were hung all over the bazaar and the office of the Hindu displayed black flags and other signs of mourning. Public conveyance drivers, with half a dozen exceptions, plied for hire as usual.

At 11 a.m. an impromptu meeting was held at the Holmstead Hall with the ostensible object of entertaining the people loafing about the bazaar. Jethmal Parsaram gave a short lecture on Shah Latif and other Sindhi poets, with the moral that sunshine comes after rain. Sheikh Abdul Majid referred to the sad plight of the Moslem community with its religion in danger ; but tyranny was shortlived — witness the downfall of the Pharaohs.

The real meeting of the day was held at 6-30 p.m. at the Holmstead Hall. About 500 Muhammadans and 2,000 Hindus were present.

Amminudin N. Munshi, arrayed in gorgeous apparel with a dagger at his waist, proposed Hassamal Kalachand to the chair. It was only right to elect a Hindu in view of the great sympathy shown to the Muhammadans. Another reason was that the mouths of the Muhammadans had been stopped by the notices issued by the District Magistrate.

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Nur Muhammad, Pleader, seconded the proposal.

Hassamal, in thanking the audience for the honour they had done him, said that it was necessary only to bring to the notice of Britain the great discontent that would be caused in India by decision regarding Turkey unfavourable to Muhammadan sentiment. The agitation started by the Archbishop of Canterbury was calculated only to make the settlement of the question more difficult by arousing in Muhammadans the feeling that an appeal was being made to the religious sentiments of the British. That the Muhammadans had the sympathy of the Hindu at this crisis was proved by the *hartal.*

Abdul Jabbar, Pleader, then moved the resolution : " This meeting lodges its emphatic protest against the anti-Islamic agitation started by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other, and of the assertion made in England that the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople will not produce unrest in India. It requests the King-Emperor to interfere in the matter and to use his personal influence so that the demands of the Caliphat Conference at Bombay should be heeded, and it strongly urges that any settlement of the Peace terms short of the Bombay demands will have a serious effect on the loyalty of Moslems ".

In moving the resolution, Abdul Jabbar said that " the letter written by Queen Victoria to the Sultan of Turkey asking him to use his influence as Caliph to make Tippu Sultan join forces with the British against the French " was proof positive that it was well known that the Sultan was Caliph of Moslems throughout the world. He referred to the " pledges " that had been given that Turkey would not be dismembered, and that the power of the Sultan would not be impaired. These pledges had produced 75 per cent of the British forces and had been responsible for victory gained. Now the British said that the war had been a religious war. Had the Muslims known this earlier they would have refused to fight. But they had come to know it now ; and he thanked God that they had come to know what was *hilal* and what was *haram* at last.

Dr. Choithram said that the ten lacs of Muhammadans who had fought for the British had turned the scales in their favour. Yet Germany, Austria, Russia (sic) and Bulgaria, who were equally the enemies of the Allies were left intact, while Turkey alone was being dismembered. The reason was that the former people were white-skinned Christians, while the Turk was a Muhammdan. Turkey had been forced into the fight, and the fact that Hindu Moslems had proved loyal had been forgotten. Disaffection was sure to spread if the Turk was driven from Constantinople and if the Holy places were removed from his custody. " Oh God, are you asleep that the tyrants are exercising such tyranny. Pour water over the tyrants.

Sheikh Abdul Majid, in the course of a decidedly objectionable speech, said that the ruin of the Caliphate and the Turkish Empire would mean the ruin of the British Empire. Interference in the Caliphate would raise such a conflagration in the hearts of forty crores of Moslems that others would be burnt as well. Therefore, in the safety of the Caliphate, lay the safety of the British Empire. There could be no peace until the Europeans abandoned hopes of territorial acquisitions, of profiteering and of greed. The resolution was couched in timid language. They must not forget that Moslems must abide by the dictates of God and the Prophet, and attempts to tamper with their religion would shatter their loyalty to ten Kings. The demands of the Muhammadans were based on their religion and on the pledges of the British.

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Empires had fallen through failure to fulfil their promises, and the failure to fulfil the promises made to Muhammadans was an augury of the fall of the British Empire. It was the loyalty of the Muhammadans which made them give this warning to the Government.

Nur Muhammad, Pleader, referred to the broken "pledges" and to the strength of the bond of religion which bound Muhammadans whatever their nationality.

Gopaldas Jhamatmal, Pleader, referred to the Muhammadan-Hindu unity and the necessity for the two eyes of India having the same outlook.

The resolution was then passed with loud shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar,* and *Bharat Mata-ki-jai.*

Though Caliphate Day passed off without any disturbance, it has shown very clearly that the pan-Islamic propaganda is spreading to outlying villages, and that if the terms of peace with Turkey are considered unsatisfactory, as they must be by the "hot-heads", the situation is not without real danger, and will require careful handling.

The District Magistrate remarks: "On the 9th and 10th, Dr. Nur Muhammad Walad Hukumatrai and others came when called. They did not make immediate promises, but undertook to consult the Caliphate Committee. A consultation took place on the 9th evening and subsequently Dr. Nur Muhammad, Amminudin Munshi, Haji Shah, Bakhsh and Haji Ahmad Patoli were reported to be against any co-operation with the District Magistrate, and it was not clear that they would fall in line with the other members. Though assured that Pir Mahbub Shah would not come on the 19th to Hyderabad, I got information that he was coming and he arrived on the 18th. I had told the members of the Committee to keep him out of Hyderabad as he was likely to advocate *jehad.* Sheikh Abdul Majid pretended to be reasonable, but defended the Bengal resolutions to me and also in a reply to Jethmal's letter in the *Bharatwasi.* Notices, therefore, under section 42, Bombay District Police Act, were served on the above few persons.

"As Amminudin stated in his speech at the Holmstead Hall that he would have said much if his mouth had not been stopped by a piece of paper and Nur Muhammad, Pleader, told a C.I.D., officer that Pir Mahbub Shah was restrained with difficulty from proclaiming *jehad,* the notices had a good effect".

(*q*) *Hyderabad, March 27th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "On 22nd I saw Kamil Shah, and his brother Salim Shah at Tando Mahomad Khan. Both are Honorary Magistrates and the former Vice-President, Taluka Local Board. I told them that it was not true that the Hedjaz was in British control, but in Arab control and the Arabs were Moslems.

"Kamil Shah's demeanour struck me as outwardly deferential but with a strong undercurrent of truculence. He contended that Moslems felt that the English Government were supporting the Shariff of Mecca against the Khalifa though the former was an underling who had turned traitor to the Sultan during the war. He said also that Mussulmans demanded that Turkey should be as it was before the war. In the course of his remarks he said Home Rulers and Muhammadan *zamindars* were now one over the Khilafat question. When I explained that the Home Rulers' statement that Germany and Austria had not been deprived of territory was false

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and that Austria had been split up and separate nationalities had been given independence, he remarked that India too should be given independence like other nations.

"The two brothers were not in Tando Mahomad Khan and were called from Hyderabad. The above account will give some idea of how far the hitherto pampered Muhammadan *zamindar* can be trusted to be loyal if the extremists get hold of him.

"Salim Shah was more amenable and Sayed Abdul Hakim Shah whom I saw next day was reasonable and assured me that *zamindars* though sad about the Khalifa would remain loyal.

"I received alarming reports from Mr. Sorley, Assistant Collector, as to feeling in Matli. I arrived there on 24th and have seen all the leading men and the three Honorary Magistrates who sent in their resignations. I found that their tone was loyal and they are willing to withdraw their resignations. It appears that the late Muktyarkar and the present Head Munshi who sits on the Bench had put their backs up. The Head Munshi's tone about the Bench led me to believe that this complaint is true. I explained the true facts about the Arabs and the Hedjaz which has had an excellent effect. The excitement appears to have been due to wild statements by ignorant Moulvis.

"A. C.I.D. report of what happened at Matiari on 21st is somewhat alarming but the C.I.D. Amil officer seems to have been ill-advised to stay to prayers at the Juma Masjid. Sayad Haji Mahomad Shah, who is suspected of having caused the Hindu school-master's wife to run away, has written to me resigning his chair in my Darbar to show his disapproval of the British Government's august treatment of Muhammadans. This is the result of the above meeting. This man is believed to be a Commissioner's Darbari and an Honorary Magistrate and member of the District Local Board in Karachi District.

"The Hindus of Matiari informed the Muhammadans that they would not join in *hartal* on 19th unless the Hindu school-master's wife was returned.

"The Hindus of Tando Mahomad Khan refused to join in the *hartal* and the Muhammadans threatened to kill a cow in their sight outside the slaughter house. The Mukhtyarkar warned the Muhammadans that this was against the Municipal Act. These rifts in the lute of unity never appear in the press.

"M. K. Gandhi's speech in Bombay on the 19th has been severely criticised in the *Bharatwasi* by Jethmal Parsram.

"My conclusions from the 19th are as follows :—

(1) M. K. Gandhi's speech if it does not lead to reaction by Hindus and moderate Muhammadans, is very dangerous.

(2) In the Bombay Presidency the agitation will proceed strictly in accordance with orders from head-quarters in Bombay except for spasmodic interference in Sind from Delhi.

(3) If the Agitation becomes dangerous it can be paralysed by measures taken in Bombay and by censorship of postal and telegraphic communications and railway parcels.

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(4) A short historical summary of our relations with Turkey, of those of the Arabs and other nationalities with the Turks and a reasonable statement of the views of the Allied Governments should precede any telegraphic summary of the Peace Terms. Such a telegraphic summary might have disastrous results.

" It seems somewhat absurd that Government who control posts, telegraphs and railways should allow these to be the means of concerting ' bloody revolution ".

The Commissioner in Sind adds : " Enquiries will be made regarding the position of Sayad Haji Mahomed Shah in the Karachi District ".

(r) *Sukkur, March 28th.*—The District Magistrate writes : " The 19th instant passed quietly in the whole district. *Hartal* was general in Shikarpur, largely because it was represented that the Inspector of Police had ordered it.

" I am informed that in the village of Maulvi Taj Mahmad (a supporter of Obeidullah and the Arky of God)—Hindus attended Friday prayers in large numbers. Something of this kind occurred last April in Hyderabad, but it was followed by an immediate outcry from the Kazis. That it can now be done without protest in Amrot shows how far the ' Cause ' has progressed in a year."

The Commissioner in Sind adds : " Amrot must not be taken as representative, since Moulvi Taj Mahmad is feared by all classes in that village ".

(s) *Larkana, March 29th.*—The District Magistrate writes : " The Chief event of the week has been the Khilafat Conference improvised at Makdum Bilawal in Dadu Taluka on the 25th instant, on the occasion of the usual monthly religious pilgrimage there. Full particulars of this appear in the confidential diary of 28th March 1920.

" The speeches delivered there were tantamount to an open incitement to rebellion. The moment of " lifting the banner of Islam ", seemingly it was meant to intimate, would be the great " Rajib " gathering at Sehwan on 27th Rajib (i.e., April 17th).

The leaflet discovered in Korlu Yasin, refers to this. The allusions so far as my knowledge goes are as under :—

(1) " Kalandar the powerful ".—Sheikh Usman Narwandi, the saint whose tomb forms the great centre of pilgrimage at Sehwan. He is known as " Lal Shahibaz Kalandari " and " Kalandar Badshah ", *i.e.*, " Red Eagle of (spiritual) Freedom ", and " The Emancipated King ", meaning in each case freed or emancipated from the toils of sin and the lusts of the flesh. He was a great " Sufi ". or mystic, and to this day both Hindu and Mussalman disciples serve the shrine.

The " Sajadu Nishnis " are two groups of Sayads, of which the " *Khabroti* " (a branch of Bokhari Husseni Sayads) headed by old Haji Fateh Ali Shah and his nephew, Anwar Ali Shah, are avowed Shiahs. The other group is of " *Lakhiari* " Sayads (also Husseni), the head of whom is Wali Muhammad Shah, chief custodian of the shrine, and regarded as a great " Pir ". The Lakhiaris are Sunnis, but many are deeply tinged with Sufism and Wali Muhammad Shah himself is almost a Shiah mustic, in the eyes of the more bigoted Sunnis.

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The "Rasti" Pirs, of whom the Pir Pagaro of Kingri (the "Incarnate Lord of the Hurs") is the head, are a branch of the same clan as the Lakhiaris originally.

(2) There are several "orders" of "Kalandari Faqirs" devoted to "Lal Shahibas", and among some of them there is a kind of Messianic tradition that the "Imam Mehdi" will first reveal himself at the tomb of the "Kalandar" saint, whereon "Kufr" (infidelity) will be destroyed and the "Banner of Islam" will wave triumphant over the whole earth.

It appears to be this legend which is being exploited by the pro-Turks. In the "Kalandari" tradition the Mehdi's triumph is to be accomplished without violence or bloodshed, by the mystic power of the faith. The Kufurs are themselves to throw aside their infidelity and join in the ever swelling chorus of *Allah-o-Akbar* which shall ultimately resound from end to end of a believing and adoring world; but one will not be wronging the present agitators by concluding that they have a very different conception in their minds and look forward to a bloody Jehad.

The Commissioner in Sind adds: "The speeches at the meeting at Makdum Bilawal (itself a shrine) were of the most violent nature, and the District Superintendent of Police reports that the Khilafat agitators have hit upon the dangerous method of preaching sedition to crowds assembled at shrines on days of pilgrimage or fair. He has accordingly recommended (with the support of the District Magistrate) that the announced Khilafat Conference at Sehwan on the 27th Rajib (17th April) should be prohibited. The Commissioner is making further enquiries regarding the speeches at Makdum Bilawal, and will write separately on the subject.

"There will be a great and very mixed gathering at Sehwan, and the shrine of Lal Shabaz is a place of pilgrimage for transfrontier people. On the other hand it is far, as will appear from the District Magistrate's letter, from being a centre of orthodoxy, and the principal Sayad, Wali Muhammad Shah, though thoroughly untrustworthy, has too much to lose by disorder to permit it, if he can prevent it, which of course is doubtful. The Commissioner will issue instructions shortly to the District Magistrate, and, if necessary, will address Government."

(*t*) *Thar and Parkar, March 25th.*—At Umarkot, on the 15th Pir Muhammad Ali Jan called a meeting of local *zamindars* and others to arrange for the early holding of a Caliphate Conference in this vicinity. He addressed the meeting saying they were the only Muhammadans in India who were lagging behind and it was their duty as Musalmans to bestir themselves and raise their hands on behalf of Turkey when she was in trouble. It was resolved that 5 per cent. of land revenue assessment should be subscribed by *zamindars* and that Rs. 10,000 should be collected for expenses. Rs. 2,500 were subscribed on the spot and promises given for the balance. The date and venue of the Conference were left undecided, but the organisers expect to arrange it for the first week in April at Chhor, Choro Naro, Pithoro or Shadipali, and hope that Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Abdul Bari and others will attend. Pir Muhammad Ali Jan has gone to Hyderabad to consult G. M. Bhurgri, while Mian Walimuhammad Walhari and Ahmed Walhari are busy collecting subscriptions from local *zamindars*. Further details will be reported as soon as known.

The following *zamindars* took part in the meeting: (1) Ahmed Pali, (2) Haji Rahimtulla Pali, (3) Bilawal Halepoto, (4) Sobho Pali, (5) Mian

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Walimuhammad Walhari, (6) Mian Ahmed Walhari, (7) Haji Haroon Memon, (8) Syed Ali Asgar Shah, (9) Din Muhammad Change, (10) Syed Jalal Shah Hashim Shah, (11) Ibrahim Fakir, (12) Yusif Halepoto, (13) Ghulam Muhammad Pali, (14) Haji Abdul Haq Pali.

The District Magistrate remarks.—" A Caliphate Conference at Chhor or that side has been mooted for some time ".

The Sub-Inspector, Jamesabad, reports that on the 19th a Pir and two Moulvis came to Dengan, where there is a police outpost, and put up with Ghulam Hussain Bhurgri in Jan Muhammad Bhurgri's bungalow. (The name of the Pir has since been found to be Abdulla Jan, son of Agha Hussain Jan, of Tando Saindad, Hyderabad District. The names of the Moulvis have been variously reported and are still not definitely known. They will be reported as soon as ascertained. The people of Dengan who knew their names refused to give them to the local police and were truculent and aggressive when asked). The Pir conducted the Jumma prayers in the Mosque in the afternoon, where the Head Constable was present, and afterwards one of the Moulvis gave a lecture in which he said that as the sacred places were in the hands of the English, they should refuse any assistance to Government officials and should fight without hesitation if called upon. The other Moulvi then spoke in similar terms and added that though they had no guns and arms, they could use lathis and axes. No Mussalman should enlist in the Army, and officials who were the allies of the English, should be considered as enemies till the Caliphate question was settled. The congregation of 60 or 70 appeared to be considerably agitated. Afterwards the second Moulvi spoke to one of the Constables saying that the English power was at an end and that they would die like Kaffirs if they remained loyal to it and asked him to forsake his service and follow Islam. He further asked that the police should not report what had been said. In the evening, another Constable found a party of about 30 Muhammadans in the bazaar discussing the Moulvis' lectures and when he asked them what they were talking about they said the Moulvis had told them to be ready for the "war" and they were prepared to lay down their lives and the police should also join them.

On getting this information from the Dengan Head Constable, the Sub-Inspector went there himself for further enquiry. He reports that the Pir and Moulvis were at Chauro village on the 18th stopping with Nur Muhammad Bhurgri. They came from Matli. At Chauro they also lectured in the Mosque in the same terms as they did at Dengan on the 19th. A Head Constable, specially posted at Chauro, failed to report their visit or the nature of their lectures, though he appears to have been aware of both. On the 20th at Dengan the Pir and Moulvis were speaking to their followers in Jan Muhammad Bhurgri's bungalow. The police were not allowed to hear what went on. The following *zamindars* were present at the lectures in the Mosque on the 19th:—(1) Abaskhan Bhurgri, (2) Khair Muhammad Bhurgri, (3) Jeokhan Bhurgri, all of Dengan, and (4) Jamalkhan Bhurgri of Khudabax Bhurgri, village, Samaro Taluka. Ghulam Hussain Bhurgri was not able to attend as he was down with fever.

On the 21st the Pir and the Moulvis left for Gahni Sial, Samaro Taluka, where they stopped with the Pir's cousin, Pir Ismail Jan. The Sub-Inspector, Samaro, reports that nothing worth reporting occurred while they were there. They are invited by Khudabakhan Bhurgri to visit him at his village on the 22nd.

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The various Sub-Inspectors have been instructed to keep an eye on their movements and doings.

The *hartal* proclaimed for the 19th was not observed in Mirpurkhas to any noticeable extent and there were no meetings or speeches. I went through the bazaars in the Old and New Town in the morning and found almost all the shops open as usual and everything normal. Only the butchers and a few other Muhammadans had been prevailed upon by Syed Bachal Shah to keep their shops closed. Gurudinomal returned by the morning mail from Chhor. He told my Deputy that he had purposely stayed away till then in order to avoid being pressed to organise any demonstration. He further remarked that Jethmal Parasram had advised him to give the Caliphate agitation a wide berth.

Reports from the district show that the *hartal* was not observed anywhere by Hindus, and only to a very small extent in a few places by Muhammadans.

The District Magistrate remarks : " The S. D. M. Mirpur Khas, reports that the Station Master, Patoi, Mirpur-Khadro line, went and told the shopkeepers at Patoi on the 19th instant to close their shops as was being done in Hyderabad. Shops were closed but reopened again after a short period as they did not see the point of the *hartal* ".

(*u*) *Bombay, March 29th.*—The following telegram has been sent by Shaukat Ali and Kidwai to the Khilafat Committees at Calcutta and Rangoon:—

" A mass meeting attended by thirty thousand Hindus and Mussalmans and Parsis passed following resolutions :—

" This meeting strongly protests against the orders of the Burmah Government prohibiting certain persons from taking part in Khilafat meeting.

" Such orders are in violation of the repeated pledges given by Her Majesty Queen Victoria and her successors safeguarding freedom and liberty in religion upon which the very foundation of British Rule in India rests.

" Maulana Shaukatali and Sheikh Mushir Hussain Kidwai frankly express that they would never obey any such order that would be against the laws of Islam or mean any interference in their religious obligations. This act of Burmah Government is entirely against the basic principles of Islam. On being consulted, Mahatma Gandhi offered the same advice, Muslims, Hindus, Parsis spoke strongly on the subject ".

The speeches of Shaukat Ali and Kidwai contained no such sentiments as those attributed to them in the last paragraph of the wire.

The following verse from the *Quran* was quoted during the debate in the Committee on the draft resolution for the 19th :—

" Oh ! Mussalmans if you come to blows with an army of infidels, you should remain firm and unflinching ;

" Remember your Creator and you will come out successful.

" Strictly follow the commandments of Allah and his Prophet and do not quarrel among yourselves. If you do quarrel, you will lose

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heart and others will take benefit of your secrets which will easily be revealed through your quarrels. Endure the hardships of war with patience because Allah gives preference to those who are patient".

The object in view was to prevent any of those present from revealing the course of the proceedings.

The following telegram was sent on the 28th instant by Shaukat Ali, Bombay, to Chhotani at Ajmer:—

'Calling meeting All-India Khilafat Committee 11th Delhi Ispahani wires London 23rd drastic measures threatened to Turkey; outlook gloomy. Moslems protested against employing Greek troops to pacify Asia Minor, Shaukat Ali, Khali Kuzzaman, Abdul Aziz Vakil ready going Smyrna. Last two know Turkish language."

I understand that the proposal to send a monster petition on the subject of the Khilafat has been definitely dropped.

The Aga Khan has sent to Chhotani a copy of the following wire from Amir Ali and instructed him to publish it all over India. He also indicates his opinion that part of the "money subscribed for propaganda" should be sent at once:—

"Dire distrees Moslems Asia Minor appalling mortality from starvation, help Farz, wire funds."

On the 27th March 1920, Shaukat Ali wired from Bombay to Captain Ghulam Mahomed Bassi, Patiala, asking him if he would go immediately to Smyrna at the expense of the Khilafat Fund for the distribution of relief to the Turks.

(*v*) *Bombay, April 1st.*—On the 28th March Shaukat Ali wired from Bombay to Chhotani who was then at Ajmer, informing him that he had arranged that a meeting of the All-India Khilafat Committee should be held at Delhi on the 11th April.

Chhotani returned to Bombay on March 29th; and it has since been decided to hold the meeting at Bombay on the 10th instead of as previously arranged. I append a translation of the summons issued to members of the Committee as well as of the agenda paper. The principal business of the meeting will apparently be to choose between the Shariat and the Indian Penal Code. The change from Delhi to Bombay is noteworthy; but its significance is reduced by the appearance of the Bombay leaders' signature on so suggestive a statement of the issues for decision.

Office of the Central Khilafat
Committee of India, Chhotani House, Kadak,
Bombay, 31st March 1920.

My dear Chhotani,

A meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee of India will be convened in Bombay on the 11th proximo. This meeting is of particular importance inasmuch as that looking to the present critical times the final issue is to be decided as to whether our future policy should be to remain within the bounds of the laws of the land or to follow the dictates of our religion and hence your attendance is absolutely essential. Delegations on behalf of the Mussulmans of India will be sent to the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine and members of such delegations will be elected. You are therefore requested to suggest the names of such gentlemen who would prove fit workers on such delegations.

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All the members in different Provinces are being requested to attend. Please make it a point to attend also, and enlighten us with your opinion. This Conference is of vital importance as our future policy is to be finally decided upon.

If on account of some reason you may not be able to attend, you may kindly note down your votes on the accompanying form and forward them to us.

The Agenda is as under :—

(1) To discuss the *pros and cons* of the demands put forward by our Khilafat Delegation and the reply thereto given by the Prime Minister.

(2) To finally decide our future policy and to work in co-operation with our Hindu breathren.

(3) To decide upon sending the second batch of the Khilafat Delegation to Europe.

(4) To elect delegates for Deputations to the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Najd, Syria and Palestine in accordance with the decision arrived at during the Khilafat Conference, Bombay.

(5) To consider the resolutions passed upto date by the different Khilafat Conferences.

President ... ... (1) Mian Mhd. Chhotani.
(2) Mirza Alli Mohd. Khan
Secretaries ... ... (3) Shaukat Ali.
(4) Badruddin Abdulla Koor.
(5) Ahmed Haji Siddiq Khatri.

Voting Paper.

Serial No.	Proposals.	Approval.	Disapproval.
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.	1 to 5 are translated in accompanying.		
6.	To make the following addition in the constitution of the Khilafat Committee, *viz.* :—It will be incumbent on every Provincial Khilafat Conference to send an advance copy at least three days before the holding of the Conference giving the agenda and drafts of the resolutions to the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay.		

Signature of the Voter.

Bombay April 5th.—The election to the 2nd Khilafat Deputation of Shah Husseinmiya Phulwari has caused a flutter in the Khilafat dovecote. I understand that Husseinmiya, who owes his election to his father's influence and money, knows no English and is otherwise practically uneducated. Abul Kalam Azad regards him as highly undesirable ; and threatens, unless the Bombay Committee puts an end to the "irregularities" of which his election is one example, to act altogether independently of it.

M. K. Gandhi came to see me on the 6th April and, *inter alia*, told me that his son was so horrified at the speech of Abdul Bari in Calcutta that he wrote and said he could no longer associate himself with him.

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(*w*) *Mahi Kantha Agency, March 27th.*—The Political Agent writes "From the reports received from some of the Police Sub-Inspector of this Agency it appears that the Khilafat Day on the 19th instant was not observed by the public, either Muhammadans or Hindus."

(*x*) *Ahmedabad, March 29th.*—Gandhi had a long article in the Navajivan of the 21st instant on the Caliphate question. He pointed out the futility of having recourse to the force of arms if the question was decided against them. The quarrel, he said, would not be against the English people alone, but against the united forces of Christianity. The moral weapon of *Satyagraha* was their only means of securing victory. If the Arabs wanted to be independent, it should not be denied them, but they must recognise the authority of the Caliph. The Holy places should be left under the control of the Caliph. If this were not agreed to, he could not fight, but he would refrain from assisting in this injustice. What would happen if every Hindu and Mussalman were to leave Government service? The English would either have to leave India or yield. It was necessary to wait patiently till public opinion was strained in the right path. He prayed that God would give the Mussalmans the good sense to act in the right manner so that the Hindus would be able to help them.

(*y*) *Kaira, March 28th.*—A prominent Hindu remarked to me recently that he was of opinion that Gandhi's joining the Muhammadans was a serious mistake, for if Turkey retains its former territories and powers and gains the help of Indian Muhammadans, a situation of great danger to the Hindus will have been created.

(*z*) *Broach, March 27th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The *hartal* last week was devoid of any incident throughout the district. It appears to have been confined to the taluka towns. At Hansot a public meeting resolved to give cordial support to the actions of the Khilafat Committee, Calcutta, and to sympathise with their future work 'as far as practicable'. At Jambusar the meeting is reported to have expressly dissociated itself from the resolution that Mussulmans should abstain from slaughtering cows. So far as I can learn Government servants did not take part in the *hartal* or meetings."

(*II*) *Kaira March 28th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "I have little to add to what I said in my last letter on the subject of the "Khilafat Day" celebrated on the 19th instant. In spite of a fairy general *hartal* in the towns and some of the villages of the district, and of meetings in some places (notably Nadiad), there was no trouble or disturbance anywhere. The Christians from Ahmadabad, who came to the Christian and Missionary Alliance Mission at Kaira (to the number of 100 or so in all) in consequence of their having apprehended trouble at Ahmadabad, have now, I understand, returned. I do not know if someone had played a joke on them at Ahmadabad or if they really had any ground for apprehension, but certainly they were genuinely frightened and also frightened the Mission authorities here. It appears that they had left their crops and cattle near Ahmadabad with no one to look after them."

(*II*) *Surat, March 31st.*—In accordance with the appeal issued by the Khilafat Conference, Calcutta, a complete *hartal* was observed with solemnity in the city of Surat. Almost all the shops including those of the Muhammadans and Hindus were kept closed. Even the drivers of the public conveyances struck work—which was never the case before. This *hartal* was carried out more successfully than even the *hartal* of the 6th

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April 1919 when some shops remained open and Gariwalas did not strike work. Small crowds appeared here and there collected on footpaths, but they were orderly and quiet and this fact made the city look as if it were in mourning. A few tea shops at the Railway Station were kept open the owners having taken the precaution of partially barring the entrances to their shops.

2. The afternoon prayers were said in different mosques of the city with much solemnity and almost all mosques were fairly overcrowded with Mussalmans. After the prayers were over the Moulvis delivered sermons, picturing to their audience the present state of Khilafat, which moved many Muhammadans to tears.

3. No force was used for the purpose of closing down shops, except in one solitary instance where about 10 to 12 Muhammadan boys went to the Municipal Vernacular School situated in the Zunda Sheri in Lagrampur demanding its immediate closure, and, I am told, the teachers without the slightest show of resistance closed it. This was the only instance reported to the police in which force is said to have been used. Who the boys, however, were, no one was able to say.

4. The city presented a more dismal sight in the evening since the roads were not watered and a large number of Municipal lamps were not lit. This is not the first instance of such irregularity noticed on the part of the Municipal employees. Once before, too, if my memory serves me right, the same thing happened on the Peace Celebration Day. As it was notified that a meeting would be held at the Tilak Maidan on that day at 8-30 p.m. crowds of people were noticed going there long before the hour fixed. The place was lit up with Kitson lights and a few chairs and a large table were placed for the speakers. However, as is always the case, some of the members of the Committee having arrived late the work did not commence at the time fixed. There were about 7,000 to 8,000 people present including Mussalmans and Hindus. Before beginning the work of the meeting, prayers were offered in which Hindus and Muhammadans joined. Dayabhai Kalyanji Desai, in proposing Dr. M. M. Raiji to the chair, said that though the question of Khilafat concerned exclusively the Muhammadans, a Hindu President had been elected simply to prove that the Hindus were heart and soul with their Muhammadan brethren in this religious question. Continuing, he said that Lord Curzon, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Bryce and certain English newspapers desired to expel the Turks from Europe, and said that only a handful of Mussalmans of India were agitating in connection with the Khilafat question. However, the large number of Mussalmans and Hindus present at the meeting would show that the same feeling that had been aroused in April last against the Rowlatt Act had this day been also noticed. Suleman Davji Abhoo and Ismailbhai Mia Lukmanji spoke in support.

5. Then rose Dr. M. M. Raiji and said that the question of Khilafat owing to its religious importance was very serious and therefore a Muhammadan gentleman would have done more credit to the chair than a Hindu. He reminded them that about four or five years ago Turkey threw in her lot with Germany who was at war with the British. The Sultan of Turkey is the Khalifa of the Mussalmans. The Indian Moslems, howevers, disregarding that fact came forward to help their Government with men and money. They fought against the Turks, sacrified their lives, shed their blood and defeated them on the battlefield and achieved a great victory for our Government. At that time Ministers of His Majesty had given

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pledges that they were not fighting for the acquisition of any portion of the Ottoman Empire and that the Holy places belonging to it would not be touched. Depending on this promise, not only was money given but even lives were sacrified in fighting against the Turks.

6. The situation is changed now and dismemberment of Turkey contemplated at present. Knowing that Government want to evade the promise given, the Mussalmans have taken up the Khilafat question for the past 15 months and have brought to the notice of the King through meetings and resolutions that the question is one pertaining to their religion. To break one's promise is not good. Continuing, he said that it was not possible for Muhammadans to endure quietly and to see all their appeals disregarded by Government and their holy places passed into the hands of non-Mussalmans. Since the taking up of the present question by Mussalmans, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, had represented the request of the Mussalmans in the best way possible to the Peace Conference and obtained consent to allow the Turks to remain in Constantinople, but Ministers disagreed on the point and certain statesmen and spiritual heads in England had been agitating to have the Turks driven out of Europe. The question of not allowing the Turks to remain in Constantinople had nothing whatsoever to do with the spiritual heads of the Christians and it was therefore wrong on their part to meddle in this question. Those who read the papers were aware how excited were the feelings of the Muhammadans regarding the Khilafat question and the statesmen and the spiritual heads who had been agitating against it will be held responsible for any undesirable results issuing therefrom. The question arises as to what the Indians should do when all the resolutions passed by them and forwarded to Government are consigned to the waste paper basket. The like of the agitation which was prevailing at the time of the Rowlatt Act was never noticed before. Against the wish of the country and its representatives the Rowlatt Act was retained, and the consequent disappointment which resulted in thoughtless action on the part of the ignorant masses of the people will not recur this time. But the present matter is a religious question and religion is dear to every one. The readers of history know well that wars have been waged in the past and lives sacrificed heedlessly in the cause of the religion.

7. Proceeding further he added that a handful of Europeans come to this country to rule Indians and they disregard their feelings. This, however, would not be the case if the people were strong enough. There were only five or seven European Officers at Surat and they managed the district with the assistance of their subordinates who were all Indians. If the Municipal Bhangis, Farases, and Sweepers were to refuse to do their work the Councillors would not take their places. In the same way if the Indian Subordinates were to refuse to do their work these Europeans would not be able to rule Indians. In short, the Officers were the dependents of their subordinates and not their masters and this could be brought home to them by the use of force. Though the present question pertained purely to the Muhammadans yet the Hindus have joined in it, simply because they formed one of the two large communities of India and when the feelings of one of them was injured it was but natural that the other should feel for them. It, therefore, behaved the Hindus to help their Muhammadan brethren when they were overwhelmed by a calamity.

8. Mia Saheb Fejulabhai Hamdani put forward a resolution to the following effect that the Hindus and Mussalmans of Surat viewed with great

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displeasure and anger the action of certain statement and papers, the more especially of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in falsely representing that the large bulk of the Muhammadan population takes no interest in the Khilafat question and thus trying to deprive the Khalifa of his territory. It is the opinion of this meeting that their conduct in this connection has had a very disastrous effect on the Indian atmosphere and is calculated to excite the religious feelings of Muhammadans and destroy allegiance of the Indians to Government.

9. Continuing, Mia Saheb Fejulbhai said that it is written in the *Koran* that God's disgrace is on him who is untruthful. Those that are present here will be able to judge for themselves how wrong it is for those that are giving out in England that there are very few interested in the Khilafat question. Thousands of meetings must have been held today in the whole country in the same way as Hindus and Mussalmans have met together here this evening to raise their combined voices. Mia Saheb subsequently narrated the necessity of the Holy places belonging to the Khilafat remaining under the sway of the Khalifa. He exhorted the people to trust and fear God. He added that their combined voices would reach England and the idea of expelling Turkey out of Europe would be abandoned.

10. Mr. Dayalji Nanubhai Desai in supporting the proposal made by Mia Saheb Fazulabhai Hamdani said that owing to the anti-Khilafat propaganda not only had the Muhammadans been annoyed but also the other Indian Communities. Till now there were none in India to express their true feelings and a great pretence of loyalty was made. There cannot be any conditional loyalty. The meeting today has passed resolutions from the innermost recess of its heart exactly in the same manner as Maulana Abdul Bari and Mr. Gandhi have spoken before, from their very hearts. Until now it was our belief that one was bound to be loyal to Government whatever his feelings might be. But it is not so in the 20th century. A king, whatever his caste might be, is bound to look upon his people as his children and administer impartial treatment to all without any distinction of caste or creed and then the people can be loyal to him. Continuing, he added that "we have given our plain ultimatum that they must learn to respect our feelings and wants if they wish us to be loyal". The Government must be informed that for a long time past a feeling of discontent has been rife in India. People say that nothing has been brought about by the Congress which is in existence for the past 34 years and nothing has been gained despite so much agitation against the Rowlatt Act. Though so much was done for Mr. Horniman, the Viceroy after consulting the Governor replied that it was not advisable to bring Horniman to India. What is to be done when the feelings of the people are not respected ? Will the frequent *hartals* and passing of resolutions have any effect ? Possibly these means might prove successful in Europe but not in India. Recourse to them will only lead people to death. Their object will not be achieved by hundreds of such deaths. Is India destined to pass its time in disappointment ? Will there never be Home Rule in India ? The people term the *satyagraha* (passive resistance) an impotent means, but its true meaning is not known to them. When the time comes the people must sever their connection with the Legislative Councils and Municipalities, and Government servants too must plainly say that as the question of Religion and self-respect is at stake they cannot serve Government any longer and are compelled also to advise those in the Army to give up the service.

11. Proceeding further he said that the president had just now stated that if the Sweepers and Bhangis were to refuse work the 30 councillors

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would not undertake to do their work. He would therefore say that if the people were to assume signs of mourning, the Sweepers and Bhangis to decline to work on the 6th proximo when the Governor is expected to arrive here and masses of the people were to approach the Governor and say that he has been hurting their feelings and they are therefore unable to work. His Excellency would wire from here to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State asking that Horniman be sent by the first available steamer. If the people's request is not heard they must cease to co-operate with the Government. If no share in the management of the country is allowed, the people can decline to pay taxes. Are all these means not efficacious ? He advised the people to come to the number of 30,000 instead of 15,000 like today on the 6th proximo to the Tilak Maidan. Government, he assured his audience, cannot do anything against the wishes of 31½ crores of people.

12. Mahomad Afzal Narmawala during his speech before the meeting said in plain terms that if the decision regarding the Khilafat question is arrived at against the interest of the Ottoman Empire and if the holy places belonging to it are taken away from it the Muhammadans will be compelled as commanded in the *Kuran* to take their own course. The result will be that the Mussalmans, according to the dictates of the *Kuran*, will be compelled to sacrifice their lives to protect the spiritual position of the Turkish Empire. Proceeding further Narmawala added, that when Turkey joined hands in the war with the Germans, Government gave Indians to understand that it was not a religious war and, on a promise being given that all the Holy places under Khilafat will be taken care of, the Mussalmans not only helped that Government with money but also by sacrificing their lives by fighting against the Turks. The Mussalmans helped the Government on this promise only. Subsequently Narmawala quoted certain stanzas from religious books and said that it was the duty of Mussalmans to protect the Holy places of Khilafat. No non-Muslim nation can remain in those countries. When such is the order of their Nabi the Muslems cannot but obey him. The Mussalmans are prepared to forego everything they have and save their Holy places at the cost of their lives.

13. At this stage the Mussalmans present there were so excited by listening to the passionate speech of the speaker that they all got up in a frenzied state of mind shouting *Amin, Alla-o-Akbar* etc., but immediately on being asked by others more composed to sit down they complied and the work of the meeting proceeded.

14. Hakim Mohmad Masud in supporting the resolution said that besides giving men and money during the war the Mussalmans gave money for the "Our Day" fund. We now give them an ultimatum that if the Government will not decide the Khilafat question according to our wishes we shall assist the Sultan of Turkey in the same manner as we helped them. He further said that the Khalifa is an honoured head of the Mussalmans. He added that "we are the believers in Alims and *Korans* and we are only waiting for them to command us."

16. The speeches delivered by Narmawala and Mohamad Hakim were inspiring and it was evident that the Mussalmans were greatly moved.

17. Maganlal Vidyarthi in a short speech said that this religious question of the Muhammadans was just and had the sympathy even of some of the Europeans.

18. In concluding this report the District Superintendent of Police wished to bring to notice that the feeling of discontent among the people

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was becoming more serious day by day, so that it was difficult to say where this subdued form of lawlessness would end in the absence of any counter-acting influences.

19. Continuing he reports : " There is a growing feeling in certain quarters that agitation of this description has the covert sympathy of certain Indian Government servants. Hardly is there anyone ready or willing to give information to the police and their difficult task is thus made doubly difficult. While the numbers of the discontented daily increases the police and other Government servants on whom the responsibility of keeping the Government informed of the undercurrents of Indian sentiment appear to become more and more helpless. It has been the practice of these hooligans invariably to make at the time of such meetings such references to Government officials as to excite mirth and ridicule amongst those present.

(*III*) *Surat, April 1st.*—The Police Sub-Inspector, Rander, reports that a meeting was convened in a Mandap near Chumarwad's Mosque under the presidentship of Moulvi Hafez Suleman bin Hafez Mohmad at 9-30 p.m. on 18th February 1920. There were about 1,000 Muhammadans and 150 Hindus present. The meeting was convened by the following persons and notices were circulated by them all. The notice was headed " (*786* ") (i.e., *Bismallah-o-Akbar*)[" A public meeting for the Khilafat ". A copy of this notice has been sent along with the confidential diary, dated 18th March 1920.] The names of the leaders are :—

(1) Ibrahim Mahomed Bham, B.A., President, the Young Mahomedan Brotherhood, (2) Hasam Ibrahim Modan, Honorary Secretary, (3) Mohmad Gulam Jiwa, (4) Yakub Esoof Murad, (5) Ibrahim Araf Asraf, (6) Hasam Ibrahim Khatib, (7) Mohmad Kasam Yakuballi, and (8) Mohmad Ahmad, Surti.

The notice was signed by these men and the people came to the meeting in obedience to these notices. The presidentship of the meeting was given to the Maulana Moulvi Hafez Suleman. He explained to the people the object of convening the present meeting. Its purport was that the British Government was intending to dismember the Turkish Empire. In 1914 the Government had said that this was not a religious war and therefore they would see that the claims of the Mussalmans' Holy places are looked after and therefore the Ottoman Empire must not be dismembered. In view of this pledge the Muhammadans of India helped the Government with men and money, showed their loyalty and have remained loyal till now, and therefore the Muhammadan appeal to the British Government not to come in the way of their Khilafat question. And if their request is not granted the feelings of the Moslems will be hurt and it will not be possible for the Indian Muhammadans to remain loyal to Government. Therefore, it was resolved that a wire to the above effect should be sent to the King-Emperor through the Viceroy. If the Khilafat were to be annihilated the Mussalmans would not remain quiet, nor would they allow the Government to remain at ease, and would sacrifice their lives and property in its cause. Continuing, the Moulvi said " Oh! Muslims in the event your Khilafat being lost " your fate will be like that of a football which is kicked about here and there.

Subsequently, Ibrahim Mahomed, B.A., got up to speak. He said that the British Government was contemplating the annihilation of the Khilafat

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by dismembering Turkey. This was against their religion. It was therefore, their request that Bagdad, Busrah, and such other Holy places must remain under the sway of the Turkish Empire, and therefore it was resolved that a wire to this effect must be sent to the King-Emperor through the Viceroy. Also a request to Government to extend the amnesty to Maulana Maulvi Mohmad Hussein, who was an old man of 70 years and who was being kept under surveillance in Malta. This resolution was passed and accepted unanimously.

Subsequently, Moulvi Amir Muhammad and Munshi Umarkhan, private servants in the Pipardi Madresa, and one Ibrahim Araf Asraf recited certain verses in Urdu and Persian.

One of the verses recited by Ibrahim Araf Asraf is as under :—

" How long will you slumber ; there is no time to be lost in indolence ".

Afterwards Persian verses were recited by Yakub Usag Murad, Ismail Isaf Poo, Ajij Ahmed Munshi of the Muhammadia Madresa and Ismail Bangi Pal. Their purport was that the Khilafat will remain intact by the Grace of God and must remain so. Subsequently, one Jangadsha, and old man who is a teacher in the Muhammadia Madresa, delivered a speech. He recited in the beginning the Ayat from Kuran Sharif and said that even great kings like Ravan were defeated by mere monkeys for interfering in a religious matter. If, therefore, anyone interfered with Islam the Muhammadans would rather be masscared, than forego the Khilafat. He was immediately made to sit down by the President. The President said that the Hindus would unite with them forgetting what had happened in the past. Continuing, he advised them to observe a strike (hartal) next day as it was the command of Ulemas that they should do so, but added that no force was to be used.

The purport of the whole speech was that if the Government came in the way of their Khilafat question, Mussalmans would not remain loyal. In conclusion, the President prayed that the Khilafat might be preserved.

There was a complete *hartal* on the 19th. The mutton and fish markets and vegetables shops were closed and the drivers of public conveyances were also on strike. About 25 shops, including those of malis, milkmen, teashops etc., remained open.

(IV) West Khandesh, March 27th.—On Hartal day business was suspended and prayer offered in the Jumma Masjid at Shahada. About 150 persons attended including pleader Parashotam Waman Pandit and a Marwadi, Bhaktawarmal. After prayers, the first named person explained to those present the meaning of hartal, exhorted them to pray for Turkey, and said that hartal was the best way to gain their object. The Kaji Saheb (Abdul Kadir) also spoke and sent a telegram to the Viceroy.

Other Station House reports show that no hartal was observed.

The Sub-Inspector, Dhulia, reports that telegrams were despatched to His Excellency the Viceroy.

No Government servants took part in this affair, so far as is known.

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(*V*) *East Khandesh, March 21st.*—The District Magistrate writes: "In continuation of weekly letter, the following is the extent to which the 'Caliphate hartal' propaganda succeeded in Jalgaon.

"Seven petty shops in the "Bidi" bazaar were closed. All the large Bohori and Kuchi shops remained open. Prayer was held in the Jumma Masjid, at which 250 Muhammadans attended—of these 161, I believe, were millhands.

"I am informed that two or three days before the date fixed, posters in English, Urdu and Hindi were sent by post from Calcutta, and were distributed by the postman to two or three persons in the town, of whom one is Krishnalal Kripalal Kshatriya of the Mulji Jetha Mill. This man got a number of posters put up in the town, and, I take it, that the participation of millhands was due to him.

"The purport of the prayer at the Masjid was for the maintenance of Tukey's rule over Arabia and the 'Holy places' and assistance from the British Government to the Sultan at this juncture. I am told that a telegram to this effect has been sent to Government by a man called Amiruddin Sheikhchand, a cycle-repairer.

"It is noticeable that the most active agent was a Hindu. The Moulvi to whom telegraphic instructions were sent from Calcutta handed the telegram over to me immediately, as I reported before the attitude of respectable Muhammadan in Bhusawal has been reported.

"The Jalgaon hartal was obviously a failure, though, I dare say, it will be called a success".

(*VI*) *Nasik, March 29.*—One Sayyid Muhammad Walad Sayyid Yadya, Arab of Medina, arrived in Malegaon on the 18th instant from Manmad and put up in the Jumma Masjid. He stated that he had been travelling in India for the last three years. On the 19th instant, after Friday prayers, he addressed an audience of about 300 people in the Jumma Masjid as follows :—

A great peril overshadows the Turkish nation and, therefore, it is the duty of all Muhammadans to help her with men, money and personal effort. I have given my four children for this purpose. We should all wish for the welfare of the Turkish nation.

On his advice, one Shekumiyan Dadamiyan and Sonu Govind Shimpi collected subscriptions from the audience which amounted to Rs. 25. Both of these men wore red and green belts with a crescent and the words: "Chanda Caliphate Fund".

On the 19th, with a few exceptions, the shops remained open and business was carried on as usual. Nothing was done in the other seven Masjids.

On the same day (the 19th) one Ayub Walad Abdul Kadri Momin of Malegaon went into the bazaar in the morning and exhorted the dealers (Momins) in saris not to sell anything as it was hartal day. The dealers told him that they were poor people and if they stopped their sales they would starve. However, if they were given money for their maintenance for that day, they would stop their sales; but Ayub walked away and the business in saris went on as usual.

On the 20th and 21st instant, Sayyid Muhammad Walad Sayyid Yadya, Arab, delivered sermons at night, one in Nawapura and the other in Bhirwada, at Walegaon, to an audience of 300 and 150 persons, respectively.

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At the former he said that in the days of the great Paigambars, great battles were fought for the sake of their religion. They should, therefore, try to help the religion with money. Subscriptions amounting of Rs. 35-8-0 were collected amongst the audience and handed over to the Moulvi. At the latter meeting he said that the Muhammadan religion in Arabia was in danger, about which the Muhammadans in India were totally ignorant. They should wake up and see what was going on and render help with money. Rs. 25-6-3 was collected and handed over to the Moulvi. He left for Manmad on the 22nd idem.

A telegram was sent by one Shaban walad Bhikan Munshi to His Excellency the Viceroy announcing the establishment of a Caliphate institution at Malegaon.

At Yeola, on the 19th instant, about 700 or 800 Muhammadans collected at Vali's Idgah for Friday prayers. Moulvi Ahmadullah Masumsahib read out to the audience various placards and explained their meaning and exhorted them to observe the *Hartal*. He said that at the commencement of the war, the British Government had made promises that under no circumstances would the religious right of the Muhammadan be interfered with, and yet it seemed that efforts are now being made to drive the Turks out of Europe. He proposed to send a protest telegram to the Viceroy against interference with the Caliphate.

After the above speaker rose one Vikramsingh Baldeosingh Delhiwala confectioner by profession and an Arya Samajist. He supported the Moulvi and regreted he was the only Hindu present. He reminded them of an act of Shivaji's when one of his Generals who was entrusted with the protection of a certain helpless widow made immoral overtures to her, pointing to his sword in case of non-compliance on her part and how just at that moment Shivaji happened to come, saved the woman and punished the General warning him that the sword was not meant to be flourished against the poor and the helpless. He further reminded the assembly of the words of Mahatma Gandhi spoken at Benares that he would even offer his head in the interests of the Caliphate question.

Then Moulvi Ahmadullah rose again to say that it was a religious question and was as dear to the hearts of the Muhammadans as a wife is to her husband. It was also resolved to close the shops. After this the assembly dispersed.

It seems that the printed advertisements were received at the eleventh hour by post by the above named Vikramsingh and handed over by him to one Nur Muhammad Muhammadadi Shah.

The resolution about closing the shops was not adhered to in practice.

Except Vikramsingh who, though settled in Yeola for some years is originally from Delhi, no Hindu was in evidence either on the stage or off it, and the idea of the meeting seems to have begun only with the arrival by post of the printed notices in Urdu.

(*VII*) *Dharwar, March 26th.*—Caliphate Day was observed mostly by outside Muhammadans, such as Bohras, Kathiwaris and Labbais (skin merchants) in Hubli. About 30 in number closed their business for the day. A public notice signed by 26 local Hindus and Muhammadans was issued inviting the public to attend a meeting. In these printed notices a request was

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made to stop all business and meet in the Karnatic Factory at 4 p.m. to support a great cause. Those who signed the notice were present at the meeting and there were a few more insignificant people of the town. No Government officers were present except those who were there on duty. The Hindu audience consisted of pleaders, doctors and other Home Rulers Abdul Rahiman Saheb, Pesh Imam, was voted to the chair. He is a teacher in the Railway Anjuman School. There were no speeches. The Bombay Caliphate Committee's Resolution was passed. The audience was about 200, excluding about 600 strikers who were assembling there to hold their usual strike meeting. There were no special prayers in the Jumma Masjid at the mid-day prayer on Friday, but there was an item in the evening prayer.

Hartal notices were received from the following places :—

From Belgaum in Marathi ; Bombay in Marathi and Urdu ; Amritsar in Urdu, and Madras in Urdu.

The purport of these notices was that a fast should be observed, shops should be closed, all business stopped, alms given to the poor, special prayers offered and a meeting held in the evening to send a wire to Government that Muhammadans would be displeased if Turkey were deprived of her rights as a Kingdom.

In Dharwar the only shop that was closed on Hartal day was that of a merchant named Syed Saheb Juneshaheb Jawali who deals in coconuts. No meeting was held.

(*VIII*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, April 8th.*—The Superintendent of Police, Ratnagiri, reports that all shops were closed in Ratnagiri on the 19th March though business as usual was carried on through the back doors in a great many instances. No meetings were held. Malwan was the only other place in the district where the hartal was observed. There, in the afternoon, some 100 Hindus and 50 Muhammadans met at the local mosque when an address was delivered by Wasudev Pundalik Savant, a tea-shop proprietor. A few others also spoke. Nothing objectionable was noted in the speeches.

(*IX*) *Kanara, March 22nd.*—On the 19th all Muhammadan shops were closed in Karwar in the morning and also some Hindu shops, but no demonstration took place. The town was placarded with posters received by one Abdul Karim Sheik Haidar, a local tin-smith and a man of no importance or standing. The posters probably came from Lahore since this Abdul Karim is a subscriber to some Urdu Lahore Newspaper.

The District Magistrate remarks : "Shops were closed also at Bhatkal and Sirsi. After the usual prayers on Friday, the 19th, at the Mosque at Halyal, a printed manifesto from Calcutta was read out and a telegram sent to Government asking that the Holy places might remain in charge of the Caliph.

(*X*) *Kanara March 28th.*—No shops were closed on Hartal day in Halyal, but about 20 Muhammadans collected at the Jumma Masjid where one Lad Ahmad walad Mirasab, merchant, read out a poster received by Abdul Kadir walad Abdul Karim, merchant, of Halyal.

In Sirsi, 78 shops were closed till 3 p.m. 55 owned by Hindus, 19 by Muhammadans and 4 by Christians.

In Bhatkal all shops (Hindu and Muhammadan) were closed all day.

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Vide paragraph 494.—*C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, April 8th.*—On the 19th March Government warned the editor of the *Muslim Herald* of the highly dangerous character of the publication of certain of the resolutions passed at the Calcutta Khilafat Conference which appeared in its issue of the 8th March 1920.

Caliphate and Turkish Empire: Muhammadan feeling in regard to—

(*a*) *S. B., Sind Karachi, April 9th.*—On the 2nd instant, Sardar Mehrab Khan Bugti arrived in Sukkur from Jecobabad and enquired from the Muslim League Volunteers whether Dr. Iqbal, Zafarali Khan, Dr. Kitchlew or Shaukatali had arrived. He was told that none of these had arrived and that only Zafarali was expected to come later on. Sardar Mehrab Khan thereupon left for Sehwan. On the 4th instant, he arrived back in Sukkur from Sehwan and put up in the waiting room. Next morning he witnessed the arrival of Zafarali Khan and the procession formed. He conversed with Sardar Ali Shah, Municipal Councillor of Sukkur, Taj Mahomed, Sub-Editor of the Al-haq, Muhammad Seleh (dismissed Sub-Inspector of Police and Captain of Volunteers), and other persons on the political situation. On the 5th instant, he left for Jecobabad by the morning train.

(*b*) *Thar and Parkar, March 25th.*—The Sub-Inspector, Jamesabad, reports that Haji Mahomed, Zamindar of Kachelo, speaking to him alone on the 19th instant, gave out that the Mussalmans in the Punjab would declare war that day and that the end of English rule had come and Government servants would resign their posts and be ready to assist. He spoke with great bitterness and hatred of the English.

(*c*) *Upper Sind Frontier, April 6th.*—Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Thul wired to Moulvi Abdul Gafur of Jacobabad: "Wire you arranged *yam* Khilafat or not". I do not know whether the word "*yam*" is a code-word or the result of bad writing.

Moulvi Abdul Gafur wired to Abdul Khalik.—"Reach here this evening positively".

Perhaps Abdul Khalik was called in when Moulvi Taj Muhammad decided not to come.

The threatening resolution about severing loyal connection with Government was passed at the meeting held at Thul and wired to the private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Moulvi Taj Muhammad is reported to intend going on a preaching mission to Quetta and Sibi as soon as the Muslim League and Provincial Congress at Sukkur are over.

(*d*) *Hyderabad, March 30th.*—A Caliphate Conference was held at Matiari on the 21st instant in the Jumma Masjid, about 300 people attending from various parts of Sind. Haji Abdullah Haroon was elected President but was unable to attend and Sayyid Assadullah Shah of Tikkur was voted to the chair instead.

On the 20th instant Dr. Sheikh Nur Muhammad, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Pir Imamaldin, son of the Jhandewalla Pir, Sayyid Anwar Shah of Larkana, Sayyid Ali Akbar Shah of Sukkur and many others arrived at Alladino Sand Railway Station. They were met by members of the Reception Committee. A procession of camels was formed and the party proceeded to Matiari.

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Proceedings opened at the Jumma Masjid on the 21st at 3 p.m. with reading of extracts from the *Koran* by Hafiz Khan Muhammad and Hafiz Muhammad Saleh. Syed Assadullah Shah was then voted to the chair.

Sheikh Abdul Majid then moved the first resolution, which condemned the action of the District Magistrates of Hyderabad, Karachi and Sukkur in issuing to prominent agitators notices under section 2, B. D. P. Act.

The notices, the speaker said, forbade incitement to *Jehad*. This was interference in religious matters and could not be brooked. Therefore, the notices should be disregarded. Further, the meeting should warn Government that if the Holy places were not freed from the custody of heretics, the Muslims would be compelled to look upon it as tyrannical and unjust, and would boycott all goods of foreign manufacture.

Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Dr. Nur Muhammad, Fazal Amminudin N. Munshi and Maulvi Mokhamdin of Jamesabad spoke on the next resolutions, which were—

(*a*) that as the British Government was attempting to weaken the power of the Khilfa-tul-Momeneen and to tamper with Islam, all Muhammadans should gradually sever connection with the British as had been decided by the All-India Caliphate Committee ;

(*b*) that the meeting expressed its regret at the failure of Government to release from internment Maulana Mahmad Hassan ;

(*c*) that this meeting prays for generous subscriptions to the Caliphate Fund ;

(*d*) that civil criminal cases should not be referred to Government Courts, but should be settled privately ;

(*e*) that the Pirs and leaders present should obtain from their followers undertakings that they would ostracise all Muhammadans who would not join the Caliphate movement ;

(f) that posters and pamphlets should be issued urging Muhammadans to refrain from violence and to rely on the efficacy of prayer.

The following persons then announced their intention of surrendering all the honours they held from Government :—

Haji Muhammad Shah resigned his Chair and Honorary Magistrate's post.

Haji Muhammad Mazalin Shah	....	Chair.
Sayyid Fazal Ali Shah	...	Chair.
Moledino Shah	...	Chair.
Akhund Hassan Ali	...	Chair.
Akund Nur Muhammad	...	Honorary Magistrate's post.
Sayyid Haji Ali Asgar Shah	...	Chair.
Sayyid Anialsabdin Shah	...	Chair.
Sayyid Allahbax Shah	...	Chair.

Collections were then made for the Caliphate Fund and, thereafter, Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sarhandi read out a pamphlet he has recently published to the effect that true Muslim sacrificed everything for their Prophet, their Holy places and their religion.

Notices were then distributed to the effect that those who had made no other arrangements could get their food at the Dargah of Pir Gulam Mujadid Sarhandi, and the meeting dispersed.

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A Caliphate meeting was held at Hala on the 22nd instant and was attended by about 125 persons including the leading Kazis and Sayyids of the town. The Makdum Sahib did not attend. Speeches were made by Maulvi Muhammad Ahmed of Old Hala, Mullah Muhammad of New Hala, Pir Ghulam Hussein, Ghulam Mohiudin, Kazi Muhammad Ashraf, two sons of the Jhandewalla Pir, and Fatteh Ali Shah.

The speakers called on the audience to pray that the power of the Caliph should not be diminished and that the Holy places should be left in his custody. Kazi Muhammad Ashraf and a Punjabi Maulvi, who accompanied the sons of the Jhandewalla Pir, advocated the boycott of British goods, the private decision of civil and criminal cases and the gradual severance of connection with the British.

The Sub-Inspector, Tando Jam, reports that Pir Mahbub Shah of Matli, brother of the Jhandewalla Pir, visited his followers at Tando Kaiser on the 23rd and 24th March and collected Rs. 500 from them for the Caliphate Fund. The Murids were told that the money was required to make preparations for a war against the Government, and that the Pir Pagaro and Jhandewalla Pir had promised to provide the men.

The District Magistrate, commenting on the Caliphate propaganda in Hyderabad, writes: "The disloyalty amongst Pirs, Sayyids and Mullahs is spreading. As meetings are generally held in mosques or idgahs in small town, they cannot be controlled. The extremists, like Dr. Shaikh Nur Muhammad and Shaikh Abdul Majid, are giving up propaganda in Hyderabad for small towns and are working through Pirs, Sayyids and Mullahs.

The Muhammadan Police, in my opinion, would not take any active steps against pirs, sayyids and mullahs whom they fear and respect.

Hence, I think, the Caliphate agitation has entered on a more dangerous phase."

(*d*) *Larkana, April 4th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "Just at present there is lull in the outward activities of the so-called "Khilafat" agitation in this district which has now become frankly Pan-Islamic. The dangerous practice of sending emissaries from Hyderabad and elsewhere to religious fairs and gathering, there to deliver fiery speeches reciting all kinds of lies and invented "British atrocities" in the Moslem Holy places and exhorting to *Jehad*, has now been adopted as the main part of their programme here by the pro-Turkish extremists.

Barring a small faction in Larkana town and the immediate following of Pir Turabali Shah in Kambar, the main centres of disturbance are just now to be found in Dadu and Sehwan talukas.

(*e*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 10th.*—An officer was deputed to watch Haji Ahmed of Mullan Goth, Larkana district, and to go after him and hear his lectures. On the 5th April he delivered lectures at six various times, *viz.*—

(1) Near Mulchand's bangalow,
(2) Mosque near Conference pandal,
(3) in the same mosque after two hours,
(4) at the Moslem League,
(5) at the Moslem League,
(6) at the Moslem League,

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Near Mulchand's bungalow he said that all Muhammadans should be ready to fight with Englishmen. They should not think that they were few in number. Anwar Pasha, the Bolsheviks and Pathans were coming to help them.

In the Mosque he said: "Pray for Caliphate. Government servants should resign their appointments; and Government treasuries should be looted. Dismantle railways and destroy Government buildings. God will ruin those who want to ruin the Caliphate". Again, in the Mosque, he said: "Do Jehad and God will help you.".

In the Moslem League he said: "Have faith in God; with His grace we shall beat the Kaffirs with shoes. Have faith in God, the same God who had Namrud destroyed by mosquitoes. Jehad is compulsory for us."

At the close of the meeting he again got up and said: "The plea that you have not got guns and arms will not be accepted by God. Do Jehad. It is compulsory. Collect stones, etc."

(*f*) *Karachi, April 7th.*—The Inspector of Police, Sujawal, reports: There was a hartal on the 19th ultimo at Bunno, Bathoro taluka. Moulvi Muhammad Yusif of Bunno delivered waiz and some money was collected for the Caliphate Committee.

After leaving Sujawal, Moulvi Hamidullah and Moulvi Ali Muhammad went to the village of Gahi Khan, Sujawal taluka; from there Ali Muhammad went back to his village. Hamidullah with his son, Muhammad Nur, went to the village of Samma, Sujawal taluka, as they were invited by Moulvi Muhammad of Samma. On the 24th March they left for their native place. Akbar and Moulvi Yar Muhammad were also with Hamidullah. Akbar has since returned to Sujawal. Yar Muhammad came last night to the Shah Yakib Fair. On the 28th ultimo, I came to know confidentially that Yar Muhammad and others would deliver a lecture at the Fair and thereby incite people. At this Fair, where 10,000 or 12,000 people have gathered such a proceeding would probably have caused a breach of the peace. The matter was reported to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, who, after recording my statement, issued notices to Dr. Akbar, Hamidullah, Ali Muhammad, Yar Muhammad and Fateh Ali Jatoi, under section 42 of the Bombay District Police Act, ordering these men not to deliver any lecture during the period of the Fair. The notices had the desired effect and no lectures were delivered.

(*g*) *Karachi, April 10th.*—At the meeting on the 9th on the Idgah, resolutions from Gandhi regarding the withdrawal of co-operation with Government were to be passed. Three political bodies have decided to stand aloof from this movement. These are the All-India Home Rule League, the National Home Rule League and the District Congress Committee. It is also said that they have served a notice on the Indian Home Rule League and the Moslem League saying that they will not co-operate with them in passing the resolutions. So the meeting will be held solely under the auspices of the Indian Home Rule League and the Moslem League. Professor Wasvani will preside. It is interesting to note that it was found very difficult to find a president for this meeting and Wasvani accepted the presidentship after much hesitation. The All-India Home Rule League decided by a majority not to co- operate in the movement. It is believed that Durgadas B. Advani will attend the meeting. Haji Abdulla Haroon has asked whether as a true Mahomedan he would be in favour of the meeting. He too was rather nervous, but after all he said that he was in

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sympathy with the resolution from Gandhi and that he would attend the meeting, but that he would not preside. The hand-bills will, I believe, be issued over the signature of M. J. Vyas and A. H. Mahomed.

A public meeting was held last evening to pass Gandhi's resolution regarding the Khilafat. Professor P. L. Wasvani presided. About 1,000 persons were present. Only one of the C.I.D. reporters was able to take good notes. The meeting was in the open and for the most part in semidarkness owing to poor lighting (another method to embarrass the Police ?). Wasvani opened with a long speech in which he referred to the treaties and negotiations between Turkey and the European Powers, whose object was to dismember the Ottoman Empire on the pretext of protecting the rights of people within the Turkish Dominion. He declared that there will be trouble in Asia Minor, and Indian troops will again be expected to fight. The expenditure from Indian revenues will be enormous. He advised non-co-operation with Government. He defined this as refusing help to Government resigning titles, honours and appointments. It must exclude rioting, etc. He asked the audience if they were prepared to undergo hardships and they cried "Yes". He was very pleased that sacrifice of cows had been abandoned, but God now required a sacrifice of another kind — of honours, titles, appointments and of the body itself. This was non-co-operation. This fire should be in every heart. The birth of Hindu-Moslem unity demanded this new sacrifice. If the people were prepared to make this sacrifice, then surely the flag of Islam would wave triumphantly over the temptations and Christ of Europe.

Narsinglal said that, so far as he could see, peace did not exist. Germany was rising against them, the Bolsheviks on another side, Enver Pasha with the Tartars on a third side. If it so happened that the war broke out again, was it their intention again, to assist Government ? (Cries of "No ! No !") It was Gandhi's forethought, Bolsheviks being on the borders of Afghanistan, that Government should know that co-operation would be refused, so that they (Government) would see exactly where they stood.

Amersen, Haji Abdulla Haroon, Aminuddin, late Honorary Magistrate of Hyderabad, Manilal J. Vyas and Mahomed Khan strongly advised non-co-operation with the Government and sacrifice. Gandhi's resolution was passed.

(*h*) *Karachi, April 6th.*—The Civil Intelligence Officer writes: "It has been reported that Maulvi Faiz Muhammad, who delivered disloyal speeches at the Larkana Conference in February and at the Caliphate meeting at Sann on the 17th March, has recently been touring in the Tando Allahyar taluka of Hyderabad district, and making objectionable speeches. In particular, it is said that on the night of the 31st March, speaking in the Jumma Masjid at Tando Allahyar, he openly advised his audience to embarrass Government by destroying the telegraph lines, tearing up rails and damaging the roads. In this way, he said, communication would be interrupted. He was said to be leaving Allahyar on the 1st April for Hasarpur in the same taluka.

The Al Amin of the 29th March announces the following forthcoming Caliphate meetings :—

(1) At Ahmadpur in Bhawalpur State on the 9th April 1920. Full information is to be had from Moulvi Abdul Latif of Ahmadpur.

(2) A meeting on the 17th April 1920 at Kalandarshah Fair at Sehwan, Larkana District. The note about the latter is signed by one Fakruddin walad Basruddin Seistani, Kazi Mohallah.

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Reports received so far from the Sukkur Provincial Conference and at the Sind Muslim League's meeting held in Sukkur during the Easter holidays show that both have been marked by strong hostility to Government though the Hindu extremists were unwilling to go to the length advocated by the Caliphate agitators. One of the proposals of the latter was to collect money to advance to policemen and soldiers on their resigning their appointments. This is said to have been opposed by Jethmal Parasram and Dr. Choitram P. Gidvani.

Before the opening meeting of the Sind Muslim League, while the audience was awaiting the arrival of the President, Haji Ahmad the irrespressible mullah whose unbridled utterances were among the most salient features of the Caliphate Conferences of Hyderabad in December last and Larkana in February — got up and said that the laws forbade him to expound the Koran Shariff, but he must do his religious duty. Taj Muhammad Mir Muhammad, sub-editor of the Al-Haq of Sukkur, and General Secretary of the Conference, endeavoured to silence Haji Ahmad, but some of the audience took his part saying that Taj Muhammad was very fond of listening to the Sheitans and Hindus, but he was refusing to listen to the holy Koran. After this Haji Ahmad from his seat was heard to say: "Once we were powerful and now Anwar Pasha will soon come and we shall put ropes on the legs of Nabi Bax and his friends and drag them along the ground". It seems probable that there is a widespread belief among the peasantry that Anwar Pasha will shortly invade India, it seems equally likely that the wire-pullers consider it inconvenient for the crude ideas of the mob to the voiced informal meetings like that of the Sind Muslim League, which they know are attended by Government reporters.

As was to be expected, the most extreme speaker of those taking formal part in the Sind Muslim League Conference was Dr. Nur Muhammad. He said, in the course of his speech, that the question of whether they were to sever all connections with Government was one for the whole of India to decide, but he, for his part, said that they should sever all connections and that they should consider it "*haram*" to look on the face of any Englishman. If the Central Caliphate decided that connection with Government should be severed, police and soldiers would have to resign so as not to draw swords against their own brothers. Muhammadans had conquered Mecca, Medina, Kerballa and Jerusalem for the British and their reward was that notices were issued prohibiting them for saying a single word.

It is reported that in the Subjects Committee of the Sind Provincial Conference, on a Motion to accord a welcome to the Prince of Wales, 31 voted for and 31 voted against the motion. The casting vote lay with the President, Haji Abdulla Haroon, and he gave it against the Motion.

(*i*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, April 12th.*—On the 18th February at Mastan Tank, Bombay, Muhammad Haji Jan Muhammad Chhotani presided over a public meeting, mostly of Muhammadans, convened for the purpose of bringing together the people of Bombay and the delegates to the 3rd All-India Caliphate Conference which had taken place on the 15th, 16th and 17th February.

About 1,000 attended, of whom the most prominent Hindus were Dr. M. B. Velkar and N. D. Savarkar, A. B. Kolhatkar of the *Sandesh* and Nanabhai D. Upadhiya, and with the exception of the last named all the speakers spoke in Urdu.

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The proceedings were opened by Badruddin Abdulla Koor, who read out the resolutions passed in the recent Caliphate Conference. He was followed by Sayyid Muhammad Dawood Gaznavi (Amritsar). He said that Hindus and Muhammadans were united on the Caliphate question. The Government of India had consigned all the resolutions of previous Caliphate meetings to the wastepaper basket and so Indians now look to the people in England, and he hoped that the matter would receive sympathetic consideration, though up to them the omens had not been favourable witness the Reuter telegram announcing that the Caliphate had been entrusted to others. They must, however, continue to hope and to make it quite clear to the people in England that they would not budge from the position they had taken up. From his own private information he was inclined to doubt the statements that had appeared in the press and so he bade them hope. A very grave mistake would be committed were the Holy places to be given to the Sheriff of Arabia and a portion of the Turkish Empire (SYRIA) to France, as indicated in the papers. This Sheriff is quite incompetent and inferior to the Sheriffs of Mecca and Medina, who next to the Sultan have greater claim to the right of preserving the Holy places.

He then referred to Mr. Lloyd George's New Year Message which was nothing more than menace to Islam, and Muhammadans could no more forget what Christianity meant to do against Islam than they could what had happened at Amritsar and Delhi. Did Mr. Lloyd George and the English think that they could substitute Christianity for the religion of the Muhammadans by such means, oblivious of the great obligations under which they had been placed by Muhammadans during the war? He honestly thought that the latter had made a mistake when they came forward to the help of the British. They had in fact, cut the throats of their fellow-Muhammadans and had led to the overrunning of Constantinople by foreigners. The ingratitude of the British, as shown by their actions since the war, would remain unforgotten as a slur upon them.

What then could Muhammadans do? He could only urge what he had meant to urge in the Caliphate Conference, but that he was prevented by the President, namely, that all the resolutions passed should be given practical effect to. They would remember, for instance, that the first resolution passed by the Sind Caliphate Conference was to the effect that no Mussalman should join the Army as long as this question remained unsatisfactorily unsolved. No recruits should be supplied. (At this stage the speaker was called to order by the President. Someone here explained that the speaker belonged to the Caliphate party in Amritsar.).

Maulana Abdul Majid Badayuni then rose and remarked that he had already spoken at length in a previous meeting that afternoon so that he would content himself on this occasion with saying that so long as the Caliphate question remained unsettled, Muhammadans would not be satisfied. As true Mussalmans, they should remember the injunction of the *Koran* to speak the truth. Turkey was passing into slavery and God above was watching to see what they were going to do to help her, as she had always helped them. They would not lose by doing so. If they refrained from assisting and allowed the Caliphate to be wrested from Turkey, their prosperity would pass away. Let them sacrifice their lives if need be; but at all costs preserve their religion. Better to lose life than self-respect. He concluded with a prayer that God might help them and give them strength to fight.

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Dr. Kitchelew, who followed, amidst loud cries of *Allah-o-Akbar*, spoke as follows :—

All that was necessary on the Caliphate question had been said and understood. The time had now come to act with cool heads and quiet hearts, lest their motives be suspected. They were discussing a religious question, viz., how they should protect their religion, and the charge that was being levelled against them, to the effect that they were dragging in politics, was false. They were out to protect one of their religious institutions, not to revolt or cause a disturbance either in India or outside it.

The Turkish question was by no means a new one. Mr. Gladstone had once declared himself in favour of ousting Turkey from Europe. On the other hand, Mussalamans wanted England to cultivate friendship with Turkey.

At one time this had been the British policy, but only because Russia was powerful and wanted an outled through the Dardanelles. Since Russia had collapsed, the need for keeping Turkey there had no longer appealed to the British and their Allies ; hence the revival of the cry that Turkey should be banished to Baghdad and the Dardanelles come under British control.

Leading English statesmen have come to regard Pan-Islamism as a danger, but they do not understand that this term merely means that the Jarirat-ul-Arab and other Holy places should remain under Mussalman control. That is so, cost what it may in lives and money. The Mussalman wants to remain loyal to the British, but in a matter of religion like this he must obey the order of God, and be prepared to sacrifice even his life. So far they had contented themselves with holding meetings, passing resolutions, sending deputations and collecting money ; but from this it must not be argued that they can do nothing but talk that they have no strength. In all purely political matters they were ready to be obedient and loyal, but only while their religion was not affected, and it was for the purpose of putting this point of view before the King-Emperor that a Deputation had already gone to England.

The time for sitting quiet had passed, but they must remain cool, and above all, do as their leaders bid them. Some indication of what was required of them had already been given in the Conference the previous day when resolutions had been passed asking the Central Caliphate Committee to give practical effect to the other resolutions. They must obey their leaders implicitly, cost what it might. If a *hartal* was decided upon, they must observe it though, put to pecuniary loss. If called upon to boycott the Army, they must do so.

Again, if the Central Caliphate Committee did not do its work, they must force it to do so.

Bombay had shown its zeal by promising 11 lakhs. There were many rich men in the city who could contribute such a sum themselves, but this would not be in keeping with the religious and universal character of the Caliphate question. It was essential that all should contribute and take a share in the agitation.

Moulvi Safaralli Khan then spoke rather diffusively. He explained that the object of the meeting was to acquaint Government with their views. They wanted Constantinople to remain with Turkey, as it is the seat of the Caliphate and its loss would mean a blow to their prestige. The Armenian atrocities, of which much had appeared in the press, had been ascribed to

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the Turks, but he suspected bonafides of the Writers who were not disinterested and declined to believe the allegations were true.

He then eulogised the average Turk comparing him with the average Christian, greatly to the latter's disadvantage, and, in support of this statement, read extracts from papers he had come across while interned.

In matters not touching their religion, Muhammadans delighted in being loyal to their rulers, but they must not be asked to act, or to consent to acts, contrary to their religion.

Lala Bansidhar, speaking next, dwelt on Hindu-Mussalman unity in all large matters affecting them as a whole and quoted from legends of the Koravas and Pandavas who, though they quarrelled among themselves, always united against a common enemy.

(In the middle of his speech the President, announcing that he felt indisposed, left the meeting, Maulana Dawood taking his place.)

Continuing, the speaker dwelt on true and false loyalty the latter being mere sycophancy and called on the audience to be honest and let Government know their true feelings.

Abdul Hussein Zangaria in a short speech advocated the collection of funds from every house and hut throughout the country.

Maulana Fakirsaheb said that as there were true Mussalmans in the world, their religion would be safe. They must never be disloyal to God. They must not sit quiet but make it clear that they disapproved of the Sultan of Arabia.

Maulvi Ahmad Meerutwalla (or Delhiwalla), after a song, said a few words urging the audience to carry into effect all the resolutions passed.

Nanabhai D. Upadhiya then spoke advising trust in Mr. Lloyd George, whom they had jointly asked to solve the question in a sympathetic and favourable manner. He then advocated *Swadeshi*.

Malik Lal Khan Gujranvalla, Haji Muhammad Namar (Cawnpore), Muhammad Abdul Wahat Sharar and Ahmed Haji Siddik Khatri sang songs and made short speeches.

Fateh Muhammad Maniar announced that Lala Lajpatrai was expected next day and hoped that the audience would turn up to receive him at the Ballard Pier.

The meeting then dissolved.

(*f*) *Bombay, April 3rd.*—The following letter addressed to Shaukat Ali by M. H. Kidwai, Lucknow, on the 27th March 1920 has come to notice :—

"Your deputation has received a reply. Recall the deputation and do action. The difficulty is, you are in Bombay, I am in Lucknow, Abdul Kalam at Calcutta, Gandhi, I do not know where. From whom should this opinion be taken ? Please consult Gandhi and inform us at once. We have not yet seen the detailed scheme. Lloyd George's reply is the last and now we have to do what is necessary. My opinion is that each Province should work separately as India is very big and we cannot go everywhere. Let us first take the Punjab, and we all shall go there with

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Gandhiji and after a stay of four days let us see what we could do. I think it is better in the first place to refuse payment of tax. Gandhiji was right. Please inform me by telegram what is decided about taxes."

(*k*) *Bombay, April 17th.*—The following telegram dated the 24th March 1920, from Chhotani, Bombay, to (1) Maulana Abdul Bari, (2) Shaukat Ali and (3) Mahatma Gandhi, Delhi, has been noticed :—

"Jallianwalla Bagh appeal being issued. Aga Khan myself starting fresh funds for Asia Minor sufferers. Aga Khan contributes one lakh, myself 25,000, Abdulla bin Abdul Kader, 10,000 francs. Find capable honest workers to proceed Syria for relief work and disbursement."

(*l*) *Bombay, April 17th.*—The following telegram, dated the 8th April 1920, from Chhotani, Bombay, to (1) The Premier, (2) The Secretary of State for India, (3) The Daily Telegraph, and (4) The Moslem Outlook, London, has been noticed :—

"Shaikh ul Islam's deportation outrageous and confirms idea gaining ground among Moslems that Great Britain's policy is actuated by religious bigotry against Islam and therefore religious heads are humiliated, and Moslem patience is being exhausted by insults to Islam which they cherish more than their lives."

(*m*) *Bombay, April 12th.*—The following telegram dated the 8th April from Kidwai, Bombay, to Mahomed Ali, London, was noticed in the Censorship :—"Abul Kalam, myself, others including Ulama Cownpore Conference dissatisfied your interview with Asquith and Premier. Give greater importance to Thrace, Adrianople, Constantinople, Smyrna to save Moslem lives and Islam from annihilation as in Spain. Consult Ispahani, Ameer Ali. Wait arrival per tour to Paris, America."

(*n*) *Bombay, April 4th.*—The All-India Khilafat Committee called together to decide between the Shariat and the Penal Code commenced its deliberations on the 11th. The sitting lasted three days. Out of its 150 up-country members only about 20 came down for the meeting of whom Bengal and the United Provinces sent 4 each, the Central Provinces 3, the Punjab and Sind 2 each and Madras 1. The following literally-translated statement of business for disposal had previously been circulated to all members, those who could not attend being asked to forward by post their votes recorded against each item on the list :—

(*a*) To discuss the pros and cons of the demands put forward by our Khilafat deputation and the reply thereto given by the Prime Minister.

(*b*) To finally decide our future policy and to work in co-operation with our Hindu brethren.

(*c*) To decide upon sending the second batch of the Khilafat deputation to Europe.

(*d*) To elect delegates for deputation to the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Najd, Syria and Palestine in accordance with the decision arrived at during the Khilafat Conference, Bombay.

(*e*) To consider the resolutions passed upto date by the different Khilafat Committees.

(*f*) To make the following addition to the constitution of the Khilafat Committee, *viz.*, it will be incumbent on every Provincial Khilafat Conference to send an advance copy at least three days before the holding of the Conference giving the agenda and drafts of the resolutions to the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay.

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Only a few replies were received, most of them bitterly criticising the request for votes upon so absurd a series of propositions.

(2) After a long discussion the following business was done :—

(*a*) A rule was passed requiring every Committee (whether local or provincial) affiliated to the Central Khilafat Committee to obtain the latter body's premission before making any public appeal, or passing any resolution, inconsistent with the declared policy or repugnant to the known principles of the Central Committee.

(*b*) It was finally settled that the Second Khilafat Deputation of Europe, for which the C.I.D. have booked accommodation on a steamer sailing about the 20th April, should consist of the following persons :—

(1) Mishir Husain Kidwai,
(2) Honourable A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq of Calcutta,
(3) C. R. Dass, Bar-at-Law, of Calcutta,
(4) Chowdhury Rambhuj Dutt,
(5) Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew,
(6) Honourable Abdul Kasim of Burdwan, and
(7) Ali Nabi, Bar-at-Law, of Agra.

Abdul Kasim sails in advance of the rest of the party by the S. S. Loyalty today.

(*c*) Gandhi was requested to draft for the committee a reply to the Prime Minister's speech.

(*d*) The personnel of the proposed deputations to Mesopotamia, the Hedjaz Syria and Smyrna was selected by a special Committee appointed for the purpose. These nominations, of which I append a detailed list, are provisional only.

(*e*) It was decided that no action other than propaganda, should be taken for the present. This decision is believed to be due to Gandhi's strong recommendation that the ground shall be much more thoroughly prepared for the action contemplated. The period of postponement mentioned is two or three months ; which will give him time to take a deputation to London, spend a month there and return before the real business begins.

(*f*) It was decided that, when further action should become necessary, it should take the form of withdrawal from co-operation with the Government, step by step, in the order shown in the following plan which was drawn up by a special Committee of which Gandhi was the principal member :—

(1) All titles and honours to be relinquished.
(2) Resignations by members of Councils.
(3) Private servants to give up their jobs.
(4) Resignations of subordinate Government servants including the Police.
(5) Resignations of superior Government servants.
(6) Withdrawal of Mussalmans from the Army.
(7) Refusal to pay taxes.

(*g*) Appointment of a Committee of 11 to organise the forthcoming propaganda throughout India.

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(3) The plan of action thus officially adopted has its dangerous features, and if attempts are made to carry it out in its entirety, there is sure to be trouble. It is however a considerable improvement upon the extremist plan of campaign which, since the Calcutta Conference, has had the appearance of official sanction ; and indicates plainly the moderating influence which Bombay still wields. The talk of Jehad has passed. For the next two or three months, at least, action is to give place to propaganda, the nature of which remains to be seen, organised by a specially appointed Propaganda Sub-Committee of 11 (names as per list attached). Boycott has disappeared from the programme. Disloyal phraseology is officially barred, and the champions of violence are, for the time being, safely side-tracked. The new discussions, therefore, in spite of their worse features, represent a distinct gain for the party of moderation. Moreover, there is believed to be in the Khilafat Committee itself a considerable body of opinion which is strongly opposed to tampering with the Army and the Government services, and to any refusal to pay taxes. In this connection there has already been some talk of resignation. The chief local dissentients are Mirza A. M. Khan and Badruddin Koor, both Honorary Secretaries of the Committee ; Suleman Kasim Mitha ; Suleman Abdul Wahid ; Rahimtula Chinoy ; Sheriff Devji Kanji and Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri. The attitude of Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy is doubtful, though it was stated at the last meeting that both he and the Aga Khan were prepared to surrender their titles and decorations. Chhotani is said to have committed himself without reading it to the programme of non-co-operation above outlined, which was drafted by Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad and subsequently adopted by the meeting as the recommendation of a Sub-Committee of which Chhotani was head.

There is therefore some chance that the official programme may yet be purged of its more objectionable features. Apart from this it remains to be seen how far the extreme local faction will accept the limitations of that programme ; and to what extent the moderation of Bombay will influence the up-country campaign. In this connection the proceedings of the forth coming Madras Conference which Shaukat Ali and Abdul Bari are to attend will be especially significant. Meanwhile a strong re-action seems to have set in against the violence into which the agitation was being forced. It is rumoured that notwithstanding his public attitude Gandhi is afraid of possible violence and is beginning to hedge. Great efforts have been made to induce him to join the deputation to England, and at the meeting of the 9th, Shaukat Ali publicly announced that he would sail on the 20th. Gandhi however is stated to have declined to move till satisfactory guarantees are furnished, firstly, that in no circumstances will violence be permitted, and, secondly, that when the time arrives for action the threatened withdrawal of co-operation will be prompt and full. He is said to have made it a futher condition of his active participation that until the Peace Terms with Turkey are announced no action beyond propaganda shall be taken. When he is satisfied on these points, he is prepared to take to Europe a special deputation of his own consisting of six or seven members of whom Abul Kalam Azad will be one. Meanwhile he has addressed to the Viceroy the telegram, of which a copy is attached, declaring his readiness, if his Excellency approves, to lead such a deputation to England ; and asking for facilities for the journey. His anxiety to obtain the " permission and approval " of the Government of India is locally ascribed to a suspicion that once he leaves India he may otherwise not be allowed to return. He is also said to have drafted a Khilafat Non-co-operation Pledge on Satyagraha lines and to have presented it to the Committee for use in connection with its propaganda. Other evidence of the reaction is to be found

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in the following telegram from Bhurgri and Jairamdas, two Sindhi members of the Central Khilafat Committee, to Chhotani :—

"Unavoidably absent. My view already on paper in my letter seventh March to son. Please keep it before Committee. I feel Mahommedans are being recklessly driven to disaster. Press for Constitutional agitation Bhurgri."

"Not received notice of tomorrow's meeting Non-co-operation impracticable. Movement should remain within Constitutional limits. Urge postponement and reference of question as to best methods to joint meeting and All-India Congress Committee, Moslem League Council, Central Khilafat Committee.—Jairamdas."

A recent issue of the *Sanj Vartman* condemns the tendency manifested by advanced Muhammadans to unconstitutional agitation. In the same connection may be noted the attitude of Sir Sivaswami Iyer of Madras and of Lala Govardhan Das of Lahore; the reported dissension among the leaders in Bengal; the absence from the Bombay discussions of all references to boycott; the refusal of official countenance to violence or disloyalty; the measures taken by the Central Committee for more effective control of up-country Conferences and Committees; and the uncompromising hostility displayed by Chhotani and his supporters to the new Khilafat Workers League, organised by Tajuddin and Hasrat Mohani, and to the Conference at Delhi proposed to be held under its auspices on the 18th.

(4) Reference has already been made in the separate note on *Satyagraha* week to the careful nursing by the Hindu leaders of the Khilafat agitation. The inclusion of a Khilafat Day in the Week's programme is itself significant. At the Khilafat meeting on that day nine of the 13 speakers were Hindus. Gandhi himself appears increasingly to dominate the Khilafat consels and on the more important matters for discussion his influence has been great and often decisive. Simultaneously the Muhammadan Khilafat leaders seem to be getting more and more involved in secular politics.

(5) The subscriptions actually paid into the Khilafat Fund amount up to date to somewhat more than a lakh of rupees, of which about Rs. 500 only appear to have been contributed by Hindus. Of this lakh, Rs. 40,000 came from Bengal. A great deal more has been promised but not yet paid. The High Priest of the Dawoodi Borah community has subscribed 100,000 francs towards the relief and distrees in Asia Minor. The Ali Brothers Purse Fund now stands at about Rs. 30,000.

(6) I enclose a copy of a letter addressed by C. V. Raghavachariar Salem, Madras, to Shaukat Ali, in which he comments unfavourably upon the manner in which Mahomed Ali has handled the Armenian massacre question; a copy of a letter addressed to Shaukat Ali by Tajuddin, Editor and Proprietor of the new Delhi weekly *Khilafat;* a copy of a telegram addressed to the various Bombay newspapers by Abbas Qari of Delhi in connection with the Conference to be held there on the 18th; and also a cutting from the *Times of India* describing a meeting of Shias alleged to have been held in Bombay to protest against the anti-Turkish pronouncement of the Mujtahidas of Lucknow. The real facts are that the pronouncement was privately discussed by a few dozen Moghuls assembled in connection with a funeral ceremony. The view was expressed that as the Lucknow Fatwa might recreate differences between the Shias and Sunnis of Bombay, who have come closer together during the last few years, should be ignored.

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The personnel of the proposed deputation to Mesopotamia :—

(1) Honourable Yacub Hassan of Madras.
(2) Maulvi Mahommad Daud Gaznavi of Amritsar.
(3) Shah Sullaiman Phulwari.
(4) Shah Hoosainmia, son of No. 3.
(5) Abid Hussain, Bar-at-Law, of Delhi.

To the Hedjaz.

(1) Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi.
(2) Mahommad Hussain, Bar.-at-Law, of Muscat.
(3) Abdul Majid, Editor of Qaumi Report, Madras.

To Syria.

(1) Maulvi Mahommad Sadiqu Khadda of Sind.
(2) Mumtaz Hussain, Bar-at-Law, of Lucknow.

To Smyrna.

(1) Khaliq-uz-Zaman, B.A., LL.B., of Lucknow.
(2) Abdul Aziz Khan, B.A., LL.B., of Barabanki.
(3) Shaukat Ali, Vakil of Lucknow.
(4) Maulvi Nisar Ahamad of Cawnpore.

Propaganda Sub-Committee of 11.

1. Mian Mohammad Chhotani.
2. M. Abul Kalam Azad.
3. Shaukat Ali.
4. Omar Sobhani.
5. Ahamad Haji Siddiq Khatri.
6. M. Fazl-ul-Hassan Hasarat Mohani.
7. Lala Bansidhar Pathak.
8. M. Zafur Ali Khan.
9. Shaukat Ali Vakil.
10. Mohammad Ismail Gaznavi.
11. Chowdhari Rambhuj Dutt.

The following telegram was addressed by Gandhi to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 13th April 1920 :—

"Pressure exerted on me proceed England regarding Khilafat. Whilst I do not think I can in any way affect policy His Majesty's Ministers at this stage as one desiring welfare of Empire I feel I owe it to Ministers and British public to acquaint them disastrous consequences if decision hostile to just Muslim sentiment and to tell them that such adverse decision must result in complete withdrawal of co-operation from Government, a step I would gladly avoid if I could but which will be a necessity in the case of those who regard religion and self-respect above everything. However, I don't wish to proceed to England without His Excellency's permission and approval. Will you kindly lay this before His Excellency and telegraph reply ? In the event His Excellency's approval I should like facilities for passage by earliest steamer for self and company not exceeding seven."

The Arama, Salem, South India,
April 1st, 1920.

Personal and Confidential

My dear Maulana Shaukat Ali,

I am so glad to get your letter of the 27th March last. I shall make my best inquiries and write to you again. Mr. Abdul Rahman is away from

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Salem and is expected back in a day or two. I am also asking others to make suitable inquiries. There are no considerable number of Turkish prisoners here or near. However, I should like to be sure of my facts, before I write to you.

The Khilafat Deputation in England is doing superbly well under the most phenomenally adverse circumstances. It is to be hoped that the prayers to institute a vigorous enquiry into the exact truth and causes of the "Armenian Massacres" will be granted and some prominent Indian Moslems will be among the Commission. I am sure that our friend Mr. Mahomed Ali did not exactly mean what he is reported to have said, about our washing our hands off if it be found that Turkey is guilty. The alleged statement is, I venture to submit, more frank and perhaps even ethical than historical or diplomatic. Why should the Turkish Government be driven out of Europe bag and baggage if there was misconduct in dealing with the Armenians, admitted not to be "lambs"? Would the massacres in the Punjab justify us in agitating for the abdication of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor or demanding that the Parliament should on that account sever all connection with India and leave us to our own fate at this juncture? As no sane man would think of such agitation, I should think that the only fair and equitable remedy in case the Sublime Porte is found responsible in any wise for the proved misconduct of the officials concerned in the Armenian affair is to see that a constitutional Government is inaugurated and machinery for safeguarding the liberty and interests of the law-abiding subjects invented and perfected. I trust that you don't deem my views officious even if you don't agree with me.

With kind regards, I am yours sincerely,
(Signed) C. VIJIARAGHAVACHARIAR.

Tajuddin, proprietor and editor of the weekly journal "*The Khilafat*" (which will appear from 15th April 1920) at Delhi, writing to Shaukat Ali on 8th April 1920, says :—

"The accompanying is the appeal of the Khilafat Workers Conference to be held on 18th April 1920. I do not know what people of high life are thinking of this movement, but I do wish to tell you and through you to the Central Khilafat Committee that our aim in calling this Conference and following the League is only to take up some work of our own choice. But do not want to harass the leaders and other public bodies. We will take up all the work in which there is no difference of opinion. You and the Central Committee should decide the policy and when it is decided we will take it upto make a successful one. As, for instance, we all know that there is no difference of opinion on "*Swadeshi*"; we wish to make it successful by propaganda within a time-limit. Please assure all those who are suspicious (if there are any in Bombay) that they should rely on our help. Our services are always at their disposal.

I am really sorry I could not see you when you passed from Delhi, otherwise I would have informed you all about this conference. Will you be so good as to take the trouble of attending it? At least a message of sympathy must be sent by you."

The following telegram has been addressed to various Bombay news papers by Abbas Qari of Delhi. It foreshadows the course of the forthcoming Conference at that place :—

"Following letter signed by Tajuddin and Arif Hasni as Secretary of the Reception Committee has been sent to workers all over India inviting

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them to attend forthcoming Khilafat Workers' Conference on 18th April at Delhi. Quote Khilafat Workers' Conference. The growing need of closer co-operation and the urgent necessity of immediate practical work in pursuance of the programme evolved in the course of the last four months at innumerable conferences and meetings held throughout the length and breadth of India it has been decided to hold a Conference of those who have been interested in translating the resolutions of these Khilafat Conferences and meetings into practice. There must be division of labour without difference of opinion and there should be a close knit body of practical men including men of business and men entirely devoted to Khilafat work who should concert together to carry the policy formulated in responsible circles into practice. If for instance the adoption of *Swadeshi* is decided upon, there should be bout (body ?) of devoted workers to undertake the necessary propaganda. To render the resolution a reliable fact it is proposed to prescribe a pledge for those anxious to join the orders associating which will require each member of the association to place all his resources entirely at the disposal of the association, that is, to pledge himself to carry out the behests of the association without demand, (2) to accept the omission allowance for any work he may be required to do, (3) to live and work wherever required by the association, in short to be entirely under the control of the association. The rules of the association and all other matters of Constitution will be considered and decided at the forthcoming organisation Conference and the election of office-bearers will also take place. All are most cordially invited to join the Conference, but the right of voting will be exercisable by those men alone who signify their intention to sign the pledge of workers. All necessary arrangements are in progress and those interested in the object of the Conference are requested to communicate with Tajuddin Ballimaran, Delhi."

Times of India, 12th April 1920

SHIAHS AND KHILAFAT

A BOMBAY MEETING

A large meeting of the Persian Shiah Ulmas and merchants residing in Bombay was held at their mosque to denounce the Fatwa of Moulvi Nasir Hussain and others of Lucknow on the Khilafat question, writes a correspondent.

The Shiahs of Persia declared that the religious heads of Shiahs and other Mujtahids were in Kerbala and Najaf Ashraf, and they hold the same views as regards the question of the upkeep of the temporal status of the Ottoman Sultan and the exclusion of all non-Moslem from the Holy places and lands and Jazirat-ul-Arab which were held by the Sunni Moslems.

The Fatwas of the Mujtahids of Kerbala and Najaf were based on the verse of the Holy *Koran* which forbade Moslems from preferring the friendship or protection of Christians and Jews to that of Moslems.

The Shiah Ulmas and merchants emphatically expressed that they were ready to fully co-operate with their Sunni brethren to safeguard the honour of Islam against the Cross and strongly denounced the efforts of those who were trying to create differences.

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(*o*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, April 12th.*—The following extract from the *Times of India,* dated the 10th April 1920, is published for general information :—

THE KHILAFAT

Another Bombay Meeting

Under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India, Bombay, and in connection with the National Week, a very largely attended public meeting of Mahommadans and Hindus was held last night at about 10-00 p.m. in the open ground at French Bridge. The proceedings commenced with the reading of a verse from the Quran. Mr. Mia Mohomed Haji Janmohomed Chhotani presided. The proceedings were in the vernacular.

Mr. Mia Mohomed Janmohomed Chhotani, the President, addressing the meeting said : It was an admitted fact that the Khilafat question had most intensely exercised the minds of not only the Muslims, but of all the chief communities of India. They had done all that could and should have been done, but the ruling passion, the lust for power and territory, and the bigotry of Europe was dragging them to a disastrous end. The Indian Moslems have, he said, for centuries regarded the Ottoman Empire as their own ; and looked with veneration upon its Sovereign as their Khalifa and the warden of the Holy Places of Islam. They had fully explained to the Government that the dismemberment of the Khalifa's Empire would be inconsistent with the requirements of their Faith, which was much dearer to them than their lives. But their repeated representations had had no effect so far. The spirit of the Crusaders seemed to be abroad and made responsible statement forgetful even of their pledges. Since the time of the Armistice, Christian Europe had done all it could, not only to torture the Turks but also to humiliate Islam. In Smyrna, the Turks had been subjected to the most terrible butchery and brutality ever recorded in history. Women and children had been massacred. Thousands of Moslems had been made homeless and were dying in large numbers of exposure and starvation. They had got the evidence of even British eyewitnesses to authenticate the statements regarding the Greek atrocities committed in Smyrna. As regards the humiliation of Islam, Moslem Holy Places of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia had been occupied by Christian Powers. Even the seat of the Khalifa had been taken possession of, and the latest instance of humiliating Islam was the deportation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam. (Shame).

No Co-operation

As the President of the Central Khilafat Committee he begged to assure the British Government that they had been doing all they could to restrain the feelings of their co-religionists, but they found it more and more difficult, with this policy of pinpricks, rather stabs, adopted most of all by Great Britain against the Muslim Empire and Islam itself to check the religious enthusiasm of their brethren. The efforts of Muslim and also Hindu leaders like Mr. Gandhi were at present directed to ward off any violent measures. It was a well-known fact that Muslims loved the honour of their religion more than their lives. (Cheers.) They were forbidden by the Holy *Quran* itself to continue any co-operation or friendship with the enemies or ill-wishers of Islam. On Mr. Gandhi's advice, and as an alternative to violent measures, it was proposed to cease co-operation with the Government if it took any part in dismembering the Empire of the Khalifa against the dictates of the Islamic Law. (Hear,

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hear.) Before concluding, he pointed out that the Muslims and Hindus of India were not only united over the question of the Khilafat but also in all the political questions relating to their motherland-India. This was the National Week in memory of the tragedies in the Punjab. The blood of Hindus and Muslims mingled in Jalianwala Bagh and other places last year had cemented the Hindu-Moslem unity. They were determined that it should be made impossible to repeat those horrible scenes witnessed last year at Jallianwala Bagh, etc. They should unitedly adopt all such measures as would make the repetition of those massacres impossible. "Never again" should be their cry to the bureaucrats of India.

Mr. Gandhi moved the following resolution :—"This meeting of Hindus, Mahomedans and others, the inhabitants of Bombay, trust that the Khilafat question will be solved consistently with the just demands of the Mussalmans of India and with the solemn pledges of His Majesty's Ministers, and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of adverse decision being arrived at, it will be the duty of every Indian to withdraw co-operation from the Government until the pledges are fulfilled and Muslim sentiment conciliated.

Mr. Gandhi's Speech

Mr. Gandhi, in moving the above resolution, said they had met that night not exclusively in connection with this question of the Khilafat but rather to look back on what had happened in India during the last twelve months. The most prominent two events were the inauguration of *Swadeshi* and the laying of the foundation of genuine Moslem-Hindu unity. The first was started in April and the latter became an accomplished fact when Hindu and Moslem blood mingled together in Jalianwalla Bagh. Since then that unity had gone on increasing. He appealed to the Hindus to help the Mahomedans in this question and thus cement the unity for good. Moslem hearts were aggrieved as they were never before over the threatened dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and over the question of Khilafat. Mr. Gandhi said he never blindly supported a cause and would never support one. He exhorted them to support the Mahomedans because he felt the cause of the Mahomedans was just. Referring to the interview of the Khilafat Deputation with the Prime Minister, Mr. Gandhi said there was no demand urged by the Deputation that was not just. They naturally expected the Prime Minister to adhere to the solemn promises he had made, whilst the war was on, regarding the Turkish question. What the Moslems of India wanted was that the *status quo ante bellum* should be maintained as far as possible regarding Turkey. They desired among other things that Constantinople and Turkey in Europe should remain in Turkish hands and there should be Turkish suzerainty over the Jazirat-ul-Arab. As to those parts of Turkey which had a majority of non-Moslem population, the European Powers might ask for whatever guarantees they liked from Turkey for the protection of the non-Moslem races provided those guarantees were not prejudicial to the position of the Sultan. If the Arabs, who were Moslems, wanted self-government, they might have it, but there should be Turkish suzerainty over the Arabs. When they in India asked for self-government, it did not mean that they did not want British rule. There was no Hindu or Mahomedan who was against the British flag waving over India. Similarly, Arabia might be granted self-government, but Turkish suzerainty should be maintained. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi earnestly

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entreated his Mahomedan brethren to refrain from violence. Their cause was just and with God's help it was bound to triumph, and if they trusted in God, they should cease co-operation with Government.

Broken Promises

Mr. Jamnadas, in supporting said the Moslem cause was just, and if the promises given by the Ministers were not kept, it would be a disgrace to the whole of Europe.

The Honourable Mr. Abul Kassim, of Bengal, in supporting the resolution, said Government had told them during the war that their religious feelings would not be affected. Since 1914 the condition of Britain and their Allies was helpless until America assisted them. The Indians did not ramain aloof from helping them and even the Muhammadans did not raise a voice against them. The first work the British showed was the massacre of Jallianwalla Bagh and they showed that they were the same oppressors as before. Their promises dated back as far as 1857, and were never kept. He referred to Lord Sinha's advice to the Moderates and those who were agitating on behalf of the Khilafat. Lord Sinha said they did all for the Khilafat and he told them that he thought their demands were just but all to no purpose. He exhorted them to cease all co-operation with Government. If God wished, they would earn their bread but not by serving Government.

Mr. Shaukat Ali, in further supporting it, said Mr. Gandhi was going to England on the 20th April and would tell the Minister what they felt about the question in India and their final decision and after his return they would decide finally what steps to take.

Mr. Mavji Govindji, Mr. Narandas Purshottamdas, and Mr. Jamnadas K. Mehta spoke and the resolution was then passed unanimously.

After a vote of thanks to the President, the proceedings terminated.

The *Bombay Chronicle,* reporting the same meeting in its edition of the 12th instant, gives the following version of the speeches of Jamnadas and the Honourable Mr. Abul Kassim :—

Mr. Jamnadas

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, seconding the resolution, said the Moslem cause was just, and if the promise so solemnly given by the Prime Minister were not kept, it would be disgrace to the whole of Europe. When England joined the war it was stated that Germany was aiming at world-domination and that England had joined the war with clean hands. Mr. Brailsford, the eminent writer, had justly said that if England wanted to justify this assertion then she must come out of the war with empty hands. He (the speaker) hoped Hindu-Moslem unity would be strengthened day by day. He joined in Mr. Gandhi's appeal to Muhammadans to refrain from violence.

Honourable Mr. Abul Kassim

The Honourable Mr. Abul Kassim of Bengal, supporting the resolution, said they had spoken over and over again and drawn the attention of the British Government to the soreness of Moslem hearts over the Turkish question, but unfortunately no attention was paid to it. He hoped the British Government would recognise the justice of Moslem claims.

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Mr. Mavji Govindji Seth and Mr. Narandas Purshottamdas further supported the resolution.

C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 16th.—Gandhi has announced that he will not sail for England on the 20th on the Caliphate Deputation.

An officer of this department reports that in Poona it is said that Tilak persuaded Gandhi not to sail on the 20th as he wanted him to be present at the Annual Home Rule League Conference which should have taken place in April, but has been postponed till May (the 20th is mentioned) as Lala Lajpatrai could not attend before.

Gandhi, it is said, has accepted the leadership of Tilak.

A rumour was current a week ago that Government were considering the internment of Tilak for his speeches at Delhi at the end of March.

(*p*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 14th.*—The following is an extract from the Report of Indian Papers of the Central Provinces, dated the 1st April 1920 :—

Turkish problem. Hitavada (3), 27th March; Karmavir (14-A), 27th March; Udaya (29-A), 30th March 1920.

Referring to the resolutions passed at the Calcutta and Bombay Khilafat Conference breathing the spirit of contingent disloyalty, the *Hitavada* (Nagpur) observes :— The extreme utterances of some of our Moslem country men have not only filled non-moslem participants in the movements with grave anxiety, but have even created a split in the Moslem camp itself as the letter of the Raja of Mahmudabad to Mr. Shaukat Ali clearly proves. This is always the result which fanatical courses often precipitate ; and in this particular instance we are even glad that the possible sinister developments of a perfectly legitimate movement have put some of the foremost leaders of the Moslem community itself on their guard in time.

In this connection it is most satisfactory that Mr. Mohammed Ali, who is the most powerful exponent of the extreme Moslem sentiment, was allowed to present his case in person to the highest authorities of the Empire. Both Mohammed Ali and Mr. Lloyd George have been perfectly frank in their statements and the fierce light shed upon the whole problem ought now to help our Moslem brethren to arrive at a clear understanding about the issues. Mr. Lloyd George has made it perfectly clear that the fanatical outbursts of some British prelates notwithstanding this is not a question of Crescent versus the Cross. Religious considerations have been expressly ruled out of consideration and Christians and Moslems will have the same standards of justice and fair play applied to them. The view presented by Mr. Lloyd George is also the view that the British Labour Party has expressed in response to representations made to them on behalf of Indian Moslems.

(*q*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 4th.*—The following is an extract from the *Times of India* dated the 13th April 1920:—

The Khilafat

"Sir, I was following with amusement the agitation which is going on with reference to the Khilafat question. Let me remind the leaders of the different Khilafat Committees that according to the Prophet's tradition, which is recognised by both the Sunnis and the Shiahs, to be 'Hadis Sahib'

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namely, proved to be the saying of Prophet Mahommad, the Khalifs must be not only of Arab blood but of the Tribe of the Prophet which was Quraish tribe. The Hadis runs as follows :—" At Aemma Kollohom men Quraish " which means the Imams all of them must be of Quraish tribe. On referring to history we observe that the first four Khalifs belonged to that tribe. The Ommayyad Khalifs of Damascus and Andalusia also were of the Quraish descent. The same remark applies to the Abbaside Khalifs of Baghdad and the Fatimidi Khalifs of Egypt. But when we come to the Sultans of Turkey we find that they are not Arabs only but they have no semitic blood in them. They usurped the title of Khalif from the impotent Abbaside Khalif, who was in exile at Cairo after the invasion of Baghdad by the Moghul Emperor Halaku Khan.

The Turks themselves are of yellow or Mangolian race and have no connection whatever with Arabs who are of the White or Semitic race although some historians allege that the Arabs of Yemen and Oman are of Hamatic descent, which is another branch of the white race. There is no dispute among the historians about the Arabs of the Hedjaz which all agree to be of Semitic branch of the white race. The Prophet's tribe of Quaraish were natives of Hedjaz, and there is no connection whatever between them and the Turks who are of the yellow or Mangolian race, and usurped the title of Khalif by the well-known law 'Might is right' ".

—MAHOMED JAFAR BIRJANDI.

Oomerkhady : 8th April 1920.

(r) *Extract from the Bombay Chronicle, dated 15th April 1920.*— Maulana Abdul Bari's Message to Mr. Gandhi.

(*From a Correspondent.*)

Lucknow, April 13.

The following has been communicated by Maulana Abdul Bari to Mahatma Gandhi :—

Your sincere advice and co-operation in our cause has strengthened the everlasting ties of union. Your sailing to England as a Khilafat delegate has acquired the deep and sincere gratitude of Mussalmans. As promised, I have determined to act according to your counsels. I appeal to Mussalmans generally and Ulemas particularly, whose only aim is to follow their religious obligations and who have devoted their lives and properties to be sacrificed in the way of God, to act according to the advice of sincere personalities like you till the last moment of despair. How can we see Islam disintegrated and tolerate any adverse decision regarding the Khilafat and Holy places ? I have expressed all religious obligations according to the present situation, and we are more ready to act on them today than we were in the past owing to Shaikhul Islam's arrest and other unjust pressures on the Khalifa. We are becoming despondent. In that case we are compelled to fulfil the religious commandments.

In spite of my bad health and other difficulties I am starting to-night and shall meet you Thursday morning. Thence, the same day, I shall be proceeding to Madras to join the Conference.

(s) *S. B. United Provinces, From Abstract dated April 3rd, C. I. D., United Provinces, March 26th.*—

Third day of the Khilafat Conference, Meerut.

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Mr. Gandhi arrived at 4-45 with the other leaders. The people asked Abdul Bari to speak, but he said that Mushir Husain Kidwai had forbidden him to speak.

Mr. Gandhi announced the decision of the Delhi leaders. In the event of an unfavourable settlement three steps should be taken :—(1) Resignation of honorary posts ; (2) Resignation of Government servants ; (3) Refusal to pay taxes. Everybody from the cook to the Chief Justice should be asked to resign. A date will be fixed and announced by the Khilafat Committee. If the Civil Servants did not resign, they would ask the police and the army to become " our police and our soldiers ". Their arms might be returned to Government. If this was not successful, the cultivators would be advised to pay no taxes. Cultivators have more courage than other people. He warned the audience against bloodshed, saying that if one European was killed the Government will shed the blood of ten thousand persons. He said that the country should become *Swadeshi* and thus let Europe and America know that India has still got some spirit. He did not advise boycott of foreign goods. Abul Kalam Azad spoke of non-co-operation and said that there were only two ways open the way of God and the way of a handful of men who in their pride wish to destroy the truth of God ; Shaukat Ali appealed for money.

(*Note.*—An officer of the U.P., C.I.D. notes that Mr. Gandhi's remarks concerning Indian soldiers were to the effect that they would be persuaded to use their weapons in tilling the soil and producing corn. Mr. Gandhi also spoke of people being requested to withdraw their subscriptions to the War Loan.)

(*t*) *S. B., United Provinces. From Abstract, dated April 10th, C. I. D., United Provinces, April 6th.*—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, wrote to Abdul Bari about April 1st, complaining of overwork and of the election of the son of Maulvi Sulaiman to be a member of the second batch of the Khilafat Deputation to England. He disapproved of the Khilafat matter being treated as a joke and threatened to resign. He asked Abdul Bari to wire to Mr. Chhotani, requesting him not to take any action without consulting the real workers. He expressed dissatisfaction with Muhammad Ali's presentation of the Khilafat case before the Premier. He mentioned that he had heard from Pandit Malaviya that Mr. Gandhi had consented to exclude the police and the army from the programme for the present. In another letter he suggested to Abdul Bari that the old istifta or interrogatory should now again be sent to the Deoband Ulema for signature.

(*u*) *S. B., Baluchistan. From Special Branch Diary, dated March 31st paragraph 189(5).*—The Khilafat notices are said to have reached Kandahar and to have been posted in the Bazar. These are said to have been posted two days after the arrival of Sardar Abdul Qudus Khan. The *hartal* announced for the 19th March 1920 is also said to have been mentioned in these notices.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

Khilafat and Turkish Empire : Muhammadan feeling with regard to the—

(*a*) *Larkhana, April 6th.*—The manuscript letter, which is in circulation in Sind and which says that Imam Mehdi will make his appearance at Sehwan on the 27th of the current lunar month, was seized by the police in Mehar Taluka. It is reported that the letter was received by Maulvi Abdulhaq of Khairpur, Nathanshah Taluka,

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who sent it on into Mehar Taluka through one Allahrakhio Halo. The letter invokes the curse of Islam on anyone who does not publish it. After a perusal of the letter I am of opinion that it is intended by the Khilafat agitators to serve as a means of attracting a large number of ignorant people to Sehwan on the occasion of the proposed Khilafat Conference. I have explained to the leading *zamindars* of this taluka the falseness and absurdity of the message which the letter contains and the dishonesty of the motive which has evidenty impelled the agitators to forge and circulate it.

(*b*) *Hyderabad, April 10th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "On the 6th instant followers of Makdum Ghulam Hussain of Hala put two flags on the Durgah and two pieces of cloth with the Kalma on one side and "Help Islam" on the other. A notice was put up announcing that a meeting would be held against Makdum Zahinaldin's wishes. The Head Munshi consulted the managers of the Durgah and no meeting was held. Sayad Asadullah Shah of Tikkur with two other Sayids of Guni taluka, Moulvi Fazul Mahomed of Nausharo, Shaikh Abdul Kalik of Naushahro, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, editor of Al-Haq Moulvi Mahomad Suleman of Bano, taluka Mirpur Bathoro, Moulvi Mahomed Hafiz of Karachi arrived on 7th instant at Hala from Sukkur with ten volunteers in uniform with Crescent on their caps and with flags. They passed the taluka *Kacheri* in procession where they let off six fire-work bombs. The above persons stopped with Makdum Ghulam Hussain. Makdum Zahinaldin refused Asadullah and others an interview.

A meeting was held in the evening at the Pir of Moulvi Ghulam Hussain. Moulvi Fazul Muhammad said that their sacred places had been taken away and they should protect them and be afraid of none but God. Abdul Aziz abused Maulvi Zahinaldin. Muhammad Ashraf, a resident of Hala, advocated boycotting everything and said no land revenue should be paid. Then Mahomad Memon who conducts an aided school in Hala, said he would renounce the Government grant. Rs. 78 were subscribed.

The following Government servants were seen taking an active part in the organisation of the meeting and its proceedings and passed in procession with green badges, attended the meeting and helped in serving the guests :—Abdul Majid, walad Jumo, Abdul Hassan walad Abbas and Abdul Karim walad Taj Muhammad. These three are bailiffs in the Sub-Judge's Court at Shahdadpur.

Haji Karamulla walad Nur Muhammad Naib, teacher in the training College for men at Hyderabad.

It is noticeable that persons from the Nawabshah District were prominent. I have never seen their names or much mention of Khilafat agitators in Nawabshah District.

In this district open and secret agitation of a dangerous character is going on at—

Hala and Matiari in Hala taluka.
Tando Kaiser in Hyderabad taluka.
Tando Mahomed Khan and its neighbourhood in Guni taluka.
Matli and its neighbourhood in Dero Mohbat taluka.

Tando Bego and Badin talukas were practically free and also Tando Allahyar to a large extent.

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Pir Mahbub Shah has returned to his village in Guni taluka. He is the most dangerous and fanatical man in the district and is supported by the Nizamanis in Hyderabad Guni and Dero Mohbat talukas and by the Sayads of Matiari and Guni talukas.

(*c*) *Upper Sind Frontier, April 10th.*—The representatives of the Hindus of "Thul and suburbs" were about five or six boys. The audience numbered about 300.

Lectures were delivered by several local Moulvis and Moulvi Muhammad Ismail of Sukkur. There was nothing noteworthy or objectionable in the speeches. About Rs. 180 were collected for telegrams, refreshments, etc.

Moulvi Abdul Karim of Aslahando Kalhoro, Sukkur, also attended the meeting, which was presided over by Moulvi Nabibakhsh of Udi, taluka Thul.

I regret to have to report that several of the policemen at Thul all Punjabi or Pathans except one attended the meeting in defiance of orders, and have been punished.

(*d*) *Sukkur, April 11th.*—The District Magistrate writes : The Sind Muslim League Session passed off at Sukkur without any kind of public disturbance during the Easter holidays. At least two speeches overtly advocating Jehad were uttered ; and an allusion was made to the imminent arrival of Anwar Pasha. The tone of several other speeches was violent notably the speech of the notorious "Dr." Nur Mahomad of Karachi. But in general it is noticeable that the leaders have a shrewd idea of what it is safe to say under the guarantee given by a recent ruling of the Bombay High Court (regarding the consideration of the *whole tenor* of a speech), and carefully imbed their most inflammatory remarks in a setting of quasi-constitutional agitation : well-knowing that with the mob the setting passes unheeded and the inflammatory remark is cherished in the mind. It is the grandiloquent saying, the isolated fanatical cry, and not the general tenor, which is carried away by the multitude in these circumstances. Speeches which consist purely of incitement to rebellion or resistance to law the leaders appear to leave to underlings-petty local moulvis who would welcome martyrdom.

Punitive action is further hampered by the fact that there is no Sindhi system of shorthand, so that it is impossible to prove how far any report is a verbatim translation and how far it is a precis.

I have, however, directed the District Superintendent of Police to incorporate his full report of the most notable of the speeches in his next confidential diary.

(*e*) *Sind Railways, Karachi, April 12th.*—Sheikh Abdul Majid and Dr. Nur Mahomed, proceeded to Bombay on the 9th April *en route* to Sholapur to attend a meeting on the 14th April under the Chairmanship of Shaukat Ali whom they were to meet in Bombay.

(*f*) *Sind Railways, Karachi, April 12th.*—Mahomed Khan (?), ex-Master in the Karachi Madressa, accompanied by Mahomed Saleh, ex-Sub-Inspector of Police at Pat Idan, passed Dadu on his way to Sehwan, where they had

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gone to make arrangements regarding the meeting to be held on the 17th April in regard to the Khilafat. At Dadu they were met by Pir Muinuddin and others who wore the Khilafat badge, which is a crescent and a star worked on silk.

(*g*) *S. B. Sind, April 14th.*—Din Mahomed Wafai and Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro (district Nawabshah) are reported to be persuading Muhammadans in public hotels and in the bazaars at Sukkur to be firm on the Khilafat question, boycott English goods, use *Swadeshi* articles and observe unity with the Hindus.

(*h*) *Karachi, April 15th.*—The following is a copy of the report of the Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, for the 14th April 1920—With reference to the following report in the *Daily Gazette, viz* :—

Outstations.

(From our own correspondent.)

Shikarpur.

April 10.

A public meeting was held here in Khushiramabad under the auspices of the local Caliphate Committee where many intemperate speeches were delivered by Moulvi Abdul Karim, the Secretary of the Society, and Mian Amanullah Khan, the Sub-agent of Messrs. A. M. Akhtar and Company. The latter was profusely garlanded and his talk favoured severance of all relationship with the British ; the following extracts from the C. I. D. reports of the speeches at the same meeting are given.

Maulvi Abdul Karim—

..... What we want is that England should have a President like other countries. The Peace Terms for Germany and all other countries were decided in France. Why, then, go to England to decide the Peace Terms for Turkey. The English have been putting off and putting off the decision, and finally on the 31st March they decided that the Turks should be driven out of Constantinople ..... The English are our enemies and we should treat them as we treat enemies ..... When the English entered India they promised not to touch our Holy places. In the times of Queen Victoria and Edward VII they kept this promise, but now in the reign of George V they have broken it .....

Seth Naraindas of Shikarpur—

..... The Police, Military and Civil officials ought to resign to bring the English to the point. If that fails then let *zamindars* refuse to pay land assessment. Everyone should have his own rule .....

M. A. Akhtar (probably the Mian Amanullah Khan of the *Daily Gazette*)—

..... The English say the Turks are cruel assassins, but I say they are not half as cruel as General Dyer ..... If we kill the English we shall be satisfied, but if they kill us we shall become martyrs .....

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(*i*) *Ahmedabad, April 13th.*—Wahidudin Rajijudin and Alaudin Abdul Rashid, residents of Delhi, came here from Ajmer on the 2nd instant. They are members of the Askaria Islami Anjuman Khilafat. They intend to go to Surat. The former was selling a booklet containing a poem on the grievances of Muhammadans and the latter sold medicines. They said that they devoted the proceeds to the Khilafat Fund. Their movements are being watched.

(*j*) *Panch Mahals, April 15th.*—On the 9th April a public meeting was held in Godhra town in connection with the Khilafat question. Vadilal Chagganlal presided. About 200 persons attended. The usual resolution in support of the Khilafat was passed and the speakers further went on to say, that if the question of the Khilafat was not favourably decided, they, meaning the Hindus and Muhammadans, would be compelled to sever all connection with Government, as advised by Mahatma Gandhi, W. S. Mukadam and P. M. Shah were in attendance as usual.

(*k*) *Bombay, April 19th.*—The following telegram, dated the 16th April, from Gobind Babu, Bombay, to Gandhi, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad District, was noticed in the censorship :—

"Viceroy's reply your telegram dated the 13th instant. Government of India have no objection your proceeding to England to represent the view you hold on Caliphate question. In regard to the expediency your undertaking this mission His Excellency is unwilling to offer any opinion but he must express his grave disapproval of the view regarding the duty of Indian Moslems at this present juncture which you communicate in your telegram. Government are exercising no control over the passages. Therefore, cannot attempt to obtain any special facilities for you and your party in view of the difficulties expressed (experienced) by officers of Government and others.

(*l*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 20th.*—Khilafat Day meeting held in Bombay on the 19th March under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India. President Mian Jan Muhammad Chhotani. Audience about 20,000.

The President in his opening speech touched on the following points :—

(1) The misunderstanding of Indian religious susceptibilities that led to the Mutiny of 1857.

(2) The promise in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 of non-interference in religious matters and the consequent unswerving loyalty of Indians.

(3) The obtuseness and obstinacy of the English in not realising that religious susceptibilities are again involved in the Khilafat question in spite of repeated reiteration of this fact and in the face of Hindu-Muhammadan unity on the subject.

(4) The signs of a change of opinion on the part of the British people now being dispelled by the fear of the mischief that Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Bryce and the English clergy and likely to cause by the influence they are likely to bring to bear on the British Nation and Parliament.

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The signs that the mischief mongers have obtained a hearing by despatch of troops to that quarter of the globe (Constantinople, etc.) when the armistice has been signed and peace is supposed to be reigning.

(5) A warning that, if the question is decided contrary to Indian opinion, "we will be free from your control. Of this we warn Government. At the same time we assure them of our loyalty. But if you overstep the bounds of your promises then the time will come for the severance of our connection with you. If our Holy places are touched then we shall repudiate your sovereignty." A suggestion that violence should be avoided and the law not broken except as a last resort.

M. K. Gandhi moved the first resolution after a brief introductory speech complimenting everyone on the orderly way in which the day had been observed. Among other things he said that his gladness knew no bounds when he saw that not a single hack victoria was plying for hire.

The resolution embodied (*a*) an emphatic protest against the violent and irresponsible agitation going on in the United Kingdom which was likely to wound the deepest susceptibilities of the Moslems and therefore of the whole of India, and a hope that the English ministers and statesmen, who desired the retention of India in the Empire as a free partner, would dissociate themselves from that agitation and reassure Indians of the fellow feeling of the people of the United Kingdom by a settlement of the Khilafat question compatible with the just and religious sentiments of the millions of Muslim subjects of His Majesty, (*b*) the conviction that any other solution would result eventually in a complete withdrawal of co-operation, (*c*) a hope that Indians would realize that any resort to violence in speech or deed would seriously injure the cause, (*d*) a reservation that, in the event of a failure of the joint movement, Muslims would reserve the right of taking such steps as the exigencies of the situation might dictate, (*e*) a decision to send a copy to the Viceroy to be forwarded to His Majesty.

In a speech explaining the resolution he said that Mr. Montagu should be asked to settle the question without delay and told that if it were decided against Indian opinion it would become necessary for Indians to take steps to withdraw their help from the administration and they would stop that help at once. "We will withdraw our loyalty as a matter of duty".

Further on he said: "If however, we do not get what we want from our Rulers, then we shall consider what remedy will suggest itself to us or will be suggested by the Koran. On that remedy we will act. If it becomes necessary to draw the sword we shall do that also. We shall be ready to draw the sword. Therefore, I will tell you that this 'Din' is an important subject. It is so important that even though we may not raise the sword against an enemy in another cause, still for religion's sake we will draw the sword, aye, we will die as it is our duty to do. But under ordinary circumstances we will not use force or commit anarchical deeds as we shall shortly gain our object without doing so by being prepared to sacrifice life, property and wealth. If we do not gain our object we should say nothing, but for the sake of our religion should draw the sword without hesitation if we think it our duty to do so."

He, however, asked them not to get over excited owing to what appeared to be taking place in England and to avoid anything tending towards anarchy. He did not think the Muslims' hopes would be blighted, but

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should this happen and they decided to draw the sword then the Hindus could not deny their right to do so. At the same time Hindus should unite with Muhammadans to prevent anarchy and murder, without which it should be impossible to defend their homes and their honour. He concluded with an exhortation to work in the name and under the orders of their God, so they would not be disappointed.

Maulana Phulwari, following, congratulated all on the peaceful nature of the meeting and trusted that the day of internal dissension was passed. He entarged on Hindu-Muhammadan unity and its permanence and spoke on the need being prepared to sacrifice everything, if need be, for their religion. Concluding he quoted an old saying to the effect that when death approaches desperate (or final) remedies are resorted to, but as regards the Khilafat agitation he did not think this stage had yet been reached.

S. R. Bomanji referred to the day as remarkable for its peacefulness. They were celebrating the consummation of the unity between Hindus and Muhammadans. It was the triumph of "*Satyagraha*" the victory of right over might—British might. He advised them to continue to show the same restraint and declared that thus the whole of Europe would in time come to bow to their wishes and the Sultanate would remain safe.

M. H. Kidwai, also supporting, gave a brief account of what had been happening in England. Referring to Hindu-Muhammadan unity he said that everything possible should be done to foster and strengthen it and there shqould be concessions on both sides. After all India was their motherland. Even the Europeans from the highest to the lowest in India ate the salt of the motherland and he regretted the lack of sympathy shown by the owners of European shops which did not close.

English statesmen failed to realize that there was any strength in the agitation now going on in India. Indians were grateful, however, for the Viceroy's sympathy and were sending a deputation to put the matter before the people of England, to say clearly that India will not remain loyal if the Khilafat is cut to pieces. Then let them, if they wish, send their O'Dwyers and Dyers, their aeroplanes and their bombs. Further discussion was useless. They had no faith in the word of English statesmen.

He advised them, however, to follow the advise of Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and Abdul Bari and avoid acts of violence. Only if England and France disregarded their Khilafat claims would Indians discard their control.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan declared that at one time Mahummadans ruled, now they were trampled under foot. He prayed God to help them from having to resort to alternatives other than making demands.

Indian had been under British rule for 150 years and now Indians had been made to crawl and salaam (referring to the Punjab Crawling and Salaaming order) like vermin because they were supposed to be rebels.

C. V. Vaidya then spoke. He called upon British Ministers to fulfil their promises, and, comparing the Armenian massacres with the Jallianwalla Bagh incident, asked if the latter did not balance the former. He very much doubted the truth of the Armenian atrocities and asked for a Commissoin of enquiry. In any case he could not see what connection they had with the Khilafat question.

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Shaukat Ali said that as regards the Khilafat question they, as leaders, had on the one hand decided to petition the British authorities and on the other to ask all Indians to be prepared to do whatever was asked of them without fear of the consequences. They must be prepared to support their leaders with money to go to jail, even to die if necessary.

The first Resolution was then passed amid cries of *Allaho-Akbar*.

The second Resolution protesting against the Burma Government's order prohibiting certain persons from taking part in Khilafat meetings was then moved by Faiz Badrudin Tyabji, who said that the principle involved was that Indians had a right, and indeed, it was their duty, to express their views openly before the people and the Government. Further, according to their late Queen's Proclamation, Government had no authority to interfere in religious matters. The order they were protesting against interfered with the expression of views regarding Khilafat a religious question.

Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed seconded and Pandit Nekiram Sharma and others supported. All said that a case of breach of faith had been made out against the British Government in this connection.

The resolution was then passed.

(*m*) *Bombay April 17th.—The Caliphate Situation (special Report).*—The Central Caliphate Committee's adoption on the 13th instant of proposals to boycott the services, to tamper with the troops and to decline payment of taxes, has alarmed its more moderate members, some of whom are stated to be deterred from resignation only by a doubt whether, by continuing to exercise their moderating influence from within the Committee, they cannot serve Government and their co-religionists better than if they openly leave it. There is some reason to believe that a hint from Government may resolve the doubt and determine their decision.

I am informed that of the 200 members of the Committee, a considerable number (according to one estimate something approaching a half) are alarmed at the developments above mentioned, and may follow the lead of any prominent member who resigns ; that in particular the Bombay merchants, except Chhotani and Khatri, are likely to welcome any such opportunity of breaking away from the movement that the following prominent Bombay men are ripe for resignation : Bhurgri (President of the last Caliphate Conference) ; Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan and Badruddin Abdulla Koor (two of the four Joint Secretaries of the Central Committee) ; Suleman Kasim Mitha, Suleman Abdul Wahid and Rahimtula Chinoy that Sheriff Devji Kanji and Sir Fazulbhoy Karimbhoy may also be open to reason ; and that even Chhotani, with his satellite, Khatri, may possibly be convinced of the danger ahead and so induced to reconsider his position. In this connection will be remembered Bhurgri's telegram of protest ; the refusal of Mirza A. M. Khan, Badruddin A. Koor and Bhurgri to attend the Caliphate meeting on the 19th March, and Chhotani's reported blind adhesion to the programme of non-co-operation. I am assured that Chhotani does not yet realise the manner in which some of the items on that programme will work.

It has been suggested to me that if they are assured of the moral support of Government, the way of the dissentients will be made plain to them. Some of them believe that unless they can organise a vigorous counter propaganda, they had better remain members of the Committee. Mere resignation, without further effort, they regard as futile except as a

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desirable personal end. The chief difficulties which, they think, Government may possibly help to remove are :—

(1) Its lack of financial backing ;

(2) The fear of organised social and other persecution such, for instance, as that to which the supporters of Government have recently been subjected to in the Punjab ;

(3) The absence of a definite lead from Government ; and

(4) The possibility of organised hooliganism on the part of their opponents—directed, for instance, to the smashing of meetings.

A further point for consideration is the desirability of a quiet attempt to detach from the extreme faction Chhotani, and other influential, and on the whole, well-disposed men who, for the moment, are helping it with their names and money. Authentic reports of speeches, such as that which Abdul Bari made at Calcutta, might possibly awaken in people like them a fuller appreciation of the situation into which they are drifting. It is worth noting in this connection that as the extremist plan gradually enfolded itself fewer members attended the successive sittings of the Committee.

During the next week or two I may obtain more precise information of the intentions of the moderate men with whose future actions this note is concerned. Meanwhile, India still takes from Bombay its lead in this question of the Caliphate ; and an open split here may produce beneficial consequences throughout the Peninsula. As the Turkish peace terms outlined in the Prime Minister's recent speech are likely to prove unacceptable to the Moderates and so render not only their task more difficult but their action less spotaneous and energetic, the present chance of causing a definite breach merits attention.

Note.—As to the influence of Bombay on propaganda and the general situation in Sind, *vide* the District Magistrate, Hyderabad's report, dated the 27th March 1920 and printed on page 484, Current Secret Abstract, paragraph beginning "my conclusions from the 19th are as follows"

(*n*) *Bombay, April 20th.*—(1) The Second Khilafat deputation which was to have sailed for England today, has postponed its journey and released the passages we secured for it. A copy of the Central Committee's letter on the subject accompanies. Gandhi was one of the two additional persons mentioned. The other was either Abul Kalam Azad or Chaudrani Sarladevi, wife of Rambhuj Dutt.

(2) The three following telegrams throw some light on the decision to hold up the deputation for the present :—

(a) Telegram from Gandhi, Ahmedabad, to Chhotani, Bombay, dated 18th April 1920 :

"Impossible leave without full discussion. Cancel passages twentieth. Reaching Tuesday."

(b) From Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta, to President, Khilafat, Bombay, dated 17th April 1920 :—

"Gandhi now differs any more delegates to be sent to England without his consultation. Gandhi not sailing twentieth. In my opinion no one should sail by twentieth. Letter follows."

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(c) From Akram Khan, Calcutta, to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Bombay :—

"Intense feeling in Bengal against despatch second Deputation to Europe. This will counteract against success of Khilafat movement in India which indefinitely inactively waits for vain and false hopes."

(3) The Kalyan Committee has informed the Khilafat Workers' League of Delhi of its readiness to help it, provided it is "working according Central Committee's Constitution."

(4) The Raja of Mahmudabad was in Bombay from April 2nd to 6th and saw the Aga Khan and Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy. Chhotani refused to go near him.

(5) The accompanying translated extracts from letters addressed to Shaukat Ali speak for themselves. The Khilafat agitation should be carefully borne in mind when applications for arms' licenses are under consideration.

(6) Chhotani has just received from Mahomed Ali a cabled intimation that the situation in Europe is "more hopeful". This diagnosis is the consequence of conversations between the Deputation and the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

(Accompaniments to above).

Reference No. 1657.

The Central Khilafat Committee of India,
Chhotani House, Khadak,
Bombay, 19th April 1920.

To

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

Sir,

In continuation of my No. 1470, dated the 9th instant, I have the honour to state that in addition to the passages provided for five members of the Khilafat Deputation by S. S. K. F. August, sailing on 20th instant, two more passages were badly needed for certain members, whose going with the deputation was absolutely essential. As the Company could not arrange two more passages at a short notice we had to request them to cancel five passages already provided.

The number of members forming the said deputation is now seven, for whom arrangements for passages may very kindly be made by any steamer sailing by the end of April if possible.

I need not say that the Central Khilafat Committee of India will ever be obliged to you for making such arrangement.

It will be a favour if arrangements for return passages are made.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) A. GHANI,
for M. M. H. J. CHHOTANI.

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Translations of letters addressed to Shaukat Ali

I

We people here are carrying our heads on our palms (meaning ready to sacrifice our lives at any moment) and are only waiting for the hint—Allah-o-Akbar ; and we hope that by the grace and kindness of the All—Powerful Allah every Mussalman here will turn out so.

II

Where is the harm if the Sunni volunteers try to obtain licenses for arms, one by one, since it has become so easy to obtain them nowadays? I am bringing this to your notice specially because leaders of all places meet you, and you could surely put this idea into their heads. Because if they (volunteers) learn now how to handle the gun, they will learn to shoot the game (to do " Shikar ").

Copy of a letter, dated 13th April 1920, addressed to the Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, by Mohomed Mohsin, Joint Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee, Harinbari Lane, Calcutta :—

To our great surprise we are informed by the Editor of *Mufid-e-Rozgar* of your city that the Bombay Government has taken steps against the paper for publishing our poster regarding the observance of the second Khilafat Day on the 19th ultimo.

The editor has also asked the Committee where it is possible for it to help him, but we are at a loss to know in what way we can do so at such a great distance. The only service that we can possibly render him is to give him some financial assistance but we shall be glad to have your views before writing anything to him on the subject.

Extract from a letter addressed to Chhotani by Mahomed Ali c/o Thomas Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, London, dated the 25th March 1920 :—

This brings this to the question of the antagonistic spirit of the press and people here. The *Times,* as was expected, has come out with a very undignified article against us and has not blushed to call us pretenders. But that does not matter at all. What I do object to is that after having accepted our advertisement for the meeting in Essex Hall they did not publish it. This is against all principles of business and journalism. How can we present our case and work for our cause when all avenues of publicity are so fanatically and ruthlessly closed against us.

I need not tell you that a thing we can get advertised in India for a matter of three or four rupees costs here nothing less than ten or fifteen pounds and then, too, these bigoted newspapers do not publish our advertisements.

(*o*) *Sholapur, April 18th.*—On the 14th instant, Shaukat Ali was entertained by Dr. Jeurkar at 10 p.m. in Kali Devi's temple Shukarwar Peth, and he subsequently addressed a crowd of about 500 persons mostly of the backward classes. He said the time had come to fight the cause of the country and the people should follow Tilak rather than the Moderates.

Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Nur Muhammad and Shaikh Abdul Majid at Sholapur.

(*p*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 22nd.*—On the 14th April Maulana Shaukat Ali and his two supporters from Sind held a meeting in the Idgah compound, Sholapur, under the auspices of the local Khilafat Committee the ostensible object of the meeting was to present Shaukat Ali, who was passing through *en-route* for the Madras Khilafat

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Conference, with an address. The audience which numbered about 3,000, both Hindus and Muhammadans, followed the speeches attentively and displayed great enthusiasm, the latter frequently giving vent to cries of Allah-o-Akbar.

After several religious songs and *Bande Mataram* the address was read out in English by a butcher of Bijapur. It was then translated into Urdu by Abdul Haq Abdul Rajak (President, Sholapur Khilafat Committee) and into Marathi by J. M. Samant, Pleader, both of Sholapur. Its purport was that Shaukat Ali and his brother Mahomed Ali had revivified the political life of Moslems in India. Though tempting offers had been received from Native States he had with great sacrifice declined to accept them and had decided to work for the welfare of the Muhammadans. He was responsible for bringing about the unity between the Congress and the Moslem League. Having as his object a united India, he had inaugurated the Association known as the Khuddam-i-Kaaba which had done much to protect the interests of Moslems. After seventeen years in Government service he had been rewarded with five years' internment as a sort of pension. Had he during that time been free to speak his mind, the present movement would have had a start of five years, protest meetings now being held would have taken place then, and the cause would by this time have approached the attainment of success. It concluded by praying God to grant him long life to carry on the work he had undertaken.

After the presentation the Muhammadans had to retire for the evening prayers.

When they again assembled Abdul Majid (the Sind ex-internee) addressed the meeting in Urdu, apologising for not being able to do so in Marathi. His speech was to the following effect :—

Probably the people of Sholapur were expecting good news to be brought by them from Bombay, but he regretted to say there was no good news, either for the Muhammadans in particular or the people in general, and the time had come when it was better to die than to remain alive, the latter being oppressive, nay criminal, under present conditions.

Agitation known as the Khilafat movement had been going on with the object of retaining the Holy places under the suzerainty of their Khalifa, the Sultan of Turkey. During the war various highly placed ministers and officials, such as Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge, had given them promises that the territory of the Turkish Empire would remain intact under the same rule, that England did not desire to have any of this land and at most would make minor alterations, but would see that the Holy places Bagdad, Kerbala, Isas, Mecca, Medina, etc., remained under the Turkish Empire.

They wanted the British Government to adhere to its promises given by its spokesmen, but so far this had not been done and in fact they find that various countries under the Turkish Empire are being divided amongst the European nations.

They had been told that the object of the Great War was to preserve small nations and to prevent Germany from pursuing her policy of aggression. Now that the war had come to an end they find England and her allies doing exactly what they had meant to prevent Germany from doing.

The Muhammadans in the past had lost Morocco, China (Egypt ?), Baluchistan and Persia and now they were to be deprived of other places. Such is the danger threatening the Moslem religion.

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Indian Muhammadans, to please the British, had taken up arms against their Moslem brethren and now the British Empire is not ashamed to silence them. Muhammadans who gave their lives and money are told to be quiet, as the English wish to conquer the world.

He wanted to make it quite clear to his Hindu brethren, however, that if the Turkish Empire falls, the British one will follow suit. Muhammadans must be bold enough to tell the authorities that the enemies of the Sultan are their enemies and ready to give their all for the Khilafat. Unless and until the Khilafat question is satisfactorily solved they must stand before their God and declare openly that the British are their enemies.

Some would argue that nothing could be expected from the British Nation, which would even go the length of hanging them and punishing them in different ways, yet while they remained on the path of righteousness and truth they need fear no machine guns and aeroplanes. If the British Empire participates in the spoliation of the Turkish Empire, Muhammadans will be its bitter enemy, and while such ill-will exists it would be hypocracy to talk of being loyal.

From what was happening elsewhere in India he thought it quite possible that they would not see Shaukat Ali again. He hoped they would all try to be like the Ali Brothers. If they were all prepared to give up their lives what would the British Government do ?

Were he not a Muhammadan, nor an Asiatic, he would have felt for the spoliation of Turkey and the massacres of the Turks. Nearly three lakhs of people had died of hunger, famine and ill-treatment. Was this not sufficient to make them want to go to their succour ? If the British were at all sincere in their professed aim that they entered the war to free small nations, why did they not free India ? Why did they want to enslave the Arabs ? Europe should give up its policy of oppression or it would itself become extinct. She must be told to change her policy and work for the benefit of Moslems, Indians and mankind in general, or God would punish her.

They must ask for succour in their daily prayers. Some of them might be hanged or imprisoned, but this should not deter them from being firm in their determination to preserve their rights, adopting *satyagraha* if necessary and pursuing a policy of non-co-operation or otherwise acting as advised by their leaders such as Gandhi and Shaukat Ali.

Dr. Nur Mahomed then spoke, commencing with a proverb to the effect that the more people are pressed down the higher they rise. He believed he was right in saying that there was not a Muhammadan who would not be ready to give up his life if deprived of the Holy places taken by his revered ancestors. He had heard this said, and he realized that it might be easy to say and difficult to carry out, so he advised them to be firm and follow the orders issued by the Committee if the Khilafat question were not properly settled. The first step would probably be the renouncing of titles the next giving up Government service, the third for Police officers to resign, the fourth for the soldiers, especially Muhammadans, to follow suit, and the last a general refusal to pay taxes. In all this they looked to their Hindu brethren to co-operate and in return the Muhammadans would be ready to lay down their lives for Hindus should the latter ever find themselves in difficulty.

Shaukat Ali, who received an ovation on rising, was the next and principal speaker of the evening. Apologising for his gruff voice, the result of much

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speaking during his continuous tours since his release three and a half months ago, and for his ignorance of Marathi, he spoke in Urdu to the following effect :—

Many pleasant things had been said about him in the address, but his only ambition was to do his plain duty of placing the real facts before Hindus, Muhammadans, and the Government.

He had friends among Englishmen, but since taking up the Khilafat question had found himself in a different atmosphere. However, as a religious Muhammadan he had to obey the Koran's injunctions and he cared not if by so doing he offended others and brought upon himself their displeasures, for the orders of God were above those of man.

When Great Britain took over India the Queen in a proclamation announced that there should be complete religious freedom in the land. He, therefore, called upon all, whether Hindus, Muhammadans,Parsis or Jews, to adhere to the precepts of their religions. As far as Muhammadans were concerned these were to be found in the Koran, written 1,300 years ago and not added to since, which lays down that there should be a Khalifa possessing sufficient military power, wealth and territory to enable it to protect the Islamic faith even, if necessary, by going to war, that the land known as the Island of Arabia (Jazirat-ul-Arab) should always remain in the hands of Muhammadan and never be allowed to pass to non-Moslems. These commands of Islam every Muhammadan is bound to obey.

At the outbreak of war the Viceroy had promised that the Holy places would not be touched, but now it is seen that these promises are not to be fulfilled. He would, however, like to let bygones be bygones and call upon the British Empire to make good its promises. That Empire has sufficient territory. India alone is so extensive and fertile compared with the sandy barren country the Empire now wishes to gain, that it (? the exchange) would not be a lucrative bargain. (*Note*.—The foregoing passage is obscure and may mean that by taking Arabia and Mesopotamia England will lose India and secure a poor bargain, or that having such a rich and fertile possession as India, England's desire to possess Arabia cannot be understood.).

Since 1913(?) the policy of cutting up Turkey has been adopted, but Muhammadans, having complete faith in the British, remained quiet. Now, however, having seen the ruinous effect of their silence, they were no longer able to continue so. He called upon the British Government not to make the Muhammadans of India, the 32 crores of Muhammadans elsewhere, and the 24 crores of Hindus, their enemies, but to carry out its promises. Nothing else that might be decided by the Peace Conference would satisfy them, as their Koran would not allow them to accept any decision involving loss of Turkish territory or the passing of the Holy places into non-Moslem hands.

A deputation had gone to England to explain this point of view to the English Government and people. No threat is intended, but it must clearly be said that unless what they ask for is granted they would cease to consider themselves British subjects and would not regard the King as their Emperor. The Koran lays down, and in doing so allows of no alternative, that the enemies of the Khalifa are enemies of the every Muhammadan. This command, binding as it is on every Muhammadan in the world, would have to be obeyed by the Nizam, the Begum of Bhopal down to the meanest among

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them, the Government servant and the private individual, and he felt sure that all would act together should necessity arise. Should any hesitate they would be despised even by their own wives and children.

Six years ago he was a Government servant himself and given to the pleasures of life till he awoke to the realization that it was incumbent on him to give up such a life of ease and devote himself to the attainment of certain things laid down in the Koran. By doing so he had not lost, but, if anything, gained prestige.

Some people issued warnings that to proceed in this direction would lead to prison or death, but it would indeed be a foolish Government that attempted to adopt such a course, and what, after all, would India lose if two or three thousand people were hanged. In the influenza epidemic six million had died and two thousand were killed or wounded in the Jallianwalla Bagh. But these he did not consider dead and he believed that by their deaths they had rejuvenated the 32 crores of India. Man is mortal, and it is better to die in the cause of God than to die of disease. Why be afraid of death when those who die in the cause of God become immortal ? Ravan, the one-time rich and powerful, is no more, but Shri Ramchandra who killed him for his sins has become immortal. A similar example is that of Hasan and Husein.

The main point was that the enemies of Islam were their enemies. As a last resort it had been decided to send a second Deputation to England headed by Gandhi. It would probably sail on the 20th. Its mission would be to tell the English that in the end Indians would have their way. They were determined to keep their self-respect and after all there was no jail that could contain 33 crores and it was impossible to hang them all.

In giving this advice he was fortified by the feeling that he stood on a firm basis of truth and he cared not for the rumours that reached him of arrest, etc. Islam said pray wait. He had waited five years and now was expecting the final decision.

They had resolved to be friends with the friends of Islam and to regard its enemies as their enemies. They were not nerveless creatures for the blood of warriors ran in their vains. They were not the Babus or Banias of India. He was aware that Gandhi was a Bania but he exempted him, as being of the warrior type, for his moral courage. After all the sepoys of the Punjab and Rampur, his native place, had fought bravely against the Germans, and if the lowest (*lit* scum) among them could do so much what could not able bodied and educated men of his own class do ? They would fight to the bitter end, but this was not their desire.

For some time they had forgotten God and hence found themselves in their present plight. They had now awakened to the realization of what was expected of them by their God and meant to try to carry out his desires regardless of Regulation III of 1818 and the Jallianwalla Bagh incident. Man can die but once and death comes when ordained by God and not before so that they had remained within the British Empire, had learnt its language and fought for it even against co-religionists, and now they only wished to prevent the British Empire from committing the fatal mistake towards which it seemed to be tending.

The Governments of India and Bombay seemed to be sympathetic but declared that they were powerless to help. This would not be accepted as

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an argument, and the only reply Indians could give was that it was immaterial to them whether their desires were denied them by the authorities here or elsewhere. If the local authorities' recommendations are accepted Indians will pray for their welfare, otherwise they will not.

He concluded by advocating the non-killing by Mussalmans of cows as a marks of their appreciation of what Hindus had done for them and asked for funds, stating that many million rupees would be required.

A blind youth Habibulla Askari Pasha echoed the sentiments of Abdul Majid and Shaukat Ali, but was stopped by the latter when the tone of his speech became objectionable.

Dr. W. V. Mule, Ladlesaheb and other local residents made brief speeches thanking the principal speakers, remarking on the Khilafat question and apprehending the disregard of the promises made by the British Government and of the 14th points of President Wilson.

Note.—Habibulla gives the following account of himself Residence Constantinople Father is an officer in the Turkish Army and resides in Salahudina, Azizin Council (?) Was a private in the 117th Rifle Regiment, Mahomed Azam Pasha's Division, was taken prisoner at Kut in 1916 and brought to Kirkee, where he lived in the Sappers and Miners lines with two other Turks, Abdul Razak and Abdul Karim, who are still prisoners. Was released two and a half years ago as he lost his sight and has wandered about preaching and living in Mosques. Has visited Hyderabad and Bellary, where other Turks were interned, and believes they have now been transferred to Ahmednagar. Has been in Sholapur five days this visit and intends going to Poona in four days' time. Will put up with Subhedar Subhanudin and Havildar Major Mahomed Kasim of the Sappers and Miners. Wishes to go home but has no funds, cannot get a ship, and has not applied for a passage.

The Superintendent of Police, Sholapur, writing about Habibulla, says :—

"Habibulla, the blind beggar, said to be a Turk, followed Shaukat Ali. He advised people not to be friendly with Christians, said that the Europeans were ruining Islam and should be ruined in their turn. Unless Europeans left Turkey alone their necks should be twisted like sparrows. He is not the sort of person to be stumping the country in support of the Khilafat agitation. He has probably acted as a messenger between Turks in different parts of the country. I would suggest that he be shut up again until he can go back to Turkey."

The matter was referred to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, and the C.I.D., Bombay.

From the former orders were received on the 21st April to have him arrested and removed to Yaravda Central Prison, there to be confined till further orders.

The latter reported that there was nothing on record regarding Habibulla.

Enquiries are being made to test the accuracy of the suspect's account of himself.

Will all officers C.I.D.'s please note and report if anything is known of this man ?

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(*q*) *S. B. Bengal.*—From Abstract, dated March 27th, paragraph 577.—From a reliable source it is learnt that Shaukat Ali gave private interviews to some of the prime movers in the dak bungalow and gave them to understand that in case of insurrection they could expect arms and ammunition from Kabul. He also instructed them to form a Committee consisting of 25 Hindus and 25 Muhammadans to carry on the Khilafat propaganda. Further report will follow. It is understood that Shaukat Ali has promised to pay another visit to Chandpur next month.

(*r*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, April 21st.*—The following is an extract from the Delhi Press Abstract, dated the 3rd April :—"Justice is much talked of by European powers but it is meant only for the white races and not for Turkey or the black people of India. Even America has adopted this attitude. This being so the Turks cannot be blamed if they crush Armenia and unite with the Bolshevists. Indians have decided to sever their connection with Government if the Turkish terms are unacceptable. Now the terms are, in fact, unacceptable and Enver Pasha and Kamal Pasha have started a war against the Allies. Indians hope that the Young Turks will be successful and Mr. Gandhi has suggested that the Indian Army should resign. Indians have, therefore, to choose between suppressing Turkey and befriending Turkey. How will the choice be made ? It is to be feared that there will soon be bloodshed in Turkey." (From the Hindi Samachar, 23rd March 1920.)

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM.

Khilafat and Turkish Empire.

(*a*) *Larkana, April 17th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "I have seized another manuscript leaflet about the alleged appearance of the Mahdi at Sehwan on 27th Rajib (today), which was being circulated in the Larkana bazaar. It is neither the same handwriting nor exactly the same wording as that which came into the hands of the police at Mehar referred to in the District Superintendent of Police's confidential diary of April 3rd. I agree with the District Superintendent of Police that the whole thing was meant to bring big crowds of credulous and excited people to Sehwan, there to be worked on by the oratory of 'Dr.' Nur Mahomed Shaikh, Abdul Majid Shaikh and other fire-brands.

"I have issued general notices under section 42 of the District Police Act both in Sehwan and Bubak and specific individual notices against all the most notorious mob orators at all likely to attend.

"The District Superintendent of Police visited Sehwan on the 15th and was satisfied that Wali Mahomed Shah and Anverali Shah, the Sayads of the Shrine, would not help or countenance any incitements to Jehad or the like.

"The District Superintendent of Police is again at Sehwan today, and the usual extra police sent there on fair days and the like is there too. I do not now anticipate any outbreak and think our precautionary measures will have been effective ; but from what I learn from more than one informant some sort of an outbreak was being actually discussed and planned among the extreme elements.

"Elsewhere the district is quiet and there is a growing reaction among the more respectable *zamindars* against the violence and open sedition of the Khilafat agitation as now being conducted, despite the strong sympathy of many of them with Turkey."

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(*b*) *Upper Sind Frontier, April 17th.*—My deputy reports that people who attended the Provincial Conference at Sukkur are saying that a Khilafat Conference will be held at Sehwan during the Kalandar Fair, which is to take place early next month. He goes on to say; "I was Sub-Inspector of Sehwan for a long time, and I can safely say on the strength of my experience of the town of Kalandar Shahbaz that permission to hold such a meeting during the fair will be simply monstrous and an open invitation to chaos and disorder. At this particular time of the year, the local Kalandari fakirs, foreign visitors from Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, and other parts of India are already in a fanatical mood and I am sure the extremist speeches will add sufficient fuel to inflame religious animosities."

(*c*) *Nawabshah, April 20th.*—There is absolutely no doubt that the Khilafat propaganda is making rapid progress. The Moulvis and Pirs, who in the recent past studiously eschewed politics and commanded little respect and influence with the English educated section of the Mussalmans for their antiquated and orthodox views, are coming to the forefront and are doing their best to justify their lead in the present movements with a vengeance. The old and new school of thought in the Muhammadan theology have thus all of a sudden been united and reconciled over the Khilafat question and the movement is bound to assume a more desperate aspect due to the fact that the Mullas have little to lose and much to gain by the hold and influence they are re-establishing over the Mussalman masses, which they had been gradually losing in the past.

(*d*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 20th.*—It is reported that Pir Mahbubshah has promised the Caliphate agitators that he will try to induce Pir Pagaro of Kingri to join their ranks. Similarly Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sarhandi and Pir Bachando (Barchandi) of Matiari have undertaken to approach the Makdum of Hala, Pir Parujan, to cast in his lot with them.

(*e*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 22nd.*—An officer reports: "Rasul Bux, Caste Kori of Rohri, teaches English to the grandson of Pir Pagaro in his village. This Rasul Bux was a volunteer in the Caliphate Conference at Hyderabad in December last and takes an active part in other political meetings. The retention of such a man in the Pir's goth is likely to make the grandson of the Pir and other Caliphate and men disaffected.

(*f*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 23rd.*—An officer reports that there was a fair Kingri, the village of the Pir Pagaro of the Hurs, on the 17th instant when 5,000 people collected including 500 Mullahs and Tafizes.

At the time of prayers, in deference to the wishes of the Pir, the Sultan of Turkey was not mentioned in the *Khutba*.

Maulvi Suleman of Tharri Mubhat, Larkana District, was put forward by the Mullahs to request the Pir to withdraw his signature to Maulvi Faizul-Karim's now famous "Tahquiqul-Khilafat" in which he demonstrates the invalidity of the claim of the Sultan of Turkey to be Caliph of Islam. The Pir, however, refused to accede to the request.

(*g*) *S. B., Karachi, April 21st.*—An Officer reports that while he was standing at Sehwan Station on the 17th instant at the time of the arrival of the passenger trains, he learnt from an illiterate peasant, by name Khan Mahomed, that Sayid Kadirbux of Bhan has all his *murids* and the people under his control to prepare themselves at any time ordered. He was further told that the illiterate people of Bhan and vicinity are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Islam and are filled with great enthusiasm.

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(h) S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 21st.—The Caliphate Conference at Sehwan on the 16th and 17th April was widely boomed beforehand and an attempt was made to attract a large crowd of ignorant people by the circulation of a story that the Imam Mehdi would appear.

Owing probably to the fact that the District Police made special arrangements to prevent an outbreak of disorder, and to the fact that the District Magistrate issued notices under the Police Act, to 19 persons to refrain from inflammatory speeches, the proceedings passed off tamely and some of the leaders who were expected remained away, notably Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore and Narsinglal Dhamanmal ("nightangle of Sind"). Other notable absentees were Shaikh Abdul Majid, editor of the *Al-Amin* and Dr. Nur Muhammad, M. B. B. S., perhaps the most fanatical and the most dangerous of all Caliphate agitators in Sind. The latter returned from Bombay on the 18th April after the Conference was over, it is probable that he could have returned earlier, had he been very keen on attending the *Sehwan* proceedings.

The Sehwan Conference, however, was in a way notable on account of certain new ideas voiced in it. On the second day, at the morning session before an audience of about 1,500 men, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, editor of the *Al Wahid,* a newspaper of Karachi, moved a resolution that as the responsible Ministers or Government had broken their promises made by them about the Holy places in definance of the sentiments of Muhammadans, it was necessary that the Ulemans of Sind should issue a *fatwa* ordering the severance of relations with Government and that the public should be asked to give effect to it. It may be noted in passing that the Conference at Ulemas for this purpose is likely to be held at Jacobabad on the 12th May 1920. What is more significant than the resolution, however, is the changing attitude towards the present Sultan of Turkey which was indicated by Shaikh Abdul Aziz in the course of his speech. "If Sultan Wahid-ud-din gets into the clutches of Europeans and is led astray by them, we are ready to throw over even him. Muhammadans have to select their own Caliph, and we require a Caliph who is strong enough to defend the Holy places." These words come very strangely from the editor of a paper started a few weeks ago with the title of *Al Wahid* in honour of Sultan Wahid-ud-din. They show a tendency on the part of the better educated Caliphate agitators to join hands openly with the Young Turks.

From a quite different source to that which contributed the report of Shaikh Abdul Aziz's speech, it has been heard that the people attending the Conference were saying one to another that the present Caliph Sultan is not able to safeguard the Holy places. God has demonstrated his unfitness and yet the English wish to keep him as Caliph. The Caliphate is not in the hands of the English, but in the hands of God who will again bestow a powerful Caliph upon Islam.

The third resolution discussed on the 17th instant is worthy of note. It put by Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot in the following words : "Having regard to present circumstances and to the orders in our religious books, it is our duty to do *hijrat.*" The question of Muhammadans leaving India was seriously debated by seven speakers. Jan Muhammad Junejo Bar-at-law, went more into details than the other speakers. He said that both Jihad and *hijrat* were difficult. Doubtless Jihad was their duty ; but what could they do against a government which prohibited them even from carrying sticks. Hijrat too was easier said than done ; where could seven crores of Muhammadans go to ? Afghanistan could not support so many

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people ; Arabia was in the hands of a rebel ; Turkey too was impossible. Still it could not be hoped that all Muhammadans would abandon India. Some were shameless and would remain, but anyone who did not want to be called shameless would have to go. The point arose about their mosques and burial grounds. Who was going to look after them ? This point was raised in the last Congress at Amritsar and Muhammad Ali said that their Hindu brethren should be requested to take over these places. The next speaker Aminuddin N. Munshi of Hyderabad, said sarcastically that their benign Government would get the benefit of the lands they left here and would be able to hand them over to their brethren from England who had no land. At this point a voice from the audience said that these lands would be given to Hindus. "Never mind". said Aminuddin, "we shall come back victorious and recapture these lands from the Hindus." The discussion of *hijrat* tailed off into an anti-climax when the last speaker, Hakim Fatteh Muhammad of Karachi, said : "Leave this country by closing your eyes.". After this there was an adjournment and when the proceedings were resumed the audience had fallen away from 1,500 to about 600 persons. The only incident of note in the latter proceedings was the production on the platform of a third grade constable of Larkana District, who declared that he declined to serve any longer a Government which was against their religion. He was, therefore, going to resign. The name of this constable is Muhammad Hasham, son of Karamullah, and he is posted at Dadu. It is understood that proceedings for his dismissal have been pending for some time.

According to one report received, Sayyid Sahadin, a Shiah of Sehwan, stood by the door of the Kalandar Shahbaz Durbar when the audience was assembling for the Conference and called out that the promoters of the Conference were "Kaffirs"; that they were working against the Mecca Shariff and were, therefore, degraded. He went on to curse the Nakshbandi Sarhandi Pirs who call themselves Faruki. It was not the duty of Shiahs, he said, to attend this Conference, the leaders of which were from Yazidi. The same report says that when in the Conference the audience shouted out "Allah-o-Akbar", a number of Sufi and Shaikh *fakirs* seated outside raised ironical counter cries.

(*i*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 32nd.*—On the 21st April, 500 Muhammadans and 50 Hindus attended a Caliphate meeting at Sakhi Taj Muhammad near the prostitutes' quarter in Hyderabad town. The object of the meeting was to deplore and condemn the deportation of the Shaikh-ul-Islam from Constantinople. Dr. Nur Muhammed was elected Chairman. He, Maulvi Mukhamadin of Jamesabad, and Aminuddin N. Munshi of Hyderabad, all spoke strongly against the English. The most important speech was that of Shaikh Abdul Majid, who is reported as saying: "After this there will be no more speeches but people will be challenged to come forward and give their names as willing to go to jail and to sacrifice their lives and property. His office (the editorial office of the Al Amin) was open from 8-00 a.m. to 8-00 p.m. for the registration of the names of those prepared to sever connections with Government. Indian Muhammadans could not do Jihad, but Muhammadans of other countries, such as Afghanistan, Kurdistan and Turkey would follow Jihad and would slaughter the Kaffir." He proceeded to read from an Urdu paper, named the *Huriat* what purported to be a speech of the Amir of Kabul at the death anniversary ceremony of his father, in the course of this the Amir said that he welcomed those who wished to do *hijrat*. Russia was favourable to the Afghans and had given

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freedom to Khiva and Bokhara. If the English did not decide the Turkish question according to the demands of Islam they would no longer remain the friends of the Afghans. These, said Shaikh Abdul Majid, are the views of the Amir of Afghanistan.

In winding up the meeting, Dr. Nur Muhammad said no copies of the resolutions would be sent to Government. The time was now near when they would be arrested. When they were arrested Muhammadans should remember to create no disturbance but should continue to agitate and get sent to jail also, so that they (Dr. Muhammad and his friends) might be rejoiced in jail by the continuous arrival of their brethren with news from the outer world.

During the progress of the meeting there were many shouts of *Lanat.*

(*j*) *Thana, April 20th.*—A meeting at Kalyan on the 15th instant decided to send no delegates (as previously proposed) to the Delhi All-India Caliphate Conference on behalf of the Kalyan Committee, since the Bombay Committee, of which Kalyan is a branch, is sending none.

(*k*) *Bombay, April 27th.*—(1) The Central Khilafat Committee met on the 21st. After some discussion of the Viceroy's reply to Gandhi's wire, Gandhi abandoned for the time being at least his projected trip to Europe. The Committee however has since applied for seven more passages to Europe at a very early date and for a still more urgent separate one for Kidwai. Meanwhile Gandhi has cabled to the Secretary of State as follows :—

"Pressure put upon me visit England interview Ministers and public regarding Khilafat question and without prejudice other deputation place before Ministers and public true Hindu-Moslem feeling and bring their notice disastrous consequences of decision adverse to overwhelming Muhammadan opinion. Stop. Before taking any serious step I would like personally place before Ministers my feeling in this important matter and understand Ministers' view point. I, therefore applied for permission for self and party to His Excellency the Viceroy and approval my Mission. Stop. Viceroy whilst willing grant permission not prepared give opinion regarding expediency Mission. Stop. Can appreciate Viceregal disinclination give opinion same time am unwilling proceed without encouragement from Government in difficult task could you please favour me ministerial view."

The Committee has also cabled to the Prime Minister and to the Peace Conference asking that their deputation shall be heard before a decision is reached.

(2) The Propaganda Sub-Committee appointed on the 13th instant has done nothing so far. A meeting which should prove interesting is in contemplation for May 7th. It is said that the Moderates are increasingly asserting themselves. Chhotani is known to be shaky and is believed to be anxious to tone down the programme of non-co-operation adopted at Gandhi's instance. A reaction against Gandhi's dictatorship may in fact already be in progress. His refusal to go to England has somewhat shaken the confidence of the Khilafat leaders in him. It is being wishpered that he never really intended to go. The following telegram adds force to this suggestion of wanting confidence in the Mahatma :—

To Gandhi from Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta :—

"Why decision so sharply been changed we should appear in public very soon public became much anxious from silence I am ill if you think necessary I would come."

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Abul Kalam Azad intends, by the way, to come down at once to Bombay and stay indefinitely "for work". An office and a house are being taken for him. Gandhi has returned to Ahmedabad. He is however expected to return very soon *en-route* to Sinhagad (Poona), where he hopes to have a rest. It is said that he does not propose to take any further action till after the declaration of the Turkish Peace terms.

(3) Shaukat Ali's Calcutta trip brought in a lakh of rupees; which Shaukat is sending down to the Fund at Bombay. The sum mentioned is believed to have been contributed by six persons only. Today's *Times* announces a contribution of Rs. 25,000 by Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy. Meanwhile many complaints are being received from up-country subscribers that their contributions remained unacknowledged notwithstanding repeated reminders. Suggestions are also common that Government is holding up the money orders and cheques. One of Chhotani's correspondence in Central Provinces laments the apathy of his co-religionists: from only two of them could he extract any money for the Fund; and asked that Shaukat may be sent down to stir them up.

The owner of a local tea-shop issued leaflets advertising his intention of devoting to the Khilafat Fund his takings on a certain day and calling upon his co-religionists to patronise him on that day. His takings, which amounted to Rs. 242, were duly credited to the Fund.

(4) Shaukat Ali's programme is to proceed from Patna, where he now is, through Bihar to Faizabad and Bareilly and thence return to Bombay. The Madras Conference just ended, of which he was President, has wired as follows to the Afghan Political Mission now at Mussoorie :—

"Madras Presidency Khilafat Conference under presidency of Maulana Shaukat Ali adopted following resolution on 18 : This Conference views with gratification the attempts that are being made to establish friendly relations between the Government of India and Afghanistan and Muslim tribes on the North-West Frontier. It believes that the present strained relations are mainly due to the misgivings produced in the minds of those warlike people about the intention of the British towards Turkey and Khilafat and is of opinion that a just settlement of the Khilafat question is bound to have a salutary effect and result in the permanent solution of India's frontier problem and give relief to the people of India in the heavy military burden they are bearing."

(5) Few signs are apparent of the active support which, according to Shaukat Ali, Tilak promised to the policy of non-co-operation with Government. The *Mahratta* and *Kesari* refer to the subject as little as they decently can; and Tilak's latest manifesto devotes a perfunctory sentence to it. This latter reference, which is almost lost in the maze of "social and political planks", constitutes a demand which the Indian Social Reformer labels "more Moslem than Islam" and stigmatises as nonsense. As in the case of Gandhi's departure for England on the 20th it looks as if Shaukat Ali's announcement were a little premature.

(6) (*a*) I attach a full translation of a letter (marked A) to Chhotani from one Ilamuddin, Lahore (no other address is given). Apart from its concluding admission that Muhammadan villagers are totally ignorant of the Khilafat, its substance is a suggestion that special attention shall be paid, by persons prepared to sacrifice their lives for Islam, to the four districts in the Punjab which supply the Indian army with its finest material.

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(*b*) Mahomed Ibrahim of Bans Mandi, Allahabad, a correspondent of Shaukat Ali, informs him that the convicted accused in the Allahabad Khilafat sedition case has gone to jail rather than furnish security; but has promised to abide by Shaukat Ali's advice as to his final action.

(*c*) I attach a free translation (Marked B) of a letter by Maulana Abul Khair of Kuchab Pandit, Delhi, to Abul Kalam Azad, which is full of fanaticism and anti-British sentiments. I am told that the writer is a well-known man with special influence over Pathans and trans-frontier men.

(*d*) One Malik Noor Khan, Inspector of Revenue in the Punjab, has made to the Central Khilafat Committee a remarkable offer of personal service. A translation (mark C) of his letter is attached.

(7) A leaflet is being distributed in Bombay calling attention to the public meeting which repudiated on behalf of Bombay Shias the views of the Lucknow Mujtahids.

(8) The following telegram was addressed by Mrs. Besant to Kanji Dwarkadas.

> "Will you Jamnadas Arundale sign with me protest against steps non-co-operation ending in breach British connection. Wire New India."

Mrs. Besant's repudiation of the policy of non-co-operation, endorsed by Jamnadas, Arundale, Patwardhan of Ahmednagar, and a number of other officials of the National Home Rule League has since appeared in the daily papers

(9) Mahomed Ali has cabled from London asking for authority to act as the *Chronicle's* home correspondent. Shaukat Ali has, therefore, asked the *Chronicle* to obtain Government sanction to this arrangement, the objection of which is apparently to enable Mahomed Ali to take advantage of press facilities to supply Khilafat news to India.

(10) As the attached translation (marked E) of its letter to Chhotani shows, the Khilafat Workers League (Majlis Khuddan-i-Khilafat) is anxious to make a start upon non-co-operation.

I attach the substance of a letter (marked F), dated the 19th April 1920 from Iqbal Shaidai, Lahore, to Shaukat Ali, offering his services.

Accompaniments.

"A"

Lahor, dated....."

From

A Muslim Ilamudin by name, one of those who (intend to) migrate (from their native land).

To

Jan Mahammad Sahib Chhotani, the lover of Islam.

Greetings for the sake of God and His Holy Prophet. May peace be ever on him. Place the following proposal from me before those who claim to take practical steps, (and) before the All-India Central Khilafat Committee, and all the Khilafat Committees that in future be formed in India,

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for immediate action. It is also your duty to put it before the body of Ulemas of India, and those respected Ulemas who spoke at Cawnpore. Also please place it immediately before the Muhammadan leaders in India, the devotees of Khilafat, for example, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (and) Masih-ul-Mulk and lover of Islam, Hakim Ajmal Khan, and (also) before all the great men and Ulemas of Sind, so that practical steps may at once be taken to send persons prepared to sacrifice their lives for Islam, to all the villages in India generally and to the villages in Rawalpindi, Gujarat, Jhelum and Shahpur districts of the Punjab particularly, to spread propaganda about Islamic Khilafat in the same manner as it has been spread in all the cities of the country. In some many arrangements should necessarily be made about this, so that Muhammadans in villages also may at least learn what is going on in this connection throughout the Islamic world. Up to this time Muhammadans in villages are totally ignorant about the Islamic Khilafat and they know nothing about it. Greetings once again.

(Signed) A humble Muslim.

"B"

Translation of an Urdu letter from Maulana Abdul-Khair, Kuchab Pandit, Delhi, to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, c/o the Central Khilafat Committee, Chhotani House, Bombay :—

Kuchab Pandit, Delhi.

Respected Maulana,

Greetings, I have today received information, that having been misled by..... devils and hypocritical Muhammadans you also have made up your mind to go to England and that perhaps you may sail by 24th instant. I cannot understand the circumstances which have compelled you to abandon the straight path of truth and right and to make up your mind to apply to and ask assistance from *Shirkat* (ascribing plurality to deity) and (things) ungodly. In the first place it was a mistake to waste time up to now in petitioning and making requests. Secondly, now when one deputation has already gone and we have seen its result and the reply of the Shepherd of the sheep of Christ what is the use of getting up more deputations and was this object of proposals of the Calcutta Khilafat Conference, and does the limit of action in Shaukat's world extend only up to sending of deputations to England ? It is possible that their faith is that the English are their last resort and refuge, and George is their God, and therefore the alms of Khilafat should be begged from him. But this can on no account be the faith of a Mussulman because God can forgive all sin but the sin of *Shirkat* (ascribing plurality to deity) is unpardonable (Arabic verse .....).

I never expected that you also would join that class of men doomed to perdition (or that class of prevaricators). Therefore my heart which was generally restless and unstable like mercury had some satisfaction (only in the belief that you would not join that class). But tell me yourself where I should look for peace and rest and where I should search for those Muhammadans who do not transgress the limits which have been set by God and His Prophet. You must be aware that he who steps out of these limits is not a Mussalman. (Arabic verse.....) Ah! How can I describe the effect which the report of your (intended) departure has made on my mournful heart and mind. Since the day I read the news about despatch of armies for occupation (of Constantinople) I have been besides

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myself and distracted and leaving the city and habituations have for the sake of protecting my faith made (sic) the Persians my refuge. But for God's sake do tell me where should I have my grave prepared. It is my misfortune that I have not yet had an opportunity of expressing the love, affection and trust in you from the very beginning but believing myself to be in the presence of my God and His Prophet, I assure that after my love for the Prophet if I have an affection for anybody in the whole of this universe it is for your sacred self, and in the strength of this assertion I can say that I am your servant in the same way as was that friend of the Prophet who was with him in the Sur cave. But I also feel the necessity of telling you the real object and reason for this affection. I swear by that Holy personality which has your and my life in His hand that as long as you go on the straight path and your tongue is fearless when proclaiming truth and right, I have the same. But after that I am the descendant of that Arab who had preached obedience to and observance of the Book and Tradition to Hazrat Umar *bin* Khitab with sword. Now tell me yourself whether petitioning to masters other than God is allowed by the Book and Tradition. If (lit and) this cannot be proceed (sic) or inferred from the Book and Tradition, and is (on the other hand) against the Commands and way of God and His Prophet then it is not *Kufr*. (Arabic verse. .....).

I know you are against sending deputations and petitioning to and asking help from your enemies. I also know that you are aware of the enmity of the English towards Islam and once in the course of conversation Allama Rashid Raza said to you.

I further know that you must have read the following verse in the Quran with sufficient thought and consideration and deliberation and care. Verse...

Then I cannot think and am entirely at a loss to understand that what was the power which closed your eyes and sealed your heart with the seal of and made you incline towards that which is against the clear and plain commands and objects of God and His Prophet. I want to very plainly ask you and also those worshippers of falsehood who have compelled you to go to England, what impression can your deputation make on the English nation which does not want truth and humanity but can only be influenced by the sword of the executioner and the shoes of a tyrant. Mohammadali has been making an endeavour (lit. kicking the dust) for the past two months but the result is apparent. Now what would you or Mahatma Gandhi do by going there. If you want to waste the money of the nation then why don't you throw it into the sea, which is nearer ? For God's sake think a little how long will this deputationing last, and how long will you prove to the world the weakness of your faith by making noise ? In India there is the necessity of an enthusiastic and practical measure while it is you are going to England. During the past days when I had an occasion to work in the towns and villages the people did not come (lit look) for the name of Maulana Bari or Shaukat but their eyes searched for the name of Gandhi. And at the places where there were educated Mussulmans who also possessed religious sentiments it was only your name which made them ready to send telegrams on 19th March according to the proclamation. Yes, I want to ask another question about the circumstances which are compelling you to go to England. Are you so generous that you would agree to abandon the Khilafat question if an Englishman were to place the Quran in your hand and swear you that by that or would you agree if Butler were to give you oath by the Prophet and ask you to renounce your religion or any evening were to put up his head on your feet and request

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you to eat a tola of arsenic ? If such is the principle of refusal or acceptance then in my opinion in the face of the solicitations and beseechings of the infidels among the Quresh tribe and in the face of the strength..... It ought not to have been said. (Arabic verse).....

Hazrat Imam Ahmad *bin* Hambal wanted decrees of the Book and Tradition about a matter about which the Shariat itself had given no decisions while the chief of the universe (the prophet) also kept quiet. But here there is a distinct breach of the commands of the Book and Tradition. Now say if you have a correct and satisfactory answer and if I say (Arabic .....) then can you prove as proper your conduct of petitioning and praying before the English nation about whom it is proven and admitted that if there is any nation in Europe which is the enemy of Muhammadans and if there is a power which desires to wipe Islam out of existence, it is the English and especially when this truth has now been made clear and plain by the current papers, the speeches of Miller and the articles of the "Near East". If Shaukat has given you an oath then was oath not given to the Prophet by Abul Jehal and Sapian ? If you have been compelled by the use of an oath then I swear you by the Preserver of the Universe and the Chief of the world (i.e., the Prophet). I also swear you by that light of the eyes of the Pophet Ali and Batual and Hazrat Hasnain. I again swear you by Imam Alsana Hazrat Ahmed *bin* Hambal, by the chief of the Mujaddids Hazrat Ibn-i-Nima and the Imam of India Hazrat Ahmad. I also give you oath by the true *ulemas* of your own family that you should not put a single step out of India. Otherwise believe me that if there is life after death then mine will be the hand and yours the throat.

(Signed.....),
FAQIR ABDUL KHAIR,
May God Forgive his sins.

"C"

Translation of an Urdu letter, dated 10th April 1920, from Malak Noor Khan, Inspector of Revenue, etc., to the Secretary of All-India Khilafat Committee, Bombay :—

To

The Secretary of All-India Khilafat Committee, Bombay.

Greetings, etc. I have come to know that it has been decided in an important meeting that the Khilafat Deputations will be sent to England, Hejaz, Mesopotamia, Syria and Smyrna. Therefore I offer my services for any of these deputations. I am a Government servant and have been in the territories of Arabia and Persia for about four years. As I was an Inspector of Revenue and Agriculture there and have also been working in the Political Department I therefore besides having a fair knowledge of the habits and conditions of the people and their political sentiment ; I am also acquainted with great Shaikhs who keep some 20 or 30 thousands of guns with them. I can deliver lectures in the following languages :—(1) Urdu, (2) Persian, (3) Arabic and (4) English and can also talk Turkish. Though a rich man and officer in a good position I can do the work of a sepoy as I have been on field service for four years and thus can put up with every kind of journey and hardship. You can think as well what kind of heart and mind will be of a person who has served four years in the Political Department and also on the battlefield. I will raise no objection of any sort whether you send me in a good position or inferior one. If you would send me as a Khansama (cook) or as a coolie even then I will certainly go there and serve Islam.

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When the calamity had fallen on our temporal Government I had tried to save its head by myself working among bullet shots. Now when the same Government whom we saved from death with our own hands has brought calamity to our true (religious) Government when would a better opportunity come for us to express our sorrows and regrets and also for serving our true Government would it be when the Khalifa of Islam will be arrested who killed as has been done to the Shaikh Islam who is at present in prison at Malta. I will openly resign the service and would take up the Standard of Khilafat as a Mujahid and whatever difficult, dangerous or bloody work will be given to me I will perform it if God wills, and as long as I have breath in my body.

The spirit which is working against these people in Iraq-i-Arab or other Muslim territories and the special reasons for it I will explain to you at some other time or when you call me or I will write about it to you. In short, there is necessity of awakening these sleeping lions who were born under the sword and whose food is blood. I came from rural tribe and people which is covered with (a sort of) rust at present and which after a little cleaning can be given a practical garb. If you want my service, please communicate at the following address :—

Malik Noor Khan, Inspector of Revenue,
C/o Surkhan Khan, Shopkeeper,
Nawshahra, Tehsil. Khushah,
District Shahpur (Punjab).

I am at present in my squares (land in Canal Colony). You can communicate with me also at the following address if you think it no trouble :—

To

Malik Manqakhan,
Agral Chak, No. 102, Malikpur,
P.O. Chak No. 103,
Near Kaswal Station,
District Mantgoomri (Punjab.).

If possible you inform me at both the addresses so as not to allow any delay in compliance, and if there be any delay in it, it would be owing to late information, as I live in a village where communications reach after great delay, for the men with postal services allow delays always in Dak. Triada was Salem.

Obediently yours, Malik Noor Khan Awan.

Note.—Whether you require my services or not intimation should be given in each case, so that I may rest assure and carry on my usual work.

"E"

Translation of a letter, dated 22nd April 1920, from Hasrat Mohani of Delhi to the President of C.K.C., Bombay :—

Sir,

A regular copy of the resolution of the first meeting of Majlis Kuddam-i-Khilafat held at Delhi is submitted herewith. The services of all the members of the Majlis Khuddam-e-Khilafat are placed at the disposal of the Central Khilafat Committee, a compliance with resolution No. 4, regarding Non-Co-operation, and it is requested that firstly we should be immediately permitted to adopt without futher delay the first step towards non-co-operation with the Government and supplied at once a copy of the agreement prepared by Mahatma Gandhi on this point.

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Secondly. Supply us a copy of the General Form proposed for taking signatures of the persons who show readiness to join Non-Co-Operation scheme, so that we may ourselves get the forms printed and begin to take signatures of the people.

Thirdly. Send at once a copy of the report of Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad and Maulana Shaukat Ali's committee, which was put up before the Central Khilafat Committee held on 12th April, so that we may act upon the directions laid down therein.

Fourthly. The forms and reports have not yet been published in the English and Urdu newspapers. Their publication is very necessary now. A copy of the rules and resolutions of the Committee and Form for membership are submitted for perusal.

"F".

Substance of a letter, dated the 19th April 1920, from Iqbal Shaidai, Lahore, to Shaukat Ali :—

Complains of Shaukat Ali's silence and requests him to reply to his previous letter. Further says: "I wish to remain with you and work in Bombay ; or I will perform such other duty as you will give me. I enclose a letter from a friend. I need not write any more but will expect a reply."

(*Note.*—In forwarding the letter of his friend, Iqbal has taken very great care to erase and obliterate the name and address of its writer. It is obviously from Peshawar and refers to the work done and intended to be done in the Islamia College, Peshawar, among the Pathans. A translation of the letter is attached.).

Translation of the letter enclosed in the letter from Iqbal Saidai, Lahore, to Shaukat Ali.

Dear Brother Iqbal,

Greetings. Since some time I have known nothing about you except this much that you are alive, because I had seen a notice in the "Vakil" about the wrong interpretation (by you) of President Wilson's 12th point. It is rumoured that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad will visit Peshawar shortly. What is the intention of Shaukat ? Please inform me of full details as soon as possible. You must have learnt about the proceedings of the Khilafat meeting in the Islamia College, Peshawar. I did not take a large part in it. The reason was that had I taken a large part, several enthusiastic young students would not have got the opportunity of doing the work, which they got by handling different branches of it. But I have done a good deal indirectly. By God! the amount of national work which one can do in the College by posing as a Government man is difficult of achievement if you represent yourself to be a national worker. Amongst the Pathans only a few could be found who would undertake to do a work by merely having it explained to them. The majority of them are such as could be successfully tackled by appealing to their honour and by praising Government. Please do inquire from Shaukat when he intends to come. Now is the time for him to come and to awaken this sleeping community by making them realise their own strength and power. What luck it would be if my family gets the honour of being his host, and this humble Afghan hut which cannot boast of any other distinction (lit. decoration) but that it is sanctified by the recitation in it of the Holy Quran) is for ever made a place of pilgrimage for the well-wishers of the nation. Now, when this is the behaviour of the English Government what should be ours. I verily say unto you that I am not a (mere) talker (but) a regular worker. Nothing can be achieved by mere

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talk. Many people know this that mere talk is of no avail, but still they fold their hands, sit idle and do no work. I am not one of them. Give me some work and then see what I can do. A very good idea has occurred to my mind, but I will tell you of it verbally, if you ever come to Peshawar. *Finis*. I am fed up and have not the strength to write more.

Note.—The signature and address of the writer have been carefully erased.

(1) *S.B., Bombay, May 1st* :—

Place and date	Speakers and leaders.	Object and result
(1) Nausharo (Nawabshah) ; 9th April.	(1) Moulvi Fazal Muhammad (2) Hakim Shamshudin Ahmed, son of Kazi Ubedullah. (3) Abdul Rahiman Muhammad Siddik.	Audience about 150. Object to start a District Caliphate Committee at Nausharo. No. 1—touched on Caliphate question and urged Muhammadans to support the Caliph as a religious duty. No. 2—who has a diploma from the Tibbya Madressa Delhi and is practising in Karachi supported No.1, but advocated the giving up of Government service, the use of Swadeshi goods and the boycott of English articles. No. 3—A B. A. class student in Bahauddin College, Junagadh was more excited and emphalic, He referred to the Premier's reply to the Deputation, to the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and to the Armenian Massacres, the truth of which he doubted. The meeting dissolved without attaining its object.
(2) Dinga (Nawabshah)	(1) Moulvi Fazal Muhammad (2) Moulvi Gulam Rasul .. (3) Hakim Muhammad Mauz (4) Moulvi Abdul Rahiman	Audience about 200. Similar to the above. Among other things, it was suggested that Mulla schools should refuse the Government grant-in-aid. A local Caliphate Committee was appointed.
(3) Belgaum : 8th April	(1) Moulvi Abdul Rashid Walad Alli Rajak of Lucknow (Chairman). (2) M. Husein walad Gousumia, Secretary, Anjuman Islam, Belgaum. (3) Chalisab Alvisab, Imamdar of Belgaum. (4) Two other Muhammadans of Belgaum.	Audience about 50 Muhammadans. To collect funds towards the Caliphate Fund. The speakers complained about the poor attendance and the scanty collection.
(4) Belgaum ; 15th April		The Parsharam Circus Company gave a benefit night for the Belgaum Caliphate Committee. Local Muhammadans and Hindus interested themselves in it. At the end Muhammad Hussein recounted the various difficulties with which Muhammadans were faced and suggested that these should be solved by approaching the King Emperor.

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(*m*) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, May 1st.*—The following is an extract from the *Times of India*:—

THE KHILAFAT
A NOVEL SUGGESTION

(Through Associated Press.)

Madras, April 17th

In the course of his address as President of the Madras Provincial Khilafat Conference, Mr. Shaukat Ali, speaking in Urdu, said that for reasons of its own, England has changed its old policy of friendship with the Khalifa of Islam and forced Turkey into the powerful arms of Germany. He referred to India's help in the war and wanted England to take the matter in its own hand and have a round table discussion with the representatives of the All-India Khilafat Committee, the Moslem League and the Congress. He said that Turkey must have all the possessions she had before the war with the guarantees taken from her that she would give full scope for autonomous development to other races living under her. If England in spite of the united wishes and desires of Hindus and Muhammadans persisted in humiliating Islam and the Khalifa and made him another Pope of Europe, a prisoner in Constantinople, or directly or indirectly occupied the Sacred places of Islam, a very critical situation would be created for which the Government's policy alone would be responsible.

He knew that efforts were being made to create mistrust between the Hindus and Mussalmans, and he would take that opportunity to say to Lord Sinha and other Moderates or Extremists among them that there was no room for lukewarm support, which gave them great pain. If these friends had never opened their lips and left them to deal with the question it would have been much better. In this grave crisis those who were not with them were against them in formulating Mussalman demands. Mr. Shaukat Ali said the Holy places of Islam should always be under the wardenship of the Khalif. Jazirut-ul-Arab must never go into non-Moslem control according to the dying injunctions of the Prophet.

The Khilafat must be powerful and have independent temporal power with sufficient lands, population and money and be capable of organising and keeping up a well-equipped army for defending Islam against enemies.

Mr. Shaukat Ali said their loyality was conditional, and as long as they were allowed full freedom of faith and liberty to act and live the life marked for them in the Holy Koran they were content to live as subjects of the British Empire. In matters of faith they could allow no compromise. In case their religious demands were not met, then God-believing Moslems had no option except to go out of the Empire. In case of the failure of the efforts at conciliation they would start a joint Hindu-Moslem non-co-operation movement in India under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi. They had received promise of full active support from Mr. Tilak. Their first step in the non-co-operation movement would be the stopping of donations, subscriptions to war loans and the giving up of honorary positions and memberships of Councils. The second step would be to give up all civil posts. The third step would be to give up all military and police services. The fourth step non-payment of all taxes. Mr. Shaukat Ali concluded by appealing for funds and expressing the hope that the Afghan Mission would result in peace.

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S. B., Central Provinces, April 28th.—The District Superintendent of Police, Nagpur, reports "The City Inspector reports that an individual who called himself Yusuf Ali Khan arrived from Bombay by the evening passenger on the 20th and stayed with Samiulla, pleader. He described himself as a Captain of the Bombay Caliphate Volunteers and was dressed in a sort of uniform-khaki with shoulder straps and Maltese crosses and Persian cap with the crescent worn prominently in front. The ostensible object of his visit was to enquire into the strength, training, etc., of the local Caliphate Volunteers, and he questioned several youths as to whether they had been trained in drill, etc. Samiulla professes to know nothing of the man except the account he gives of himself. In the course of conversation with the City Superintendent, he mentioned that he had seen service in Mesopotamia and had resigned from the Army. In reference to the Caliphate agitation he mentioned that the time for talking and holding meeting had gone by and that 'practical work would now have to be done. He also mentioned that he proposed going to Calcutta to inspect the Caliphate Volunteers there, but left instead in the Bombay direction by Mail on the 21st instant. He is either an ordinary cheat or an emissary from the agitators on the Bombay side. Gave his address as 'Kashi Bada, Bombay.'

Yusuf Ali Khan, Captain of Bombay Caliphate Volunteers.

"As a result of his visit, an attempt is being made to obtain khaki uniforms for the Volunteers and one Kasim Khan, Momin, who is said to have made a few fiery speeches, has been appointed Captain of the Volunteers."

Descriptive-roll.—Tall and slim ; long face, slightly pock-pitted ; pointed nose ; about 30 years of age.

(*a*) *S. B., Sind, April 26th.*—Afghan help for Caliphate agitators.—It is reported that the Caliphate agitation has received a fresh impetus from the speeches of the Amir on the anniversary of his father's death and of his chief representative, Muhammad Beg Tarzi, in the mosque at Mussoorie. These are being interpreted in speeches and in the Urdu papers received in Karachi, such as The Siasat, as the rattling of the Afghan sword in its scabbard to warn Britain against the partition of Turkey. It is said that leaflets containing extracts from these speeches are being distributed broadcast in the mofussil on yellow paper.

Caliphate and Turkish Empire.

Note.—will all officers be on the look-out for these leaflets ?

(*b*) *Hyderabad, April 26th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "The Honourable Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri sent me a letter with its envelope, which bore the Karachi post-mark to the following effect, stating that somebody appeared to be writing mischievous letters to which he did not attach much importance :—

"To Khilafat Committee, Hyderabad.

"It is not the time to sit quiet. Which delegates have gone to Mussoorie on behalf of Government ? You raise excitement and Kabul will be favoured with fortune. Otherwise it will be a difficult affair. You know that Mr. Nabi

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Baksh, Assistant Commissioner, has worked much against Islam and he is known throughout Karachi. You merely commence agitating and it will not be difficult to expel the British from Sind. It is merely one day's work. There should be agitation everywhere on the 5th instant. You know what work Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars has done in Sehwan. There should be no slacking in this matter. The delegates who have come should be informed. Otherwise it will be difficult. The condition of Islam is delicate. This is the urgent and final communication."

"The letter is in Urdu and is enclosed with its envelope,

"It may have been written by an Afghan who thinks the Afghan delegates have come to Mussoorie to get in touch with Khilafat agitators.

"The fact that the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri sent me this letter and visited the Commissioner on his recent visit points to the conclusion that he is afraid of trouble arising and wants to prove that he has had no hand in it."

The Commissioner in Sind adds : "Hr. Bhurgi is now very much on the safe side, but he has not (from what he told me himself) severed his connection with Shaikh Abdul Majid, Editor of the Al-Amin, who is collecting the names of those willing to sacrifice everything, and otherwise taking a prominent share in the violent side of the pro-Turkish agitation."

(*c*) *Hyderabad, April 29th.*—On the evening of the 11th April a special Caliphate meeting was held at Shakhi Taj Muhammad, Hyderabad. Abdul Jabbar was elected Chairman and there were about 800 persons present. Proceedings opened with the recitation of a vehement poem of his own composition, by Muhammad Hashim, calling on God to blacken the faces of the enemies of Islam who had broken their promises.

An Urdu poem was then recited by two boys. The title of this effusion was "*Fatehmandi hai Sultan Ki*". It exhorted all Muhammadans to sacrifice everything for the Sultan. "Oh! God, crush all Kaffirs and give the power of Muhammadans for the sake of the Sultan."

Abdul Kayum, the first speaker, requested the C.I.D., reporters to submit full notes, giving the exact words used by speakers, so that Government might know how deeply the question of Caliphate and Peace with Turkey were felt by the Muhammadans.

Abdul Jabbar, pleader, went over all the old ground about "broken promises" and the war having been won for England by the Muhammadans of the Indian Army. It had been very difficult for them to remain loyal throughout the war; but they had done it. What was their reward? An All-India Conference was being held on that day at Bombay, and it would in all probability be decided that a policy of non-co-operation should be adopted. So they would have to use only *swadeshi* articles, resign all titles and honours, resign all Government appointments and refuse to pay taxes.

Abdul Rouf, Memon, said that Muhammadans were bound to follow the dictates of their religion and they must be prepared to sacrifice their money and their lives for Islam.

Nur Muhammad, pleader, stated that the Prophet had instructed his followers not to let the Jazira-tul-Arab pass into non-Muslim hands; it

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was now in the hands of the British. They were unarmed and could not fight the British. Therefore, they must adopt non-co-operation and hamper Government till their demands were granted.

After a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting dispersed.

(*d*) *Upper Sind Frontier, April 26th.*—Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot and Jan Muhammad Junejo arrived at Jacobabad on the 23rd instant. Although a wire had been sent asking what time they would arrive in order that a befitting reception might be arranged, only Moulvi Abdul Gaffur, a servant of Naib Nasrulla (Municipal Councillor), and four or five disciples of Moulvi Abdul Gaffur are said to have been at the station.

After the Jumma prayers, Moulvi Taj Muhammad addressed the audience of about 200. He said that he had come to prepare people to give their lives for the *Holy Qoran,* as he had prepared himself. The British Government was not fulfilling its promises to Moslems and they had no alternative but to stand firm for their religion. Previously Government did not interfere with religion, but since the entry of Turkey in the war, they are being harassed in every way. Moslems should not care for trouble in this world, but should only consider the alternatives of Heaven and Hell in the next world.

Jan Muhammad Junejo then said that a secular war had been turned into a crusade and the feelings of 400 millions of Muhammadans had been lacerated. Moslems had been cheated into fighting against Turkey. Only the Turks had fought against the British, but all Moslems were being punished. The Shariff of Mecca, who was instigated by the British Government to set himself up as a ruler, would be like one of the Indian Princes, a ruler in name only, ruled by Government agents.

Moulvi Taj Muhammad then announced that a Caliphate Conference would be held on the 12th and 13th, Shahaban (May, the 2nd and 3rd), at Jacobabad, to decide finally what action they should take in the Caliphate question. He went on to say that it was no matter if the rich people did not join them ; Islam had always been upheld by the poor. The latter sentiment seems to have been a case of ' sour grapes ", as the *Zamindars* were conspicuous by their absence.

The extremists are trying to persuade Seth Asardas, Atmaram and other Hindus to join in the proposed Conference. M. K. Gandhi is reported to be coming.

They are also making a definite attempt to enlist some of the leading *Zamindars* of the district by calling at their *otaks* and by writing to them. I do not think they will get much assistance except, perhaps, a monetary contribution, from any *Zamindar* of importance.

Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Thul has joined the Extremists at Jacobabad.

(*e*) *S. B. Sind Karachi, April 29.*—It is reported that at the instance of—

(*i*) Maulvi Abdul Gaffur.
(*ii*) Sayad Abdul Nabi, and
(*iii*) Naib Nasurullah.

Maulvi Taj Mahomed of Amrot Jan Mahomed Junejo, Bar-at-Law, and Abdul Khalik of Larkana proceeded to Jacobabad and preached to

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Muhammadans on the 23rd instant to take more interest in religious affairs. Dil Murad Khoso, *zamindar,* undertook to pay a secret donation. The towns people do not think it feasible to sever connections with Government and migrate to foreign lands.

Amongst the various rumours afloat at Jacobabad, the most mischievous is one to the effect that Government have decided to give promotion to those Muhammadans only who do not frequent mosques and say their prayers. Hence one Sayid Mahomed Shah of Mirpur Mathelo is said to have advised his police constable *murids* to stick to their religion and be faithful to Government also.

It is said that Maulvi Abdul Satar of Kapur, Upper Sind Frontier District, is preaching to the Baluchis to rise against the Government over the Khilafat question.

(*f*) *Nawabshah, April 28th.*—On the 23rd April, after the Jumma prayers, Moulvi Fazal Muhammad spoke on the Caliphate question in one of the mosques at Naushahro-Feroz. He said that the Shariff of Mecca was a mere puppet in the hands of the English and the Holy places of Islam were as a matter of fact under the control of non-Muslims ; which was contrary to the death-bed injunctions of the Prophet. Prayers for the release of the Shaikh-ul-Islam and the restoration of the Holy places to the guardianship of the Caliph were offered. Moulvi Fazal Muhammad, who is practising as a native physician at Naushahro-Feroz, is reported to be taking an active part now in the Caliphate propaganda.

(*g*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 27.*—The letter quoted below in extenso is given prominence to in the *Sind Muslim* of the 24th instant, of which the editor is Taj Muhammad Mir Muhammad. Taj Muhammad was the leading figure in the Anjuman Khuddam-i-Kaaba movement in Sind about 1915-16. But at the last Sind Muslim League meeting he was reported, in his capacity of Secretary, as restraining the violent outbreaks of the fanatical mulla, Haji Ahmad.

It would appear from his giving publicity to this letter that he disapproves of the policy of Shaikh Abdul Majid, Dr. Shaikh Nur Muhammad, Maulvi Mukhamdin and others of the Hyderabad propagandists, of following up moderate speeches in big towns with violent outbursts before mofussil audiences :—

Correspondence

Hyderabad, Sind,
22nd April 1920.

The President,

Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee, Karachi.

Sir,

I beg to address you this letter on a very important matter and trust it will receive your immediate attention. Since Larkana Conference there has been a tendency in Sind to carry on the Caliphate work almost independently of the Provincial Caliphate Committee. I do not know how the Matiari meeting came to be called as Third Provincial Caliphate Conference and, recently, we have heard that there has been the Fourth Sind Caliphate Conference also at Sehwan. The Fifth has been, I hear, announced for Jacobabad and the Sixth for Shadipali at the end of May. The Matiari

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and Sehwan meetings cannot in any way be called Sind Provincial Caliphate Conference, nor can any meeting called in future without the sanction of the Provincial Committee be called Caliphate Conferences of Sind, and their resolutions, therefore cannot be said to be the voice of the whole of Sind.

If, Sir, things are allowed to go on in this manner, there will soon come a time when the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee will have ceased to have any influence and any control on the various meetings held all over the Province, and there will be not the slightest order in the Caliphate work. The result will be that everyone will be working independently, not only of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee, but even of the All-India Central Caliphate Committee ; the immediate result of which will be, if it has not already been, that thousands of people would be collecting the baitul mal and no one would know where the money is going. There would be utter disunion, and it will not be easy for any people to put the house in order.

I would also invite your attention to the various resolutions that have been passed at the so called Sind Provincial Caliphate Conferences.

I request you, therefore, to call a meeting of the Sind Provincial Caliphate Committee and pass rules for holding Conferences, etc., at once All the members of the local Caliphate Committee are of the above view and Mr. Bhurgri also agrees that it is very necessary to regulate the work.

In the meantime everyone would be obliged to you if you write to the press telling people that Conferences called without the previous sanction of the Sind Caliphate Committee will not be recognised. Meeting may be called, and can be called, but not the Conferences that are to speak in the name of the entire Province.

In the end I hope you will kindly consider the matter as very urgent.

Yours sincerely,

Pleader.

(*h*) *Sind C.I.D., April 28th.*—The prime movers in arranging a Khilafat meeting at Nasarpur on the 22nd were Moulvi Taj Muhammad, son of Mian Abdul Rahman, and Muhammad Usif, son of Jume. Moulvi Taj Muhammad is reported to be a Mulla School Master, aged about 25 years, in the village of Nobat Marri in Police Station Uderolal. He has two brothers, named, respectively Muhammad Kabir and Muhammad Hassan, serving in the Revenue Department at Mirpur Khas. One of them is said to be a Munshi in the Treasury Office and the other a Munshi in the office of the Deputy Collector, Muhammad Kabir, is said to have been taken two months' leave to enable him to visit Nasarpur so as to arrange a Caliphate meeting there.

Muhammad Usif walad Jume, the other prime mover in arranging the meeting, is a man of 25 years of age and of humble parentage. He works as a clerk for the Caliphate Committee at Karachi.

No man of importance appears to have attended the meeting. The chief visitors from outside were Shaikh Abdul Majid, Editor of the *Al-Amin* Muhammad Hashim, Editor of the *Kachkol,* and Muhammad Mukhamdin of Jamesabad. Taj Muhammad, the young Moulvi described above, presided. Muhammad Hashim, Editor of the *Kachkol,* read a poem repre-

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senting to God the enormities of the Christians and quoting the reply of God as follows :—

"I am about to destroy the enemies of Islam and their name of the Kingdom of Europe. I shall not spare France or Britain, but shall pierce their breast with the poisoned arrows of the Turks."

Moulvi Muhammad Sulleman of Tharri Muhabbat also read a poem.

Moulvi Mukhamdin of Jamesabad delivered a strong anti-Christian speech. He said that the Christians had deceived them into giving their help and so far the first time in history had succeeded in capturing Jerusalem. The time had come to take up arms, but, as they were unarmed, the only course open to them was to sever connections with Government and to refuse to help Government officers. The Turks were still strong and were cutting the throats of 'Kaffirs' with their swords. During the Balkan War the Christians collected a number of Turkish women and children in a mosque and asked them to embrace Christianity or be fired upon. They chose to be fired upon. The Christians were now massacring the young children of the Turks with the help of the 'Kaffir' English. If the Turks were crushed at this time, Christianity would be spread by means of the sword, and once the Turks were destroyed, there would be no one to defend Islam against the sword of Christianity.

Shaikh Abdul Majid, Editor of the *Al-Amin*, said that 50,000 Turkish women and children had been slaughtered like goats in Smyrna. The Turks were the nation which had fought for Islam for five hundred years. (At this point one of the audience fell down in a swoon.) The speaker said : "If I had as strong a feeling for Islam as this man has who swooned, I should kill myself. I want ten thousand men from Sind ready to go to jail with me and ready to face gunfire. If there are ten thousand, such men, the Caliphate matter can yet be saved." (At this point Kazi Muhammad Akram stood up and said that he was willing to sacrifice his life. This man's brother is a retired Sub-Inspector of Police. The retired Sub-Inspector of Police also interested himself in the Nasarpur meeting. His name is Kazi Juman). The speaker continued : "Those willing to help should register their names with the Caliphate Committee at Nasarpur or in the *Al-Amin* Office at Hyderabad. Government servant enlisting will be told to resign their appointments. Wealthy men enlisting will be told not to pay taxes. The strongest political power in Sind is that possessed by the cultivators. Even the Government is afraid of them. If the cultivators refuse to work for the *Zamindar*, the *Zamindar* is hopless. Not even Government can assist him. The cultivators should tell the *zamindars* not to pay taxes. The time for doing all this had not yet arrived but when the order comes, they should be ready to obey. If policemen, clerks and soldiers refuse to help Government, Government cannot be carried on, and in these circumstances any demand we may make must be accepted. They will only accept our demands when we tell them that we will not pay taxes and that to look on their faces is to look on the faces of pigs. I do not know how long I shall be with you as I am considering the possibility of being sent to jail. I am the well-wisher of the Government, but if the Government does not look after its own welfare, it will be destroyed. If the British Government wants to go to destruction, then surely it will be crushed. If we are true Muhammadans God will help us and the British Government will be destroyed and crushed as other Governments have been before.".

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Moulvi Ghulam Muhammad said there were several kinds of *jehad* and non-co-operation was also a mild from of *jehad.*

Moulvi Muhammad Sulleman of Tharri Mohobbat, in the Larkana District, appealed for subscriptions. Rs. 144 were collected in cash and two bullocks were given in kind. Rs. 120 more were promised.

Muhammad Hashim, Editor of the *Kachkol,* Moulvi Ghulam Muhammad and others cried out : " May God destroy Kaffirs. May God destroy the English. May God destroy the race of Kaffirs. "

No respectable Hindu or local Muhammadan of importance attended the meeting.

(*i*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, April 30th.*—A Caliphate meeting was held at Rohri on the 25th instant over which Kazi Ghulam Nabi, retired Deputy Collector, presided. Maulvi Din Muhammad exhorted the audience to fight for the Sultan fearlessly, as with the help of God, the Government would be vanquished like the mighty Fraun whose methods the Englishmen have adopted. It was Mussalman carelessness that he had led to the capture of the Holy places and deportation of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, and those Muhammadans who fought against the Turks were as much enemies of Islam as the English. He advised direct action by breaking off connections with Government. Master Rasul Bux Kori, tutor of the Pir Pagaro's grandson, said that he was not afraid of the British who in the contravention of their promises had taken possession of the Holy places and are dancing and drinking there, and that connection with them should be severed.

Ramchand Virumal, Hirasing Masand and Khair Muhammad (agent of Singer's Sewing Machine Company) suggested to use *swadeshi* articles only.

A local branch of the Caliphate Committee was formed in which about 44 men of the labouring class enlisted. Khair Muhammad was appointed Secretary and Kazi Ali Muhammad (retired teacher) Treasurer.

(*j*) *Sind C.I.D., April 30th.*—At the time of the Anti-Peace Celebration Campaign it was reported that Ghulam Mujadid the head of the Sarhandi Pirs of Sind, was adopting a temporising attitude with the object of restraining the wilder spirits in so far as might be possible. From a report just received, it would appear that his attitude has recently undergone a considerable change. An officer, who met him the day before yesterday, found him in a very excited mood, arising apparently from the belief that a grand attack on India was about to be launched from Afghanistan in which the Afghans, the Bolsheviks and the young Turks would co-operate. He said that in view of these developments, the Caliphate agitation had entered a new phase. A number of Government servants, including Deputy Collectors, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for Islam and even the Hindus are becoming converted to the policy of non-co-operation. He had recently been on tour in Thar and Parkar District and had asked the people what they were prepared to sacrifice in the cause of the Caliphate. They said that they were willing to sacrifice their lives and property and they subscribed Rs. 6,400 on the spot. On the strength of this he intended to arrange a number of meetings although he thought that the expense of an All-India Conference would be prohibitive. He had, however, heard from Madras that they were willing to send 150 delegates to Sind. About the 15th May, a meeting would be held in Hyderabad at which committees would be appointed for a number of places with the object of assisting those who abandoned Government service.

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(*k*) *Karachi, April 28th.*—Haji Abdula Haroon is reported to have remarked that the Khilafat Committee are awaiting the Peace terms to Turkey, after which action will be taken with vigour.

(*l*) *Bombay, May 4th.*—(*I.*) *Central Khilafat Committee.*—On April, the 29th, Chhotani said in private conversation that as the Turkish terms being disclosed at San Remo were not necessarily final, the Central Khilafat Committee could not make up its mind upon them until the Turkish delegates had had their say. Meanwhile the Committee telegraphed for Shaukat Ali and decided to hold a general meeting on the 7th May. In consequence, firstly, of Gandhi's request and, secondly, of Shaukat Ali's illness, this meeting has since been postponed till the 12th. In the words of the whip issued to members, its object is "to reconsider certain stages of non-co-operation involving difficulties". The whip also mentions that the meeting is "called with the approval of Mahatma Gandhi". Chhotani has informed Abdul Bari that the questions for consideration are differences of opinion regarding the police, the army and the non-payment of taxes. Meanwhile the Committee has sent to the press the accompanying summary (marked A) of the speech said to have been delivered by Amir Amanulla on the anniversary of his father's death. The Amir's main point is that he will welcome with open arms Moslem and Hindu Muhajirin from India. The speech has not yet been translated into Urdu, nor has it appeared in the local Urdu papers. Most of the other papers, however, both English and vernacular, have published it.

(II) *Hijrat.—The Urdu Placard,* of which a translation is attached (marked B), has been found posted in many places in Bombay. Though Haji Ahmed Siddiq Khatri is believed to have organised it's local publication, it emanates from G. M. A., Amritsari, Fattepuri, Delhi and includes a *fatuva* on Hijrat recently published by Abdul Bari in the Delhi press, as well as references to Amir Amanulla's attitude.

It is rumoured that people bent on Hijrat are repairing from all parts of India to Delhi, where a society called the "Khuddam-i-Muhajirin" has been formed. From letters received by the Central Khilafat Committee it appears that practical details of Hijrat, such as the question of passports, and the method of departure, are being discussed in the Punjab.

(III) *Gandhi and Non-Co-operation.*—Gandhi is reported to have written to Abdul Bari to the effect that action should now take the place of words, at the same time announcing his intention to start a non-co-operation league. In consequence of the disclosures from San Remo, Gandhi has sent to the press a message of encouragement to Moslems. He exhorts them to keep calm and to pin their faith to non-co-operation. Let those who distrust that policy, he adds, indicate some other equally effective, but less dangerous, means to the same end.

On the 27th of April, apparently in consequence of Abul Kalam Azad's wire reported last week. Gandhi publishd in the *Sanj Vartaman* a statement about his proposed deputation to Europe. A translation is attached marked "C".

The Mufid-e-Rozgar of 27th April and various up-country vernacular papers contain news of the resignation, in furtherance of the policy of non-co-operation, of seven Muhammadan police constables in the Punjab. The *Mufid* also prints the application in which they conveyed their intention to their superiors.

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(*IV*) *Khilafat Deputation to Europe.*—On the 27th of April Mahomed Ali despatched the following telegram to Chhotani : " Montagu received delegation by mutual consent frank informal discussion lasted hour and half. Pray control natural resentment delegation not hopeless yet of getting religious obligations respected. "

The Hindu of Madras has asked Shaukat Ali to instruct Mahomed Ali to send his cablegrams through Saint Nihal Singh, Hill, London, Mahomed Ali's recent attempt to obtain credentials as a correspondent of the *Chronicle* has already been reported. It now appears that he wishes to get into direct touch with other advanced papers also.

The Khilafat Deputation in London has been corresponding with Halil Halid Bey Ghalib Kemaly Bey and the London representative of the Emir Feisul. A translation of the Arabic letter addressed to the last mentioned is attached, marked " D ".

(*V*) *Miscellaneous.*—(*a*) Badruddin Abdulla Koor was to have presided over the fourth annual meeting of the Belgaum Anjuman-i-Islam, but in consequence of private advice to the effect that the chief business of the meeting was to re-affirm the Bombay non-co-operation resolution, Badruddin cried off on the score of ill-health.

(*b*) Writing to Abdul Ghani on 29th April, Noor Mahomed, pleader of Hyderabad, Sind, comments as follows upon one aspect of the situation in the province:

The non-co-operation thing has frightened Sind Hindus completely ; and I don't think there is any spirit among them. Following the lead and inspiration of the Besantine New India, the *Bharatwasi* of Jethmal is writing continuously against non-co-operation and is furiously criticising Shaukat Ali for saying at Madras that the non-co-operation means a movement for independence.

(*c*) Dr. Noor Mahomed of Hyderabad is expected to arrive in Bombay in the near future for the purpose of more effective collaboration with the Central Committee.

(*d*) Nidayat Mohiddin, High Court pleader of Hyderabad, Deccan, writing to the Central Khilafat Committee suggests that the proposed Second Khilafat Deputation will be more useful in Japan than in Europe. It should be diverted to that country to enlist the sympathies of the Japanese Government and people.

(*e*) The following is the translation of the paragraph which appeared in the *Sanj Vartaman* of the 29th April :—

Order of the Amir of Afghanistan.

Cow sacrifice totally stopped.

The Amir of Afghanistan has issued an order to the effect that in order to cement the unity between Hindus and Musalmans there should be no cow sacrifice in the whole of Afghanistan. Goats should be sacrificed instead.

(*f*) On page 1505 of the "*New Harmsworth Self Educator*" published in April 1914 is an illustration depicting the Prophet's return to Mecca. This infringement of the rules of Islam is being placed by Khatri before the Central Khilafat Committee and will probably be discussed at the meeting on the 12th instant.

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(*g*) Information has been received from the United Provinces of a suggestion made to Abdul Bari by one Nazir Beg of Cawnpore that, as bread for British troops and Europeans is made by Indian bakers, it should be poisoned on a fixed date all over the Country.

Accompaniment " A "

Bombay Chronicle, 29th April 1920

The Aims and Khilafat

The Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee sends us the following English version of the speech made by the Amir of Afghanistan on the occasion of the anniversary of his late father :—

Today I feel sorry not only at the rememberance of my venerable father but also at the present extremely critical condition of the whole Islamic world. May God save the Moslem community from annihilation ! At this time certain tribulations are prevalent in the Moslem world. The Ottoman Empire is involved in the most sorrowful conditions. Mutual differences gave an opportunity to the enemies of Islam to harm the Turks. The Allied Powers are determined to put an end to the Khilafat, though America has formally declared neutrality and France has expressed different opinions in the matter.

We do not believe that the British are fully determined to that end, because they desire the friendship of Afghanistan ; which would be impossible under such circumstances.

It is a matter of great pleasure that the whole of India has strongly persisted in the maintenance of Khilafat. Moulvi Mohamed Ali and Moulvi Shaukat Ali, the two political leaders of India, representing the general sentiment of India, say that the question of Khilafat must be decided in strict accordance with the demands of the Mussalmans, otherwise they would either declare Jehad or do Hijrat (emigrate). Hindus are also one with them and are determined to accompany the Mussalmans in leaving their beloved country for the sake of Khilafat. Afghanistan with its extension and capacity is heartily prepared to cordially welcome such emigrants as are determined to do Hijrat in the way of Allah inasmuch as the question is a religious one.

My pen is the pen of you, the Afghan (shouts of appreciation and recognition). Have written to the British Government that the subordination of the Khalifa to any power and the interference of any Non-Moslem power in the question of Khilafat is a thing to which Islam or any of the Moslems cannot possibly agree. It is impossible for the self-respecting Afghanistan to accept any adverse decision. The policy adopted by Russia naturally attracts the Moslem world, and the freedom of Khiv and Bokhara is recognised by the Russian Government, as a result of which two new Islamic kingdoms have sprung up. We therefore wish to convey our thanks to Russia through her Ambassadors.

Non-Moslem powers, hearing the Islamic brotherhood, think that it is planned for their destruction. But the fact is that it is intended for the progress and welfare of the Mussalmans themselves. The Mussalmans desire mutual harmony simply to ameliorate their condition. If there is no sacrifice for such Islamic brotherhood and progress and if the Afghan

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and the whole of the Islamic world hesitate to lay down their lives for spreading the truth of God then we should say good-bye to Islam. God forbid that it should come to such a pass. God alone is the Protector of Islam, but the welfare and the very existence of the Moslem world depends upon the sacrifice they would make. God is witness that we do not attach the least value to our lives and to our kingdom against those people who want the expiration of Islam.

I am, of course, sorry that my lamented father was murdered by some cruel hands, every one's father dies but not so tragically. This sorrow of mine, however, is nothing as compared to that I feel at this critical situation of Islam. I pray to God that he may keep the Islamic world under His protection, and save Afghanistan from the trouble and may enable me to serve you successfully. You ought to unite yourselves and attach no value to your lives whatsoever in the cause of Khilafat. We trust that England and her statesmen will not displease the Islamic world in general and Afghanistan in particular.

Accompaniment "B"

(Arabic Quotations.)

Hijrat

Sons (children) of Islam. The question of Hijrat has now been altogether simplified on account of the invitation of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. The Almighty Allah has completed all the arguments (overcome all the obstacles) of His slaves (Mussalmans). All our efforts had proved fruitless. Now the Hijrat has become incumbent on all true believers. We strongly believe that very shortly a *Fatwa* issued by the Anjuman-i-Ulama-i-Hind (Society of the learned Maulvis of India) will be before our eyes, after which not a little of doubt or uncertainty can stand. Accordingly on this subject and on my questions put before him for consultation, Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, issued a *Fatwa* by wire, the translation of which appeared in the following terms in the *Huriyat* newspaper of Delhi, dated the 23rd April 1920 :—

The Fatwa of Maulana Abdul Bari

PERMISSION FOR HIJRAT GIVEN.

From—Lucknow ;

To—Amritsar, C/o Huriyat, Delhi.

On the question of Hijrat, I announce, this that all those Mussalmans who cannot pacify their conscience should now act according to the dictates of Islam and should migrate (do Hijrat) to some such country where it is possible for them to serve Islam and act according to its tenets in an easier and better way.

(Signed) ABDUL BARI.

It is announced for information that in the public meeting held on the 19th April 1920 in the Pataudi House, Delhi, under the presidency of Maulana Syed Mohd. Dawood Gasnavi of Amritsar, (your humble) the undersigned did his duty, to do which he had no power or strength—it was only through Allah's blessings—that he invited the Mussalmans toward Hijrat. Praise be to Allah that many true believers responded most fervently and willingly to this call and there and then got their names entered in the list of *Muhajirin* (those who abandon their native country). This list is

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still open and with the grace of Allah—it is hoped to continue it in the future. Therefore, the public is informed by this announcement that all those who consider it an honour to do *Hijrat* with the first caravan, should either get their names enlisted in the roll of the first body of the *Muhajirin* in the office of the *Muhajirin, Fatehpuri, Delhi,* which is opened for the purpose, by attending the office personally or by letter or wire. This office will shortly start corresponding with the Government of India in connection with the *Hijrat,* without let or hindrance of the Mussalmans who are helpless to overcome their anguish and perturbation without doing *Hijrat* and consider it to wash their hands of their faith if they fail to do so by going out of India.

Invitor—Ghulam Mohd. Aziz Amritsari, servant of the very first batch of the *Muhajirin.*

From the office of the "Muhajirin" Fatehpuri, Delhi.

N.B.—Those *Muhajirin* who desire to do *Hijrat* along with their families and dependents should kindly intimate us the number of individuals.

Printed by Arif Hasri at the Huriyat Press, Delhi.

Accompaniment "C"

Rough Translation

Sanj Vartaman, 27th April 1920

Why am I going to England ?

The following explanation has been published by Mr. Gandhi :—

Several readers take so much interest in my actions that it becomes impossible for me to satisfy their curiosity always, not out of carelessness, but because I do not get sufficient time to reply to every person. I am not in a position to occupy sufficient space in the *Navajeewan* to publish the explanations of all questions. However. I deem it necessary to explain certain public matters, and my going to England is one of such questions.

Several readers have been thinking as to how I am prepared to go to England while I had always been against the leaders going to England. As they are well aware of my opinion the suspicions are natural. I have never held that nobody should go to England on any occasion. I expect such a time when it will be an offence if one does not go to England. I do not think like this with regard to the Khilafat question. It is not that I must go, but as it is possible to get some good by my going, I have left this matter entirely to the choice of my Muhammadan brothers. If they so desired I should be prepared to go ; and as they expressed their wish I became ready to go on two conditions, namely, the first that our arrangements here must be completed and the other that I must get an approval and permission from the Viceroy. The permission has been received but the Viceroy is doubtful in giving his opinion regarding qualification. I therefore, again approached the Khilafat Committee and asked it to decide on its responsibility as to what I should do in such condition. The Committee is divided in its opinion, but the general opinion is that I should not go to England for the present and so I have postponed my going.

The object of going there is not merely to get some decision but in case if an unfavourable decision is given, also to give a warning as to what will happen in India. Non-co-operation is not an ordinary thing, and if it is

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properly tried, perfect justice can be obtained through it. Therefore before the use of such a heavy weapon I think it essential to give a clear warning to the Government, so I prefer to go to England to give a warning, provided I get favourable conditions. The Viceroy's approval has not been received and, as we are not well prepared, I think it better for me not to go. Howwere if it is the wish of the Muhammadan brothers or, if I find the Government approving of my going I shall positively think of going.

(Signed) M. K. GANDHI.

Accompaniment "D"

Translation of an Arabic letter from the members of the Khilafat Mission Md. Ali Syed Suleman and Sayed Husen at London to Syed Noori Said Pasha, representative of Emir Fessul.

We, the members of the Khilafat Mission, welcome your being in London when we are here. The calamities fallen on Moslems left no Moslem heart without grief and no eye without tears.

We, Indian Moslems, wish nothing but civilization and improvement. The '*Koran*' says '*Moslems are brothers*, make them *friends and brothers.*' The love for prophet is one religion; we, the members of the Khilafat, kindly desire to approach and see a Moslem who loves Islam and sacrifies for it, if you have no objection to it we wish to approach and discuss with you with the object that the Moslems of Arabia and India may understand and know one another.

May the Providence guide us all to serve Islam.

(*m*) *Belgaum, May 4th.—The Commissioner writes* : "Turkish flags were flown on the 30th ultimo on the pandal where the Belgaum Khilafat meeting was held and on the Juma Masjid. They were removed the next morning except four on the Masjid which flew till the 3rd instant. Certain Maratha sepoys, who were prisoners at Kut, took violent exception to the Turkish flags, and I received a complaint from an officer yesterday and directed enquiry to be made, with the result that I find no more flags are flying. If this occurs again, I shall direct the District Magistrate to take action under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code."

(*n*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 7th.*—The following is an extract from the Weekly Report of the Special Officer for Bolshevism, Poona, dated May, the 5th.—Caliphate Agitation—(*a*) the week under report was marked by diverse speculation concerning the Caliphate question arising from the semi-official news about the decision of the Allies with regard to the fate of Turkey and the Manifesto issued there on by M. K. Gandhi. The Caliphate agitation has assumed a gravity of which it is difficult to trace a parallel in the history of political unrest in this country. Whatever the origin of the movement and the causes of its growth—and opinions vary as to its origin—some declare that it was started by the Hindu agitators to use Moslem feelings as an instrument to pull the burning chestnuts out of the fire others give the credit of its inception to Sir Amir Ali and his coworkers in England. It is certain that at the present stage of its development and so far as the Muhammadans are concerned, it would be under estimating the situation to declare that it is confined to a few discontented Muhammadans. It is true in some parts the agitation is more violent than in others. Sind, for example, is the most affected part of this Presidency. There, as else where, the uneducated and ignorant massess, unable to form

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an opinion themselves, are led away by the coloured representations of the educated and the so called Ulemas. It is a fact, however, that the latter include a considerable number of sensible persons who realise that the extent of the agitation is out of due proportion to the cause it represents ; but they lack strength and moral courage to put up an opposition to the movement. They fear that an open avowal of their views will discredit them with the community. This hesitation on the part of the better-disposed and by far the better-informed section of the community, coupled with the indifference shown by Government in not taking any steps against the most violent of the agitators, are causes responsible for the growth of the movement. Hence, the situation, as it stands at present, is serious and would call for extreme prudence and sagacity on the part of the authorities to meet it.

The Moslem public interested in this agitation are divided as to the course they should pursue after the announcement of the decision of the Allies on the 10th May. Jihad, Hijrat and non-co-operation are discussed as the three possible courses open to Muhammadans to express their resentment. Needless to say, the majority are in favour of the last mentioned course, although it is by no means improbable that a few extreme fanatics may proclaim Jehad and try to create a situation analogous to that which existed in the Punjab in April 1919. Hijrat itself is self-imposed exile, and despite the Amir's offer of a warm welcome to the would be Muhajirins, few will be disposed to leave their homes for a foreign land. What turn events may take it is difficult to prophesy. But it is certain that the Muhammadans will not cease to agitate until the Caliphate question is satisfactorily settled.

(*b*) There are rumours in Bombay that Amir Amanulla has instructed the Afghan delegates to acquaint the British Government with their sentiments in regard to Turkey and to make it a preliminary condition of the proposed Treaty that the Turkish Empire shall not be dismembered. It is said that Afghan delegates gave an audience to Abdul Bari and other Muslim agitators in Mussoorie and assured them of the Amir's support. It is also rumoured that the Arabs in Jazirat-ul-Arab are in revolt against the British and that Imam Yahya has organised an army of 100,000 soldiers to fight the enemies of Islam.

(*o*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, May 6th.—The Bombay Chronicle* has the following in its issue of the 1st May 1920 :—

Partition of Turkey.

Feeling in the City.

The terrible tidings about the fate of Turkey published on Wednesday morning produced a feeling of deep disappointment and despair amongst the citizens. The recent hopeful message of Mr. Muhammad Ali about fair attitude of France had heartened the Muslims, but the fateful San Remo cables have now shaken all confidence in them. Any way, admirable restrain is being exercised by the people.

Mr. Gandhi's manifesto has been much appreciated, and it is understood that the Central Caliphate Committee is about to issue a similar note urging the adoption of self-restraint.

The Council of the Central Caliphate Committee has not yet formally assembled to consider the situation arising out of the disquieting messages, but it is believed their meeting is not far off.

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Mr. Shaukat Ali who is now at Faizabad, is expected to arrive here in a few days' time. So far some of the City's vernacular journals have recorded their opinion of the Allies' arrangement.

The *Praja Mitra* sees in the projects seeds of future conflagration. The *Sanj Vartaman* thinks the arrangement throws overboard President Wilson's Fourteen Points and takes away the authority of the Caliphs. The pledges given to the Indian Muslims have been scattered to the winds. The journal warns that by such a settlement peace will not reign at all in Asia at a time.

(*p*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 3rd.*—The following items are taken from the Sind Moslem, dated the 1st May 1920 :—

At the village of Mahomed Amin Khosa in Taluka Kandhkote (district Upper Sind Frontier), nine Mullas, at a Khilafat meeting declared that in future they would refuse to take Mullas grants for their schools.

The Amir of Afghanistan has sent through his Foreign Minister (Sardar Mahmud Tarzi) a sum of rupees four thousand as donation to four shrines of Delhi and Sarhand.

A Khilafat mass meeting will be held at Jacobabad on the 2nd and 3rd May 1920.

Brigadier Sardar Gul Mahomed Khan, Safir Afghanistan in India, has written a letter to the editor of the *Aftab,* Lahore, contradicting what the said paper had published about Bolshevik intention to attack Afghanistan.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

Khilafat and the Turkish Empire.

(*a*) *Hyderabad, May 3rd.*—On the 21st April a meeting took place at Shaki Taj Mahomed, Hyderabad, in connection with the Khilafat question. Hand bills were sent out by the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri announcing that the meeting would take place at 7-00 p.m. but as no one had turned up at 7-30 volunteers were sent out to collect men from the highways and hedges. About 300 persons were eventually secured, mostly from the Chakla quarter and proceedings commenced at 8-10 p.m.

After a private consultation between Dr. Nur Mahomed, Sheikh Abdul Majid and Nur Mahomed, pleader, it was decided to elect Dr. Nur Mahomed Chairman.

Proceedings were opened by Aminuddin N. Munshi, who read out the *bang* in the masjid. Dr. Mahomed then announced that the meeting had been summoned to protest against the deportation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam from Constantinople. The British alone were responsible for the deportation. What were Mussalmans to do? Wherever they went they were followed by the C. I. D. Let the C. I. D. tell the British that no good could result from the line of action they had adopted. Paradise could not be obtained by prayer and fasting. They must take an oath that they would not sleep, nor allow the enemies of Islam to sleep, till Islam was safe. Let the C. I. D. tell the British, who were trying to destroy Islam, that they were the enemies of the people who interfered with their faith (cries of Lanat, Lanat). They had in the past been meeting in solemn places, such as mosques and cemetries, but the time was coming when they would meet on the field of happiness (Amind Amin!). All people should refuse to pay taxes, and the Police and Military should refuse to

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Maulvi Mokhamdin of Jamesabad said that the British were responsible for the deportation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, who was a harmless old man of 80. They had won India by deceit, first coming here as sellers of carrots and potatoes, and eventually becoming the rulers of the country. This was what they were attempting to do with Turkey. King George was a *bawa*, and it was Lloyd George and the Viceroy who were causing all the present trouble because of their inveterate hate of Islam. The British were testing them to see what they were made of. Let the British learn that they were prepared to die for their religion, for had not every Muhammadan before he was born promised God that he would kill and die. If a few hundred of them were put in jail, what did it matter.

Aminuddin N Munshi said that there was one day in the year, Mohurram, when there was mourning in every house. Now there was mourning every day in every house. The whole matter was purely religious and was that the British were attempting to ruin Islam. Turkey was not the only enemy of the Allies in the war, yet Germany and Austria and Bulgaria were only asked to surrender a few ships and pay an indemnity, while Turkey was being annihilated, the Greeks had committed fearful atrocities in Smyrna, and by way of defence the British had invented the lie that the Turks were massacring Armenians. The British were worse than butchers, and did not want the Muhammadans to think about their religion. He himself had been sent for by a British Officer and had been told not to speak upon the Khilafat question. The whole of the present trouble was due to the Premier, and he should be told that if the slightest harm befell Islam, let there arise three Europes, Islam would ruin them.

Nek Muhomed Salabta followed in a very mild strain.

Nur Mahomed, pleader, announced that the resolution that was to be passed would not be sent to Government. They had been sending resolutions for the past year to Government and no good had come of them. They would do without Government, but Government could not do without them. If the Muhammadans refused to co-operate, they might lose their property or their lives, but they would save their honour. The Muhammadans of the whole world had taken up the question, which affected their religions and honour. Even if the Muhammadans of India would not fight the rest of the world would.

Sheik Abdul Majid said that the time for meeting was over. In future they would hold *Jalsas* at which they would take down the names of those who were prepared to go to jail, to sacrifice their property, to break the laws of Government, to resign Government service, to resign their titles and honours and of those who would consider it *haram* to pay land revenue. Meanwhile, his office at the *Al-Amin* Press would be open from 8-00 a.m. to 8-00 p.m. and he would be glad to register the names of those who were prepared to follow these injunctions. He then read out and translated the speech of the Amir of Afghanistan in which Amanullah deplored the precarious state of Islam and was glad that his father was not alive to see it (a statement which in view of the fact that he had his father murdered, is probably strictly true).

Dr. Nur Mahomed in summing up stated that the resolution to be passed was to protest against the deportation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam and against the occupation of Constantinople (cries of Lanat Angrez Dagabazan khe). Let the C. I. D. tell Government that Muhammadans were prepared to go

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to jail and to obey the orders of the Ulemas when a jehad was declared and those left behind should not despair for those who went to Jail, but should continue to work for God and the Prophet. He then called on Maulvi Ghulam Mahomed to pray for the success of Islam, but Aminuddin N. Munshi suggested that all should join in the prayer. Accordingly, the audience prayed bare-headed for the success of Islam and the downfall of the British Empire. The meeting then dispersed.

The Sub-Inspector who attended the meeting reports that the crowd was very excited and that any and every mention of the British was greeted with jeers and curses. The Hyderabadi pan-Islamists are getting quite out of hand and the question of muzzling them must now be considered. The meeting at Nasarpur on the 23rd, of which the Sind C. I. D. has submitted a report, was equally vehement and most of the speeches distinctly seditious. The policy of holding meetings in the moffussil where ignorant villagers are mislead by deliberate misrepresentation is not without danger, though in my opinion the danger is not the Government, but to the Hindu trader. The Jat will not be beguiled into attempting to fight with the troops of Government, but it is quite probable that he would be led to understand that Government was too busy to pay attention to what he was doing, and would start dacoities and robberies, the Hindu *bania* being his victim, for little he cares of Hindu Moslem unity.

The District Magistrate remarks.—"The District Magistrate has been considering for some time whether some pan-Islamist should not be proceeded against. He is inclined to think that it would be wiser to wait till the cultivating season has begun, when village meetings will probably cease or be very rare or badly attended. The violence of speech of some of the less reputable leaders has created disgust and alarm among Hindus and many respectable Mussalmans. Men like Sheikh Abdul Majid and Dr. Nur Mahomed appear to be pining for Government to take notice of them. They would make great capital out of any restrictive action and pose as martyrs. The fact that volunteers had to beat up the sweepings of the Chakla shows that their oratory is beginning to all and the increased violence of their abuse of Government may be accounted for by the feeling that the audience cannot be excited otherwise even to listen.

"I am inclined to think that the publication by Government of the worst speeches in respectable journals would do more harm to the Khilafat pan-Islamist amongst Hindus and moderate Muhammadans than anything else at this juncture. At the same time the harm done to the Khilafat cause might be pointed out and the falsity of the statements made should be pointed out.

"I have reported already that the prosecution of Pirs and Sayids in Sind or attempts to stop meetings and speeches in mosques and villages would probably lead to an outbreak of violence."

(*b*) *Nawabshah, May 4th.*—On the 25th April after the evening prayers Moulvi Fazul Muhammad, son of Hafiz Ismail, organised a Caliphate meeting in the mosque at Nausharo Feroz. The audiences consisted of some 200 Musalmans and 30 Hindus Moulvi Fazul Muhammad was the principal speaker. In the course of his speech, he traced the religious history of the Caliphate from Adam to the present Caliph, the Sultan of Turkey. Next he referred to the solemn pledges of the British Ministers

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made on behalf of the Holy places of Islam, and how they had been subsequently violated. He exhorted his audience to keep firm, remain faithful to Islam, and fear none but God. As for himself, he said he was prepared to suffer any penalty and to go to jail even if such necessity arose in defence of the Caliphate. He welcomed the present Hindu-Muslim unity. He further thanked the Hindu brethren for their support of the Caliphate cause. He concluded his speech by stating that in case the Muhammadan demands on behalf of Turkey were not granted, the Government would be faced with disastrous consequences and would have to leave the country uncere-moniously. He was followed by Sayyid Parial Shah, son of Taliballishah.

The next speaker was one Moulvi Karim Bux, son of Jamal Din, the supervisor of the local Nausharo Madressah kitchen. He spoke almost to the same effect as his predecessor and concluded with the same threat. He and Moulvi Fazul Muhhamad, son of Abdul Aziz, then sang a Sindhi poem composed for the occasion.

These three Muhammadan speakers were followed by one Khemchand, son of Seth Tejumal, of Nausharo, student, National College, Hyderabad, and his brother, Kesumal, a teacher in the Local Panchat School. Khemchand referred to the "broken pledges" and the sacrifices made by Hindu and Muhammadans together during the Great War, adding that the handsome rewards received for their service were the Rowlatt Act, the massacre at Amritsar and other oppressive laws. He strongly advocated the maintenance of the present Hindu-Mussalman entente. The last speaker, Kesumal, referred to the early settlement of the English traders and how the British eventually gained mastery over the whole of India by their policy of 'divide and rule'. He advised that policy of non-violence, advocated by Mahatma Gandhi, should be followed and that they should wait patiently till the Caliphate Deputation returned from Europe.

The meeting closed at about 11-00 p.m. with prayers for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Another Caliphate meeting was held in the compound of the house of Najam-u-Din, son of Din Muhammad, at Nausharo, after the evening prayers, on the 27th April. Some 400 men, including about 100 Hindus, attended. Before opening the proceedings a Caliphate Committee was formed and the following office-bearers appointed :—(1) Khan Saheb Muradali Shah, son of Imamali Shah, Zamindar and Bench Magistrate of Bhiria, President, (2) Najam-u-Din, son of Din Muhammad, an ex-Sub-Inspector of Police and Zamindar of Nausharo, Vice-President, (3) Kamar-u-Din, son of Din Muhammad, brother of No. (2), Zamindar, Bench Magistrate and Vice-President, Taluka Local Board, Secretary, (4) Pir Turabali, son of Pir Jamal, an ex-Sub-Inspector of Police, Joint Secretary.

Moulvi Fazul Muhammad was the chief speaker. He explained the lofty and inspiring principles of Islam and the ennobling effect they produced on believers. The Muslims, he said, should fear their God alone and no one else. They should not care even for the most efficient Military preparations made against them. Earthly life was transitory; the life to come was eternal. Human laws changed, but the law of God was unchangeable. After speaking in this strain at some length, he stated that the Holy places of Islam were in the hands of infidels who were polluting them with their presence. Jazirat-ul-Arab was declared sacred to Islam by God and must

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remain under Moslem control for all time. During the war, the position of Indian Moslems had become very critical owing to the entry of Turkey on the side of Germany. They were, however, assured that their Holy places would remain inviolate ; that the Turkish Empire would not be broken up and that it was not a religious war, and on this assurance they gave all possible help to the British. Directly, however, the war was won, all those solemn pledges were broken. General Allenby was congratulated as the Victor of the Great Crusade and it was announced that the Cross had triumphed over the Crescent. Even the lowest people kept their promises, but the responsible Ministers of the Crown did not care a pin's head for their when they had achieved their purpose. The speaker added : It must, however, be remembered that unless the Muslim demands were satisfied, they would neither rest themselves nor let others rest. They could not fight as they had no means to do so, but believers, as they were, in one God, they expected His help from unknown quarters. He called upon the audience to give up fear, prepare themselves for the sacrifice of all they held dearest, even their lives, to save the Caliphate from annihilation. He deplored the arrest and deportation of Moulana Mahamood-ul-Hassan (Sheikh-ul-Huid) and the Shaikh-ul-Islam to Malta. He quoted several saying from the Prophet to prove that the present Shariff of Mecca was an imposter. His speech being strong and impressive, moved people to tears.

He was followed by Moulvi Muhammad Sidik, son of Moulvi Abdul Rauf, a native physician of Moro. This Moulvi practically repeated what Moulvi Fazul Muhammad has said and quoted verses from the *Koran* and declared that Muslims always kept their promises and those who did not were tyrants ; that the Government was perfidious and incapable of doing anything good. He laid great stress on the unity of God and exhorted Mussalmans to remain united and to fear nobody. As regards himself, he said jail was a sort of pleasure-garden to him.

After prayers for victory of the Turkish arms, the meeting dispersed.

Moulvi Fazul Muhammad, who was a nonentity a few months ago, is coming into rapid prominence on account of his stirring speeches.

On the 30th April, after the Juma prayers, another Caliphate meeting was held in the mosque at Nawabshah. About 100 Musalmans were present but no Hindus. The object of the meeting was to express indignation at the arrest of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and to congratulate Hakim Ajmal Khan for having renounced his honorary title.

Moulvi Muhammad Mauz was the only speaker. He narrated tastory of the persecution of the Prophet and his followers in the early days of Islam and the patience with which they bore their troubles. Mussalmans were again being confronted with similar trouble. Referring to the Greek atrocities at Smyrna, he said that the Mussalmans, men, women and children, had been maltreated and tortured because they were believers in one God and denied the doctrine of the Trinity. The object of the Christians was that they should give up their belief in the unity of God and accept three Gods instead. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York prided themselves over the fact that they had won a great crusade. Under these circumstances there were only two courses open to Mussalmans, viz., *Jihad* and *hijrat*. Jihad was not possible as they had no arms, but for *hijrat* they had a precedent of 1300 years' standing in the action of their Prophet, who had

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left Mecca for Medina. The mandate of God in this connection should have precedence over the Indian Penal Code, for if they violated the former they would not be able to face their Lord on the Day of Judgment. Next he denounced the deportation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam and proposed that a message of congratulation be sent to Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi for having given up his title. Resolutions to the above effect were passed and then prayers offered for the safety of the Sultan of Turkey.

Four Muhammadan Munshis of the local offices and one Muhammadan Tapedar, who appeared to have gone to the Masjid to attend the usual Friday prayers, were present at this meeting. Their names have separately been brought to the notice of the District Magistrate.

The District Magistrate remarks.—"It appears that several Muhammadan officials attended the meetings at Naushahro Feroz. I have already got names and I am making necessary enquiries.

"A big Caliphate meeting has been arranged for tomorrow (May, the 15th) at Dhingo near Bhiria, Naushahro. The *Zamindars*, who have joined the movement are expected to declare their views publicly at this conference."

(*c*) *Sukkur, May, 4th.*—At Goth Mian Sahib, Shikarpur, taluka at Rajibi, on the 16th and 17th April, a meeting was held to instal Abdul Hai Mahar Fakir on the *gadi.* Moulvi Dur Muhammad of Jungal, Upper Sind Frontier, and Moulvi Allahdad, of Sunheri, near Sibi, were present and addressed the meeting. They said that the Sultan was the Caliph of Islam and that every Muhammadan owed allegiance to him. In Smyrna the Jews had Massacred Muhammadans and those left alive were homeless and starving. Rs. 200 were collected for their relief. It was said that the money would be sent to Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon.

(*d*) *Sukkar, May 4th.*—On the 25th April a meeting under the presidentship of Ghulam Nabi, retired Deputy Educational Inspector, was held at Rohri. Moulvi Din Muhammad Wafai reminded the audience that the Sultan was the Caliph of Islam. He said that the British had taken possession of Constantinople and interned their Imam Sheikh-ul-Islam. The Muhamadans were, therefore, without an Imam and could not say their prayers. He wondered why Muhammadans were so quiet. They should sever connection with Government, including loyalty, service, honours and titles. He made mention of Hakim Khan of Delhi having surrendered the title of Hazik-ul-Mulk, the Zamindars of lower Sind having given up titles and of chairs, and of certain persons in Sehwan having refused to accept titles of Khan Sahib and Khan Bahadur. He recommended *hijrat* if they had any further trouble.

The District Magistrate remarks.—"Increasing stress seems to be laid on the renunciation of titles and honours. It may be mentioned that there is no person in the Sehwan taluka whom any officer is likely even to recommend for the title of Khan Sahib."

(*e*) *Thar and Parkar, May 4th.*—It appears probable that the Caliphate Conference fixed for the 16th and 17th instant will be postponed as sufficient funds have not been collected. Mir Abdulla, the follower of Pir Ghulam Mujadid, is taking an active interest in raising funds and has distributed receipt books for the purpose among several Zamindars of

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Khipro taluka. I have heard that in some cases subscriptions of a rupee or two being taken from the cultivators who have not the least idea to what they are subscribing. Mir Abdulla said the other day to one of my Sub-Inspectors that the people in general took very little interest at present in the Caliphate question ; but if Muhammadan Government servants were to resign their service, it would give the necessary impetus to the agitation and the people would then join in. Bhurgri, he said, was of the same opinion and suggested that if Government servants resigned and joined them, the Zamindars should unite in refusing to pay assessment and should take their own measures to ensure their supply of canal water against Government interference.

The District Magistrate remarks.—"The interest in the Caliphate agitation on the Southern Jamrao is not great. There are a certain number of Shias mostly Punjabis in Jamesabad, and they, of course, do not care for a Turkish Sultan as Caliph."

(f) *Karachi, May 8th.*—Sayyid Jalal Shah has written a letter to the Chief of the Afghan delegation asking him to stand up for the rights of Islam. It has been published in the *Zamindar,* Lahore, of the 29th April.

(*g*) *Sukkur, May 2nd.—The District Magistrate writes* : "Moulvi Taj Mahomed of Amrot entered the Khairpur State, ostensibly with the object of interceding with the authorities for a prisoner, but probably with the real object of staying out the land and possibly interviewing some of the *Sahibzadas.* He was promptly turned out by the *Vazir.*

"Khalif ! Hussain Bakhsh Kadvi of the shrine of Battan Mubarak in Rohri has been prohibited by the local Kazis from reading *Id* prayers, on account of his having participated in the Peace celebrations. He came to me for advice as to the course he should adopt, and was obviously troubled. The terms dictated to him by the Kazis were that he should either make a full recantation, or be practically declared Kafir. Renunciation of titles in some parts of India may be due to similar pressure."

(*h*) *Upper Sind Frontier, May 2nd.—The District Magistrate writes* : "A Khilafat Conference is being held here today and tomorrow. Beyond two Moulvis of this district no one of any importance, either Muhammadan or Hindu, is attending it : the *Zamindars* are so far avoiding the agitation like the plague. An audience of bazaar loafers has been brought up by train from Larkana District, presumably to form a quorum. The detailed police reports of the proceedings are not yet to hand."

(*i*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 6th.*—The Caliphate Conference assembled at Jacobabad on the 2nd May 1920. Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot was President and Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor of Jacobabad was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was attended by about 500 to 1,000 men, including about a couple of dozen Hindus. Songs were sung praying God and the Prophate to destroy the infidels who had defined the Holy places. Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law, of Larkana, proposed that as the Government are not inclined to bring about the satisfactory solution of the Caliphate question all connections with the Government should be severed. He added that to fight for their religion and act according to the dictates of the *Koran* was preferable to adherence to the Government. He called those *Zamindars* who would not do so dajjals. He said that he was a barrister and ex-official second class Sardar and a Collector's, Commissioner's and the King's chairholder but he renounced them and took

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a public vow not to pay a single pie as land assessment. Amongst cries of *afrin* and *mubarak*, the President embraced him and gave him a seat near him.

Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor of Jacobabad seconded the resolution. Ali Anwar Shah of Larkana in supporting it, said that if the Zamindars persist to be with the Government, their *hairs* (cultivators) should not cultivate their lands as they are *Kaffirs*. Those who do not resign Government service should not be given even a drop of water ; they should be socially outcasted and should not be supplied with any of the necessaries of life, even on payment.

Pro-Government Pirs also should be treated the same way. He renounced his taluka local board membership amidst cries of "*Allah-o-Akbar.*" Mir Muhammad of Nourangi, Kambar Taluka, Larkana District, amongst crise of "*Amin Amin*" said, like Praun the British would be crushed and blessed Jan Muhammad. He too declined to pay the land assessment. An excited Baluch got up shouting that he was prepared to be a Ghazi. Half a dozen Baluchis declared that they would not pay land assessment, and five Mullahs renounced their school grants. Ghulam Kadir, Zamindar of Mubarkpur, Thul Taluka, renounced his local board membership. Din Muhammad of Buthi, Niro-Khan Taluka, declared that ten Mullahs of his taluka were prepared to submit their resignations. A young Punjabi Muhammadan, calling himself Wahid Bux, son of a Rizaldar of some army of Rajanpur tahsil, Dera Ghazni Khan District, spoke in Urdu to unite and oppose the Government if they tried to crush the Caliphate movement. He said that the British were the enemy of India. Khadam Hussain Shah supported. Haji Ghulam Nabi Khan Junejo of Kakar declared that he was ready to do the hijrat leaving behind him one thousand *jirebs* of land. Naib Nasarullah Khan of Jacobabad renounced the Municipal councilorship. Fazul Muhammad Hakim of Naushahro requested the President to grant the title of *Fakhurul Kaum* to Jan Mahummad Junejo. The President with the sanction of the audience installed him *Fakhurul Islam* (*pride of Islam*). At this a Baluch got up and said that he would not pay land assessment. One Abdul Nabi Bux said that those who would not sever their connection with the Government would go to hell and the *haris* should not cultivate the lands of such Zamindars and the Mullahs should not perform their funeral rites. Maulvi Muhammad Sadik Murai vilified the Englishman to his hearts content and requested the audience to break connections. Akhtar Ahmad Shah of Larkana, while supporting the resolution, said that the British were very jealous, and it was not only that they wanted to rule over them in this world but they wanted them to accompany them to hell also in the next world. Hafiz Khan Muhammad of Karachi supported it. Shaikh Abdul Majid advised to break connections and undergo all sufferings patiently. But a man shouted out that he would cut into pieces any policemen who would come to arrest him. He said that 200 men had already signed to break their connections and do hijrat. The resolution was passed supported by several other speakers. Shaikh Abdul Azi of the *Al Wahid* passed a resolution of sympathy to Maulvi Hamid Ahmad of Allahabad who preferred to go to jail than to pay security of Rs. 500 for preaching in the cause of the Caliphate. Ali Anwar Shah of Larkana seconded him and Maulvi Muhamad Niwaz of Nawabshah in supporting it asked the audience to follow him.

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The second sitting of the Conference took place on the 3rd May 1920, at 7-30 a.m. Maulvi Akhatar Ahmad Shah of Larkana moved a resolution expressing hatred against the action of the Allies in arresting the Shaikh-ul-Islam. He was seconded and supported by Maulvi Abdul Karim, Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro, Maulvi Abdul Razak of Bubak, Hafiz Khan Muhammad of Karachi, Maulvi Mian Muhammad, Maulvi Din Muhammad Wafai and Mir Muhammad Mustafa of Jacobabad, and the resolution was passed.

Maulvi Din Muhammad Wafai moved a resolution stating that the education imparted by the Mullah Schools was against the religious education of the Muhammadans and expressed his hatred of the same. It was seconded by Moulvi Ghulam Rasul and supported by Maulvi Muhammad Farid, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro, Mian Dur Muhammad and Ali Anwar Shah of Larkana. Insinuating that a plot to extirpate Islam was at the back of this movement, Maulvi Abdul Khalik announced that fourteen Zamindars, whose names he did not give, had volunteered to sever their connections with the Government. Muhammad Hayat Rind, nephew of Said Khan Rind of Kandhkote taluka, renounced his titles. A Zamindar of Ratodero announced that he was going to do the hijrat or jihad, leaving his property for the Caliphate and Ulemas. Ghulam Murtaza of Sadayo village, Jacobabad District, renounced his honours. Eight mullahs of Miro Khan and fifteen of Kambar taluka resigned theirs posts. Shaikh Abdul Azi proposed to use *Swadeshi* articles only stating that by this they would save the money which goes towards the manufacture of arms and ammunition to destroy their brothers, as to fight without arms and ammunition against the British was not practicable. At this juncture, a Kalandar Fakir stood up with a big cudgel in his hand saying that he had become a Ghazi and would break the heads of all white men with his stick, amongst cries of *"Amin, Amin"*. In seconding the resolution Wahid Bux of Rajanpur, district Dara Ghazni Khan, made a very mischievous statement, saying that the Englishmen used cows' and pigs' fat in the manufacture of Pears' soap, vaselin and other articles, to pollute the religions of the Indians. Sugar contained bones of cows and pigs. Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro supported the resolution. At about 6-00 p.m. the audience swelled to 1,500 including about 100 Hindus. Shaikh Abdul Majid of the *Al-Amin* proposed to do hijrat (migration), and the Committee with power to add more members was formed. The following were appointed :—

(1) Turabalishah of Kambar.
(2) Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot.
(3) Jan Muhammad Junejo of Larkana.
(4) Shaikh Abdul Majid of Hyderabad.
(5) Shaikh Abdul Aziz of the *Al Wahid*.
(6) Ahmad Akbar Shah of Larkana.
(7) Muhammad Sadik of Karachi.
(8) Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor of Jacobabad.

He said that in this war ten lakhs of Muhammadans went to hell like Kaffirs for the sake of this dishonest Government, and now when you meet any white man tell him that "Oh white man, you are taking action against our Caliph, hence you are the enemy of our religion." Ahmad Akhtar Shah of Larkana seconded it. Jan Muhammad Junejo in supporting it

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said that there were two advantages in jihad, and he was ready for it, as, thereby, he would be a Ghazi if he killed and would be a martyr if he was Killed. Faiz Muhammad Maulvi of Naushahro supported it. Bhai Pherumal of Jacobabad while supporting it said that Hindus had full sympathies with the Muhammadans, and if Muhammadans left the country Hindus would not be able to live without them. Haji Raus Bux, son of Allahbux Khuro of Shikarpur, renounced his chair. Dad Muhammad Walad Jan Muhammad, constable munshi of Jacobabad, resigned his post calling Englishmen *dajjals* and *amloors* (*Kaffirs*), Muhammad Salesh, constable of the Armed Police, Shahdapur, Jacobabad District, resigned. Ali Anwar Shah of Larkana, Pir Muhammad Mustafa and Muhammad Parial (a big Zamindar of Kambar) volunteered to do hijrat. Shaikh Abdul Majid of the Al-Amin proposed to hold the next meeting at Quetta. On behalf of the President, Maulvi Muhammad Sadik of Moro thanked Amir Amanullah for inviting Indian Muhammadans to his country. Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro seconded it. Shaikh Abdul Majid moved the resolution for Hindu-Muhammadan unity, and it was seconded by Dr. Menghraj of Jacobabad and Chimanlal, a vendor of Jacobabad Railway Station. Bhai Pherumal of Jacobabad said that if this union had been established in the past, we would not have suffered the Amritsar tragedy and Englishmen would have been driven out to London long before. Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Pir Ali Anwar Shah and Muhammad Niwaz of Nawabshah spoke in the same strain. Maulvi Fazul Muhammad Nausharai read a *fatwa* signed by :—

(1) Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot
(2) Maulvi Khadam Hussain
(3) Maulvi Abdul Razak of Bubak
(4) Pir Turabalishah of Kambar
(5) Maulvi Muhhamad Sadik of Moro
(6) Maulvi Muhammad Niwaz
(7) Maulvi Fazul Muhammad of Naushahro
(8) Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor of Shikarpur
(9) Pir Mahiuddin of Khairan Shariff, Nawabshah
(10) Hakim Sarwar Bux of Thul
(11) Maulvi Din Muhammad Buthi, Larkana
(12) Fakir Muhammad Ismail
(13) Din Muhammad Wafai
(14) Ghulam Razul
(15) Ghulam Muhammad
(16) Maulvi Abdul Karim

to the effect that as in the sacred place they had killed pigs, had walked with boots on, smoking cigarettes, drunk with liquor, it was incumbent upon every Muhammadan to renounce his titles, parwanas, pleadership, etc., otherwise the fire of hell would burn him.

This Conference has caused a lot of excitement amongst the illiterate audience, who were seen in very agitated mood in the streets of Jacobabad discussing the various things they had heard in the Conference.

(*j*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 7th.*—The *Al-Wahid,* dated the 25th April 1920, published that as a constable resigned his post in the Sehwan Caliphate Conference, he was suspended and confined to the Police Lines. This is utterly false.

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The man was dismissed for attempting to outrage the modesty of a Hindu girl. He made up with the guardians, but the District Superintendent of Police, Larkana, came to know of this and told him that he would be dismissed as a departmental punishment. The policeman made a virtue of the necessity and annnounced his resignation in the Caliphate Conference.

(*k*) *Bombay, May 11.—Development of the Khilafat situation up to midday of 11th May 1920.*—(I) In spite of a chorus of opposition from the Extremist leaders all over India, the meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee fixed for tomorrow will probably take place as arranged. The attendance of up-country members is likely to be small. If through lack of necessary numbers the business for which the meeting was summoned cannot be transacted, the Central Committee intends to summon another meeting later. Meanwhile, it remains anxious to secure passages for the members of its second deputation to Europe. Although the personnel of that deputation has not yet been settled, efforts are being made to secure through Shaukat Ali three influential Hindus, preferably members of Council, to join the four Muhammadans who are ready to go. Notwithstanding repeated reminders, it can obtain no satisfactory reply from Ali Nabi, one of the original nominees to the delegation. Meanwhile the Committee has applied to the Government of India, who are said to have referred the application to the Secretary of State for passports to the Smyrna mission ; and has cabled Mahomed Ali to select, apparently in Europe, reliable men to take to Smyrna the money and blankets now collected for the purpose.

It is clear from the accompanying letter, marked " A " that the extremists in the Committee are chafing more and more at the control exercised by the Bombay moderates. The letter is dated 24th April and was addressed from Gaya by one of Shaukat Ali's secretaries, named Ishaq Sadiq Ali, another of Shaukat Ali's henchmen working with the Khilafat Committee at Bombay. Indications of an organised effort to get rid of the moderating influence of Bombay are contained in other letters from up-country. On April, the 30th, Turubali (? Pir Turubali Shah) of Kambar, district Larkana, Sind, complains of the lack of enthusiasm and decision shown by the Central Khilafat Committee. Khan Bahadur (surrendered) M. A. Kuddus Badshah writing from Madras declines to attend the forthcoming meeting and objects strongly to the proposed reconsideration of the programme of non-co-operation. Similar communiciations have been received from several persons in the United Provinces and Bengal. After consultation with Shaukat Ali, Abdul Bari insists that if a Committee meeting is really necessary it shall be held after longer notice at a more convenient centre than Bombay. Kidwai expresses the same view. Syed Mahomed Hussain, Secretary of the Provincial Committee, Meerut, writing to Chhotani, the letter, of which a copy marked "B" is attached, adopts the same general line of criticism, predicts that unless more active counsels prevail the Central Khilafat Committee will lose its present position of authority ; regrets its failure to utilise the proferred help of the Delhi Warders' League and to recognise the United Provinces Provincial Committee ; and urges that an All-India Conference should be assembled at once in a central place to put some ginger into the agitation. On 2nd May, Mahomed Khan, Secretary of the Karachi Khilafat Committee, addressed to Abdul Ghani a letter (copy attached marked " C ") explicitly avowing Pan-Islamic motives. In short the extremists are strongly against any revision of the policy of non-co-operation already laid down ; are gravely suspicious of the Bombay moderates ; and are doing all they can to remove the Central Committee to an environment more favourable to their own activities.

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(II) As an objective, non-co-operation seems to be loosing ground in favour of hijrat. Mahomed Khan of Karachi, however, in a letter to Abdul Ghani points out the futility of hijrat as evidenced by the cases of Andalusia and Holland, dwells on its impracticability in existing circumstances, criticises as too vague. Abdul Bari's *fatwa,* advocates concentration on non-co-operation. On the other hand, there are many indications that the opposite view is increasingly favoured both as a means of propaganda and as an end. Saukat Ali has cabled as follows to Mahomed Ali :—

> " Foreign Minister Afghan Mission declared Mussooree mosque chief object settlement of Khilafat question entirely agree muslim views letter issue through press strong hijrat movement started ".

Kuddus Badshah, President of the Madras Khilafat Committee has wired to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the Islamic Bureau (message attached and marked " D "), informing them that through the Afghan mission in India it has thanked the Amir for his helping hand and his promised welcome to *Muhajirin ;* protesting against the Turkish Peace terms ; declaring that military action against the Turkish Nationalists in Asia Minor is an act of war on the part of the Allies ; threatening action " to nullify the breaking up of the Khilafat " ; and denouncing the use at Delhi of the Seditious Meetings Act. The opening at Bombay of a branch office to the *Khuddam-i-Muhajirin* is expected in the near future. Its object is to facilitate the enrolment of persons anxious to do hijrat. The *Zamindar* newspaper announces that the *Anjuman-i-Muhajirin* of the North-West Frontier Province has already 1,400 names on its roll, including 22 Hindus and 4 Sikhs. The *Mugd-i-Rozgar* of the 3rd instant effusively thanks Amir Amanullah for coming to the rescue of the unfortunate Muhammadans of India. The attached translation (marked " E ") of a letter addressed to Abdul Ghani by one Abdul Haq of Bela emphasises the impression that the threat of hijrat is something more than mere talk. No Urdu translation of the Amir's speech has however yet appeared in the Bombay vernacular papers.

Other forms of propaganda continue unabated. The Zamindar of the 6th instant announces that Jan Mahomed Junejo, a well-known Sindhi Barrister, has resigned his honours and public officer, has returned his sanad as a Barrister, and is prepared, if so advised by the Moulvis, to refuse to pay taxes. Another Sindhi gentleman, Mian Ali Hasan Khan of Ralodero, is reported by the said paper to have bequeathed to the Khilafat Fund property worth Rs. 6,000 a year. The Editor of the *Mufidil-Rozgar* anounces the decision of one of his friends not to marry till the Turkish troubles are over. The same paper publishes a report that 1,00,000 brave men of Yemen are marching on Jerusalem in order to regain it for Islam ; and also a poem (translation attached and marked " F ") imploring Allah to destroy the Sultan's enemies. The *Sanj Vartaman* of the 6th instant announces that the Amir Amanullah has now authorised Hindus to join the Afghan army and has simultaneously abolished certain restrictions of dress and riding hitherto enforced against that community. The *Chronicle* is publishing long telegraphic accounts, including full reports of speeches, of the doings of the deputation in Europe. The object of these communications, which apparently emanate from Mahomed Ali, is clearly to raise the political temperature in India. With the approval of Shaukat Ali, Firangi Mahal has decided to print and distribute 10,000 copies of Kidwai's presidential

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address at the Fyzabad Conference Abdul Bari has asked the Central Committee to pay the bill. Syed Ismail Gaznavi, a Bombay merchant and a member of the propaganda sub-committee of the Central Khilafat Committee, has under preparation in the press 2,000 copies of an inflammatory and seditious leaflet called *Payam-i-Amal* (*Message of Action*). (Copy attached together with a translation marked "G".) The author is a local firebrand and last Friday openly preached hijrat in the *Ahl-i-Hadis* mosque on Ripon Road. Likely developments in propanganda are foreshadowed in the following cablegram from Kidwai to the Secretary of State for India, which has been repeated to the *Daily Telegraph, Daily Herald* and *Muslim Outlook.*:—

"Khilafat Conference held at Fyzabad 1st May passed following resolution Conference considers necessary to declare that consideration attitude of Peace Conference and British Government against Khilafat of Islam and his Government it would be impossible to welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with any felicitations and therefore proposed visit of Prince be postponed until Muslim religious demands regarding Khilafat be satisfied."

An important letter, dated the 4th May (marked "H"), was addressed by the same person to Chhotani. The letter may be summarised as follows:—

(1) Threats of secession from the Central Khilafat Committee if there is any watering down of the policy of non-co-operation already adopted; and complaints of hesitation and timidity on the part of that body.

(2) In order to give Government an opportunity of making substantial concessions at the eleventh hour and simultaneously of saving its face, it is necessary to summon in some central place like Delhi or Lucknow, well away from Bombay and before the Turkish reply is made to the peace terms, and All-India Khilafat Committee including all possible Muslims enjoying the confidence of the British authorities, e.g., the Aga Khan and the Raja of Mehmudabad;

(3) Mean while the strongest possible efforts must be made to convince Government that India means business. The time is not yet ripe to put into practice the decision to withhold co-operation; but fiery resolutions are needed to keep the pot boiling; and preparations for the threatened action must be accelerated. While Moslems "are now ready to act upon the most serious proposals" there must be no violence whatsoever at this stage.

(4) If possible the Aga Khan should be prevailed upon to head an immediate deputation to England, and

(5) For the next 10 or 15 days it is essential that the leaders—Chhotani, Abdul Bari, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasrat Mohani and Kidwai should meet and remain in personal conclave as close as possible to the Aga Khan.

Further indications of the effect which this propaganda is having upon the public mind may be gathered from the following facts:—

Lance Naik Malak Mahomed Abdul Kadir, No. 1016, M.T. Company, Bagdad, has written to the Central Khilafat Committee asking for Khilafat literature to help him in the collection of funds. The letter is objectionable and anti-British in tone. Communications have been received by the Central Committee from other persons in military employ in Baghdad which make it clear that Malak Mahomed is an active propagandist in

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personal touch with Shaukat Ali. (*Note*.—The gist of two letters were communicated by telegram to the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, and the Government of India in the Home and Army Departments. It was suggested to the Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, that secret censorship of the correspondence of these men might elicit useful facts and he was asked to furnish the Government of Bombay with the gist of Shaukat Ali's letter to Malak. (Acting Secretary to Government, S.D.) Chhotani has been informed by one Mansub Ali Khan, a telegraph clerk at Ambala Cantonment, that on account of the Khilafat situation he is resigning his appointment ; and one Tuful Mahomed, an Octroi Muharrir of Abkari Darwaza, Hoshiarpur, has written to the Central Khilafat Committee suggesting another hartal for the night of *shab-i-rat*. i.e., May the 4th. He signed himself " a servant of Islam and a mortal enemy of Britain.").

(III) *Miscellaneous*.—(1) Shaukat Ali has arrived in Bombay and has wired to Gandhi at Ahmedabad urgently summoning him to attend tomorrow's meeting. Before leaving Lucknow he wired to Chhotani as follows :—

" Postpone meeting strongly oppose alteration danger of dissensions." Abdul Bari wired Chhotani at the same time in similar terms.

(2) The Chhotani-Mojawala case has been compounded.

(3) The Aga Khan arrived in Bombay on the 8th and leaves for Home at the end of this week. Although both are in Bombay, he has telegraphed Chhotani as follows :—

" Very sorry am ill doctor orders to take rest if possible but will gladly see you Wednesday.".

(4) Mahomed Ali has cabled to the Central Khilafat Committee asking for an immediate remittance of £ 3,000.

Accompaniment " A "

Substance of a letter addressed to Sadiqali Khan, Chhotani House, from Ishfaq, Gaya dated the 24th April 1920.

Writes about Shaukat Ali's illness on account of which they will not be able to go to Benares and some other places and probably Fyzabad also but hopes to attend Bareilly, then says : " May be able to come on the 19th May ; yesterday were received letters from Jan, Ghani and Seth Sahib. There (Bombay ?) the people have begun to take advantage of Shaukat Ali's absence. For the present I am not coming to Bombay, and if this state of affairs lasts it will be useless to stop there for work. This is not Shaukat's work ; it is work for the good (of the community) and which is the duty of every Muhammadan to do. One can serve Islam wherever he may be, but in view of constant trouble it would be better if this place were not Bombay. But if Haji Baba (Shaukat) so orders then I have no option. I am very much sick of these dishonest people. The work is beginning here. This Province is very backward, but the condition of hearts is the same every where. "

"Today I saw news about (the intended) decision (about Turkey). I laughed very much. It puts me more encouragement in me. It made me angry (also). I pray God that our footsteps may advance, as has been said by the pir."

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Accompaniment "B"

Copy of a letter, dated the 4th May 1920, from Sayed Mohammad Hussain, Bar-at-Law, Secretary, Provincial Khilafat Committee, Meerut, to Seth Chhotani :—

Dear Sir,

It is very disappointing not to get the reply of letters sent from here. It only means the deadlock in the work. Kindly refer to our previous letters and see that very important matters were written to you. So many things were said in the last All-India Khilafat Conference at Bombay. But none seems to have been acted upon. You are aware that the public spirit is getting more and more dangerous every day and nothing has been settled for the future. People are doing what they choose and I am sure the responsibility for this remains with the Central Khilafat Committee as you do not publish any definate programme. The Ulemas are taking a different step and the workers are in a funk what to do, as no settlement has taken place definitely. For God's sake realise that your responsibility is for the whole of this country ; everywhere the state of affairs are not the same as they are in Bombay city. In the U.P. Provincial Conference the programme settled at Delhi in the leaders' conference was announced and it was said that it is not final unless it is decided in the All-India Khilafat Conference which will be called very shortly. No conference has been called yet. Is this the way to deal with important matters like this ? You know that I am a great supporter of the Bombay Central Committee and I have opposed all those who criticised its actions, but how can I go on supporting when the state of affairs is like this. In consultation with Mr. Shaukat Ali the Provincial Committee of the Province of Agra has been formed here and this was given in the papers as well as written too but you did not issue instructions to the District Committees to recognise this as such. *As all the delegates who were present in the provincial Conference recognised it I issued instructions to all the District Committees to correspond with this office and follow its instructions. Most of them are now working under this office, but still there are some who ask for your authority.* Please send me by the return post a letter of authority which I will communicate to all the District Committees, otherwise it will be impossible to carry on any organised work in this Province. Please call an All India Khilafat Conference immediately and try hard that all the Ulemas and leaders of all shades should attend it and then decide the future line of action at once, otherwise the public will begin to do individually what they will think proper and no one listens to you in future. You will excuse me writing so frankly, but I assure you that I am writing as a friend. Please reply this letter at once and also about the resolution which was passed in the U.P. Conference about funds for publicity, etc.

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed) Syed Mohammad Hussain, Bar-at-Law,
Secretary, Provincial Committee, Meerut.

P.S.—The All-India Conference should assemble somewhere in U.P., and if you can't find a better place, I am willing to arrange here but you will have to write to all the leaders immediately.

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Accompaniment "C"

4044, Nahier Road,
Karachi, 2nd May 1920.

(Copy.)

My dear Abdul Ghani,

In my letter written to you yesterday, I gave you some of the arguments against hijrat. I continue that subject in this as well.

I believe we in India have not done our best and without the correct determination of what we are and what we can do our attempts at hijrat are foredoomed to failure. My belief in enthusiasm, as a means, to awaken and to infuse life is unshakable; but to regard it to be an end all of gignatic movements as the Khilafat one is a clear proof of insanity. Let us therefore girdle up our loins and be the torch-bearers of the Khilafat propaganda. Let us first undo the mischief we have wrought in India and then think of outside. I have never attached any importance to the Indian Mussalmans except in the sense that they can well subserve the interest of pan-Islamism and am unable to think of any work for them outside India. Their mission in the pan-Islamic cause lies here and here alone. If they are prepared — and we should regard it our duty to prepare them — to sacrifice themselves wholesale in India for the safety of the Muslims outside. When I preached this doctrine some years back, I was regarded an undesirable being, loathsome to talk to even. I preach that doctrine now again for I think *that alone* can herald the dawn of freedom for Muslims. The Muslims of India will *live* in the hereafter while the outside Muslim world will live in the here — safe in possessions of their hearth and home. But what about the Hindus who have pledged themselves to our cause? Shall we desert them?

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Mohammad Khan.

I am writing off hand yet you can show my letters to any gentleman you like. I shall write you more in my next.

(Signed) M.K.

Accompaniment "D"

Message wired by Kuddus Badshah, President of the Madras, Khilafat Committee to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India and the Islamic Bureau.

"Under my presidency following resolutions unanimously passed the Madras Presidency Khilafat Committee receives with great alarm the attempts that are being made to force the treaty on Turkey against the will of the majority of the people of Turkey. No treaty to which the delegates appointed by duly elected. Turkish Parliament are not a party, will be acceptable to the Muslim world or be conducive to a lasting world peace. The Committee regards the military expendition against the Nationalist Government of Asia Minor as an act of war on the part of the Allies and the Mussalmans of India reserve to themselves the right of adopting an attitude they may think fit and expedient to nullify the breaking up of the integrity of the Khilafat. This meeting cordially thanks His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan for the Royal support he has given to the Khilafat which has proved a source of great strength and encouragement to the Musalmans in

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general and Indian Muslims in particular and also for the asylum. His Majesty has promised to afford such Indian as find it necessary according to Islamic injunctions to emigrate from India under special and aggravating circumstances. This meeting emphatically protests against the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the Province of Delhi as it interferes with the liberty of the inhabitants of the province in expressing their opinion in the religious matter of Khilafat and characterises Khilafat meetings as seditious which in the opinion of this meeting are far from being so."

Accompaniment "E"

Translation of an Urdu letter, dated 4th May 1920, from Abdul Haq Bela, to Abdul Ghani, B.A. (Alig.) Chhotani House.

Bela, 4th May 1920.

Dear Brother,

May God protect you.

Greetings. Today I received two letters of yours and learnt all the things. Please do not make any arrangements for me with the Seth. If I want to leave this place then God willing some arrangements will be made. At present I personally do not wish to go away from here. Though the state of things here has become strange, but the *Vazir* has given me some hope. I think that I will get appointment somewhere. God provides for everyone, but let me see quite well that Rana Saheb (?) does.

As seen in the papers no satisfactory arrangements have yet been made for the "*Muhajun*". When arrangements are made then I have an idea to go away at once. It is only the question of journey and nothing else that matters. I had received a letter from brother Abdul Latif and have written to him to go wherever he thinks proper. I sent him Rs. 50 day before yesterday. But as seen from the circumstances no one can leave at present. Let us see what happens in the future. In compliance with your letter I have told Altaf and Kubra that they can leave this place whenever they like. Kubra remained quiet but Altaf said that she would not go. I explained to them well that nowadays the people are ready for hijrat and therefore they should at once leave for Bombay, so that I or brother Ghani have to go somewhere. There may be no obstacle in the way, and we may be able to start at once. After that I arranged for camel, etc. also but I got no answer (from them). Kubra just now said that it was very hot; how would they be able to travel. I explained that it is only the journey for a day that is somewhat troublesome, after that it will be the sea coast and no heat will be felt. Then she became silent and gave no answer. Altaf said that even if Kubra goes away she would not go. But this is absurd talk on her part. I do not wish that they should remain with me, therefore please write to Kubra to make preparations soon. I will accompany them up to Karachi and from Karachi and onward Barkat can go.

All else is well.

(Signed) Abdul Haq.

Accompaniment "F"

Free translation of the poem on the first page of the *Mufid-e-Rozgar*, dated the 3rd May 1920.

The arrival of the Shab-e-Barat.

Full of inherent prosperity, the Shab-e-Barat has arrived.
Oh God of the Universe! listen (therefore) to the pleadings of the afflicted.
Through the agency of the divine messenger Ahmad, the Prophet.

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May Sultan Wahiduddin, the man of good qualities, remain happy.
May the enemies of the Sultan be annihilates.
May their power be destroyed and may they become unhappy.
Oh God! send an army of the Angels for achieving victory.
Once more show us soon the day of Islamic grandeur.
May the Armies of the enemies of religion (Islam) be soon destroyed.
And may there be a conspicuous rise of the Ottoman Empire.
Oh God! help Sultan Wahid Din.
And accede (thus) to the request of this miserable person (the composer) for the sake of Mustafa (the Prophet).
Oh Prophet ! you are the redresser (of the grievances) of the afflicted.
Oh prophet! your slaves are hard-pressed ,
Their rest is gone and their peace of mind destroyed.
Every Mussalman has become restless, chagrined and unhappy.
Oh messenger of God! help the cause of Khilafat, and show the greatness of Islam once more to Europe.
May the crescent of Islam flash and shine once more like a full moon.
May the pomp and grandeur of the Osmanli Empire rise one more.
May there be downfall of the enemies of Islam.
And may the hearts of Mussalmans be cheerful and happy.
May the whole universe resound with the cry of "*Takbir*" (the cry of Takbir is Allah-O-Akbar, which is also the war cry of the Mussalmans).
And may the people of the Cross (the Christian world) bow their heads before the Mussalmans.

In the last stanza, which has nothing in common with the foregoing stanzas, an appeal for funds to relieve the distress in Smyrna is made. There is nothing objectionable in it.

The Shab-e-Barat is a festival of the Mussalmans which falls on the 14th of the month of Shaaban. On this night the Mussalmans make offerings and oblations in the names of deceased relations. This poem is of particular interest, for the fact that, according to the Muslim belief, the prayers and *beseechings* of the Mussalmans on this particular night do not go unheard. This year the festival fell on the 4th instant.

Accompaniment "G"

Message for Action

(Composed by Tegh Ansari.)

Rise oh Mussalmans to help your Khalif !
The enemies of Khilafat have committed an assault on the Khilafat.
Rise oh Mussalmans to help your Khalif !
The Christians are saying that they would obliterate the Khilafat.
They are arrogant on account of their Empire and power.
In Europe they are today making preparations for Crusade.
It is a critical time for the Islamic country a nation.
The clergy have risen to efface the religion of Mohammad.
The daggers of falsehood are being sharpened (to murder) truth and righteousness.
The Christian have gratuitous grudge against Mussalmans.
Every one of them has girded his loin in enmity.

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Had you not slept, such mischiefs would not have arisen for the Islamic religion ;
Therefore, oh sleeping ones, give up this sleep of negligence.
Today vow to the enemies the strength of that brotherhood ;
On which the Prophet had made you stand ;
Repent of evil acts and become good once more ;
You say God is one, then come and become one yourselves ;
If the blow has fallen on your heart, beat the drum of the faith ;
This is Islam and this is service to Islam ;
Obedience to the Khalifa is a duty enjoined in the religion of a Muslim ;
This is the order of the Prophet ; this is the command of God ;
The saying of the Prophet is (Arabic quotation) ;
Truth has never been defeated by falsehood, nor will it ever be defeated in future ;
He who is a Muslim cannot be rebellious towards the Khalif ;
He cannot take the blot upon himself as the Sheriff of Mecca ;
Europe has threatened us in a loud voice ;
That it will trample the Sultan (under) its feet ;
France, England and Italy have surrounded Istambul ;
They want to bring a tornado on the flag of Turkey ;
The Bishop of London having placed his head on his palm has very boldly.
Given the notice of war to the Mohammedans of the world.
Lord Curzon also wants to fight us ;
We have heard his ultimatum with these ears of our own ;
Sheep of Christ have assumed the form of wolves ;
The life has become a burden for the descendants of Adam ;
What happened at Kerballa is now to happen again ;
Time is again repeating the history of Mohurrum ;
Oh Mussalmans ! You also show them the scene of storm and lighting ;
Thunder at some places, rain at other, flash at some and storm others ;
Combine and help the Khalif with strength and money ;
Shake the world with the cry of Allah-o-Akbar ;
Come out Oh wearer of black blanket (means the Prophet) from the Tomb !
Because now a days the black people are in the agony of death on and account of the tyranny of the white ;
The followers of Jesus (son of Mary) have become (like) brothers of Joseph.
The oppressed followers are in the fear of their lives ;
The Khilafat on which thou hadst founded the religion.
Of which Abubakar, Omar, Usman and Ali were the guardians.
The Christians have now girded up their loins to wipe it out of existence.
These sparks of mischief are a source of evil for Khilafat.
(We) swear by the holy personality that.
The lovers of the religion and those intoxicated with (the wine of) thy faith will sacrifice their lives.
The enemy has got aeroplanes, guns and cruisers.
What have we got—a few sighs and a few cries.
We are in need of help, help of Prophet, of God.
Lest this storm upsets thy following.
We have heard that a crowd of angels remains about thy tomb.
Send an army of angels for the help of the helpless.

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Oh Muslim ! become a Salahuddin and rule.
Why are you begging like Shah Kalandar with a beggar's wallet !
Shortly there is going to be a war between faith and incredulity.
Let us see whose fortune makes him successful.
Oh brother in faith !

You should kindly propagate :—

Salutations No. 1 of the *Payam-e-Amal* (message for action) which reaches you and should endeavour to get children cram by heart this national poem.

We desire to publish in series articles, true facts and selected poems on the Khilafat question. This is the first number of the kind. The amount realized by the sale will be credited to the Khilafat Fund. We request men of letters to favour us with their useful knowledge and true views so that we may endeavour to publish them as much as we possibly can.

SYED ISMAIL GAZNAWI,
Servant of Islam.
(Bombay member of the Central Khilafat Committee, Cutlery merchant and wellknown man.)

Accompaniment " H "

Translation of an Urdu letter (marked A) from Mashir Husain Kidwai to Seth Chhotani, Bombay (the envelope is addressed to Abdul Gani).

Honoured friend Seth Chhotani,

Greetings, I too have heard that your letter addressed to Moulvi Abdul Bari. It is strange that you did not give me any information personally. Now there is no necessity for reconsidering the question of non-co-operation from the very beginning except that law and when practical action should be begun. If some wise persons (ori., Ahl-ul-nai) differ from the last portions (of the programme) on the 12th April we cannot abandon a learned gentleman for their sake. A breach in (our) party will be extremely injurious, but the separation of 10 or 20 persons does not matter.

If the Central Caliphate Committee does not work with more readiness and with more regard for public opinion and public expectations from it, then undoubtedly there will spring up another class which will be more ready, practical and responsive to public desires (hearts) and I myself would have no excuse against joining it.

The people who get afraid of even ordinary (lit., small) proposals, give the irresponsible English-help-seeking person an opportunity to separate themselves and form a separate body.

If there were effective proposals in regard to non-co-operation problem, they were those in the end. Today a desire is expressed to expunge them so that they may not remain in the programme.

Personally I do not wish to conceal that the Central Caliphate Committee does not take steps in the direction of practical work with the same readiness as it ought. This leads to increase of general complaints. It also gives certain selfish people and people desirous of getting a name and fame for themselves an opportunity to come forward.

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In my opinion an All-India Caliphate Conference and not only a meeting of the Caliphate Committee should be called at some central place, may be Delhi or Lucknow. The only condition is that it should be at a central place and not at a far-off place like Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, and all wise (ori., *Ahl-ulrai*) people, both Hindus and Muhammadans, should be invited. The Peace conditions will be presented on the 10th May and the Turks will be given 15 to 20 days to make a reply. Our Conference should be called during the last days of May, so that it may consider the whole matter by the time the Turkish reply is given or even before the final reply. His Highness the Aga Khan should be requested to preside if he does not go to Europe, though as I have wired to him also, it is necessary, may indispensable, that he should reach Europe immediately.

In the absence of the Aga Khan it does not matter if any Rais of the Raj or Mehmudabad presides. The proceedings of the meetings should take place with great seriousness, gravity and full realisation of responsibility. In the forefront should be those persons in whom the British Government has full confidence and thus another opportunity should be afforded to the British Government that it is not for the Turks nor for that of the agitators of India, but for the sake of their admittedly loyal Hindu and Muhamamadan subjects that they should make (conditions of) the Turkish peace easy, and for the present proposal that the Turkish Sovereignty should be confined to the Chatlaja line, they should allow Thrace and Adrianople, which are very important and holy Islamic places, to remain in the Turkish Empire.

Where there is a proposal about Amir Fiesul being independent of Christians, there should also be a similar proposal about Bait-ul-Muquddus and Iraq that they should remain in the sovereignty of the Caliph, though by the treaty the Christian powers may have other conditions imposed for a limited period as in the case of Persia.

In my opinion, you should try that a special deputation under the leadership of Aga Khan (in which I cannot join as a member because I am an independent man and one of the agitators but which I will certainly accompany) should at once, at once, at once leave for England. If this proposal does not succeed then a conference should be held at a very early date in which Aga Khan etc., should not only join but should be in the forefront.

I claim that in the matter of the Caliphate I estimate the circumstances very properly; therefore kindly accept my word that a more important and a more delicate time will not come.

As much pressure should at this time be put on the British Ministers as is possible by means of resolutions and by showing readiness for practical measures. But it should at the same time be carefully borne in mind that no mischief or disturbance of any other kind whatsoever occurs at this time. In fact no violent act should be committed at this time. This is the time merely for preparations to take practical measures. But this is also not the time to lose heart or to show cowardice.

Harshness in proposals (resolutions) does not matter. On the other hand, it is essential, otherwise group after group of Muhammadans will get out of hand. It is also extremely important that there should be no

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proposal on which we are not ready to act. At present the Muhammadans are ready to act upon the most serious of serious proposals i.e., even to sacrifice their lives. The sole effort at this time should be that practical work should not be of an inciting nature.

In the same way as I say in the two last clauses of the non-co-operation (scheme) should on no account whatsoever be taken out of the scope (lit. centre) of the proposals and programme. I also say that on no account whatsoever should action be begun on them at this time.

At this time we solely desire to put pressure, and pressure in sufficient degrees, on the British Ministers, so that it may be impressed on them that the Turkish Empire would be ruined only when the British Empire at least is also ruined, if the whole world is not upset.

After producing such an impression the British Ministers should be given an opportunity so that they may be able to give some concessions after the reply by delegates of Turkey. Therefore, it should also be so arranged that (only) such persons be put in the forefront, to accept whose requests is not considered by Britain as derogatory to her greatness or nugatory to her power.

At this time it is necessary to pay greatest attention to the Caliphate problem ; and I will advise that now at least 10 or 15 days, it is extremely essential for Moulvi Abdul Bari, Moulana Shaukat Ali, Moulvi Abul Kalam, Moulvi Hasrat Mohani and myself to remain with the President at one place. But their coming together in Bombay seems difficult, though the proximity of His Highness the Aga Khan to them will also be necessary.

(Signed) MASIR HUSAIN KIDWAI.

P. S.—Even Abdul Bari complains of non-receipt of answers to letter sent to you.

(1) *West Khandesh, May 3rd.*—On the 30th April a meeting was held at Dhulia at which about 300 Muhammadans and Momins attended. (1) Aminullah Khaite, (2) Muhammad Kassam and (3) Alimullah Hilia were invited from Burhanpur. Nos. (1) and (3) are poem writers. The meeting was presided over by Moulvi Abdul Salam Abdul Rahim of Dhulia.

No. (1) spoke on the Caliphate question and based his arguments on religious principles and made the general request that the British Government should keep Turkey intact.

No. (3) explained the causes of the war and said that the British wanted to pass troops through the Dardanelles, but the Turks did not allow this ; hence there was difference of opinion between the two and war broke out. He urged all followers of Islam to request that all religious places should be kept with the Turks and the Turkish Empire be left intact.

Muhammad Kassam of Burhanpur and Muhammad Amin Vali Muhammad and Hafiz Abdul Suka Nimar, both of Dhulia, also spoke concerning the necessity of keeping Turkey intact.

No. (1) then requested those present to subscribe to the Caliphate Committee and a sum of about Rs. 100 was collected. The Secretary thanked the audience and the meeting concluded.

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(*m*) *Poona, May 8th.—The District Magistrate writes.*—No special interest is being taken in the Khilafat question. The Brahmins are only paying a very mild form of lip-service to the "non-co-operation" proposal, and they are above all anxious that there should be no violence, which they see would be the inevitable outcome of "non-co-operation".

(*n*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 15th.*—The *Young India* has the following in its issue of the 5th May 1920 :—

"YOUNG INDIA".

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 5th May 1920.

How to work non-co-operation (by M. K. Gandhi)

"Perhaps the best way of answering the fears and criticism as to non-co-operation is to elaborate more fully the scheme of non-co-operation. The critics seem to imagine that the organisers propose to give effect to the whole scheme at once. The fact however is that the organisers have fixed definite, progressive stages. The first is the giving up of titles and resignation of honorary posts. If there is no response or if the response received is not effective, recourse will be had to the second stage. The second stage involves much previous arrangement. Certainly not a single servant will be called out unless he is either capable of supporting himself and his dependents or the Caliphate Committee is able to bear the burden. All the classes of servants will not be called out at once and never will any pressure be put upon a single servant to withdraw himself from the Government service. Nor will a single private employee be touched for the simple reason that the movement is not anti-English. It is not even anti-Government. Co-operation is to be withdrawn because the people must not be party to a wrong—a broken pledge—a violation of deep religious sentiment. Naturally, the movement will receive a check if there is any undue influence brought to bear upon any Government servant or if any violence is used or countenanced by any member of the Caliphate Committee. The second stage must be entirely successful, if the response is at all on an adequate scale. For no Government—much less the Indian Government—can subsist if the people cease to serve it. The withdrawal of the police and the military the third stage— is a distant goal. The organisers however wanted to be fair, open and above suspicion. They did not want to keep back from the Government or the public a single step they had in contemplation even as a remote contingency. The fourth, i.e., suspension of general taxation, is fraught with the greatest danger. It is likely to bring a sensitive class in conflict with the police. They are, therefore, not likely to embark upon it, unless they can do so with the assurance that there will be no violence offered by the people.

I admit, as I have already done, that non-co-operation is not unattended with risk, but the risk of supineness in the face of a grave issue is infinitely greater than the danger of violence ensuing from organising non-co-operation. To do nothing is to invite violence for a certainty.

It is easy enough to pass resolutions or write articles condemning non-co-operation. But it is no easy task to restrain the fury of a people incensed by a deep sense of wrong. I urge that those who talk and work against non-co-operation to descend from their chairs and go down to the people, learn their feelings and write, if they have the heart, against non-co-operation. They will find, as I have found, that the only way to avoid

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violence is to enable them to give such expression to their feelings as to compel redress. I have found nothing save non-co-operation. It is logical and harmless. It is the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him.

Non-co-operation as a voluntary movement can only succeed if the feeling is genuine and strong enough to make people suffer to the utmost. If the religious sentiment of the Muhammadans is deeply hurt and if the Hindus entertain neighbourly regard towards their Muslim brothers they will both count no cost too great for achieving the end. Non-co-operation will not only be an effective remedy but will also be an effective test of the sincerity of the Muslim claim and the Hindu profession of friendship.

There is, however, one formidable argument urged by friends against my joining the Caliphate movement. They say that it ill becomes me, a friend of the British and an admirer of the British Constitution, to join hands with those who are to-day filled with nothing but ill-will against the English. I am sorry to say that the ordinary Muhammadan entertains today no affection for Englishmen. He considers, not without some cause, that they have not played the game. But if I am friendly towards Englishmen, I am no less towards my countrymen, the Muhammadans ; and as such they have a greater claim upon my attention than Englishmen. My personal religion, however, enables me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishmen, or for that matter, anybody else. What I am not prepared to do to my blood-brother, I would not do to an Englishman. I would not injure him to gain a kingdom. But I would withdraw co-operation with him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother (now deceased) when it became necessary. I serve the Empire by refusing to partake in its wrong. William Stead offered public prayers for British reverses, at the time of the Boer War, because he considered that the nation to which he belonged was engaged in an unrighteous war. The present Prime Minister risked his life in opposing that war and did everything he could to obstruct his own Government in its prosecution. And today I have thrown in my lot with the Muhammadans, a large number of whom bear no friendly feelings towards the British. I have done so frankly as a friend of the British and with the object of gaining justice and of, thereby, showing the capacity of the British Constitution to respond to every honest determination when it is coupled with suffering. I hope by my 'alliance' with the Muhammadans to achieve a threefold end to obtain justice in the face of odds, with the method of *Satyagraha* and to show its efficacy over all other methods, to secure Muhammadan friendship for the Hindus and, thereby, internal peace also, and last, but not least, to transform ill-will into affection for the British and their Constitution, which in spite of its imperfections has weathered many a storm. I may fail in achieving any of the ends, I can but attempt. God alone can grant success. It will not be denied that the ends are all worthy. I invite Hindus and Englishmen to join me in a full-hearted manner in shouldering the burden the Muhammadans of India are carrying. Theirs is admittedly a just fight. The Viceory, the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha have testified to it. Time has arrived to make good the testimony. People with a just cause are not satisfied with a mere protest. They have been known to die for it. Are a high-spirited people like the Muhammadans expected to do less ?".

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(*o*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 15th.*—The following is an extract from the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

CENTRAL ARABIA.

"Unity under king of Hedjaz impossible".

(Reuter's telegram).

London, May 10th.
Received, 1 a.m., May 12.

Interviewed by a representative of the Observer, Mr. H. S. Philby, who has been in charge of a special mission to Central Arabia, declared that unity of the Arab Empire under the control of the King of the Hedjaz was entirely impossible. The greatest stumbling block against this was the Wahabis. The King of Hedjaz was not likely ever to succeed in becoming a leader of Arabia except by the force of arms. Any attempt at a fusion of the different sections in Arabia was utterly impracticable.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCITEMENT AND PROPAGANDISM

(*a*) *S. B. Sind, Karachi, May 8th.*—The *Al Wahid* of the 2nd of May contains a warning to the public not to pay their subscription to the Caliphate Fund to any but recognised collectors provided with receipt books.

Khilafat and the Turkish Empire.

(*b*) *Sind C.I.D., Karachi May 10.*—A follower or Pir Mahbubshah, brother of Pir Jhandewalla, in conversing with an officer of this Department is reported to have said that a few weeks ago a meeting was held at Rajo Khanani village when it was announced that Mecca and Medina were in British occupation; the male population had run away; all houses there were burnt; and the Kabba has been fired upon and partly destroyed. True Muhammadans were exhorted to withdraw from the service of the British and to regard them as enemies.

(*c*) *Larkana, May 7th.—The District Magistrate writes*:—The holding of little village Khilafat meetings up and down continue.

The worst part of the agitation however is that Mullahs openly preach in the mosques the most wicked lies about pretended 'British atrocities' in Mecca, Medina and other Holy Cities of Islam.

"The latest of these is the outrageous assertion that English troops, helped by Sikhs, outraged the tomb of the Prophet at Medina and disinterred his remains.

"Such things going uncontradicted have the very worst and most exciting effect on the minds of the ignorant, who invariably argue (with the naivete of children) that they must be true or Government would never let these Mullahs go on saying them, but would have them arrested and punished for such lies at once. I consider that something must be done to check this kind of thing if we want to maintain peace and order."

(*d*) *Sukkur, May 10.—The District Magistrate writes* :—"Small local Khilafat meetings continue, attended largely by Hindus in some cases. Considerable stress is now laid upon the resignation of honours: those who are most ardent are only restrained by not possessing any. Mention is also made of the Sympathy and support of the Afghan envoys.

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"The trouble on the Afghan frontier is reported to be the talk of the district, people having noticed the passage of troop trains.

"My impression is that the people regard the contents of the Turkish Peace Terms as a foregone conclusion; and hence I do not expect any outburst of violence on their publication.

"At a meeting at Shikarpur there was no mention of the 'Emigration of the Faithful', which appealed so strongly to a meeting at Jacobabad."

(*e*) *Upper Sind Frontier, May 11th.*—Fifth Sind Caliphate Conference.—The first sessions of the Conference was held on the 2nd May. The audience numbered about 600, chiefly Muhammadans from outside the district with a few Hindu loafers. Two minor Zamindars, Rassulbaksh Wahgo and Wali Muhammad Bhati, attended. There were about 20 volunteers from Karachi, said to be Mekranis.

The proceedings were as follows :—

(1) Recital from the *Koran* by Hafiz Khan Muhammad of Khadda and prayer-song by two small boys.

(2) Sindhi song by Pir Anvarali Shah of Larkana saying that the British had occupied the Holy places and that it was disgraceful for them to do nothing for their religion; it was better to die and leave the world than to remain in it and see such things.

(3) Song by Maulvi Khushi Muhammad of Mirokhan, asking people to become *ghazi* and also to sever their connection with Government.

(4) Address of welcome by Maulvi Abdul Gafur, Chairman of the Reception Committee. He first thanked the visitors for coming to such a hot place and went on to outline the history of Jacobabad, claiming that when in old days it was called Khangarh it was a stronghold of Muhammadans, but since the name was changed to Jacobabad, people have forsaken their religion and are quite under the strong control of officials. On the 19th March Hindus had joined with them under the orders of Mahatma Gandhi and thanks were due to them. But the important men had devoted themselves to the altar of honours and titles. (Shame.) The Islamic world was in a desperate plight and mere conferences could not effect anything; they should be prepared to undergo hardships and should not wait for the Peace terms.

(5) Maulvi Taj Muhammad, of Thul and Moro; seconded by Maulvi Abdul Gafur, Naib Nasrulla, Jan Muhammad Junejo, Abdul Aziz, Editor, *Al-Haq,* and Shaikh Abdul Majid.

(6) Presidential address by Taj Muhammad, the greater part of which was read out by Maulvi Abdul Khalik, was to the effect that the Holy Places should be under the protection of a power strong enough to protect them. Previous Muhammadan rulers had sacrificed their lives for Islam and had been successful. The Turks had now that burden; and they have always fought for Islam, which was such a worthy object that all lives should be sacrificed for it. They should not be afraid of the Christians and should listen to the injunctions of Allah and his Prophet and be unmindful of their lives.

After the first four Caliphs and the Abbasid Caliphate, the Turks alone had sacrificed their lives for Islam. On the other hand, the Christians did their best to extirpate Moslems in the Crusades, but failed and were disgraced. Now the Allies had been able to gain by stratagem what they

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would never have gained by fighting. The capitals of Germany, Austria and Bulgaria are not being seized. The Turkish question, and not the Islamic Question, only to conceal the true design. They called the Islamic seats of Government places of tyranny and mal-administration. They were introducing their own customs and were forbidding factories and thus obliging people to work for them at lower rates. Their design was to eradicate Islam.

An English author called Islam a calamity and said that Islam should be eradicated ; that all Christians should unite to destroy Muhammadans and should get hold of their property, riches and womenkind and should oblige them to become Christians. Lord Cromer said that unless the *Holy Quran* is destroyed it would not be possible to baptise Moslems. Not only mad missionaries said this, but Lord Cromer said it. Gladstone also said that the *Quran* should be wrested from the Moslems and put into the fire and barbarism totally eradicated as there could only be peace in the world through Christianity. Lord Kitchener, Lord Curzon, Lord Bryce, Lord Cecil and Lord Allenby had all got such ideas.

The Maulvi here recited a *hadis* to the effect that Jews and Christians were never satisfied until their religion was embraced.

France was not hostile to Turkey and wanted Constantinople and Asia Minor to be left to the Turks, but the British had taken the destruction of Islam upon themselves. They had arrested the Shaikh-ul-Islam and were going to turn the Sophia Mosque into a church. More than seventy members of the Royal Family had been arrested ; did they deserve to be called Moslems ?

According to their religious principles, if the Holy Places were not saved and the matter was not decided according to their desires, they were bound to declare jihad ; as they had not got arms, they must migrate to some other country. (Cries of "We are ready.") His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan had invited them to his country, but before accepting that they should cease to co-operate with Government, refrain from joining the Army, and from taking cases to the Courts. In short, sever all connection with Government and have no friendship with Christians. The worshippers of chairs and titles should be boycotted.

(7) Recital of two Urdu poems by Abdul Aziz.

(8) Recital of Sindhi poem by Pir Anvarali Shah.

The meeting was adjourned until the evening and the Subjects Committee sat.

Second Sessions

The audience numbered about 1,000, of whom about 30 were Hindus.

(1) Maulvi Sarwarbaksh of Thul and a boy sang a Sindhi poem invoking the aid of the Prophet for the success of the Turks and the dismemberment of the British Empire.

(2) Sindhi song by two small boys asking God to help the Turkish King.

(3) Recital from the Koran by Hafiz Khan Muhammad of Khadda.

1st Resolution. To sever all connection with Government.

(4) Moved by Jan Muhammad Junejo.

The times were very critical and they must either have strong faith or turn infidels. If they wished to save their faith there were three ways

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they could adopt ; (a) to sever all connection with the enemies of their faith : (b) to migrate from the country of their enemies ; (c) to draw the sword against the enemies of their faith, or make jihad.

What was meant by severing all connection ? They should have no love for their enemies and should under no circumstances render them any help ; Government was the enemy of their religion. They have so many times approached Government with petitions not to meddle in their religion, but to no purpose. On the contrary, the opposite policy was being followed. So now it was a question of the Government or the Koran. If they were afraid of this Government they would be apostates. The English Government was strong like an elephant and they weak like an ant. But they only need the strength of their faith ; otherwise they would have their faces blackened in both the worlds.

So he moved that if Government was not going to fall in with their demands in connection with the Caliphate question and the Holy Places, they should sever all connection with Government. In this way the Government would melt away like water. They did not value wordly encomiums and honours. The *dajal* allured them by showing Hell and Heaven to them. He was a Zamindar, but he swore not to pay assessment. He was a member of the Local Board and of the Municipality, but he cursed them. He cursed his Barristership. He had the honour of being a Second Class Sirdar and had a chair in the King's Durbar, but he cursed that even. Here the leading men embraced him and offered prayers for his success. He was saluted with the titles :—*Rais-ul-Mohajrin, Fakhar-ul-Islam, Fakhar-I-Shah.*"

(5) Maulvi Abdul Gafur of Jacobabad seconded the resolution. He said that Government had interfered with their religion and whatever Government handled they destroyed. (I am told that this big talker was pressed to resign his seat on the Municipality and his pension, but preferred not to be too hasty ! !).

(6) Syed Anvarali Shah of Larkana seconded the resolution and said that it was necessary to sever connection not only with Government but also with all who sympathised with Government. They were all heretics. Tenants should leave Zamindars who sided with Government. No officers or zamindars could help them or intercede for them. Islam had always been served by the poor. Mullas who advised them on behalf of Government, and their wives and sisters who might hinder them, should all be renounced. Irreligious Pirs should also be abandoned.

(7) Maulvi Mir Muhammad Naurangi of Kambar taluka seconded the resolution and likened the Government to Pharoah and his hosts who were destroyed.

(8) A few petty Zamindars owning an acre or so of land proclaimed their intention of not paying assessment.

(9) A few Mullas, of whom Maulvi Abdul Gafur of Ghouspur was one, said they would refuse grants in future.

(10) Gulam Kadad Bhuto, Zamindar, of Mubarakpur, in this district, swore to resign his membership of the Taluka Local Board and give up his gun license and chair in the Deputy Commissioner's Durbar.

(11) Wahidbaksh, said to be of Rajanpur, district Dera Ghazni Khan, announced that he was a Rissaldar and the son of a chairholder, but he cursed all these honour. He went on to say that the muslin of Dacca was famous and was being used in England ; but a law was introduced fining any man who bought it Rs. 500. This punishment was found insufficient, so it was

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increased by six months' imprisonment and, later, by maiming of hands. (I understand the C.I.D. are making enquiries about this man. He is not known locally. He appears to be a very irresponsible person and dangerous in that he has no hesitation in uttering the most outrageous lies even those that have been publicly retracted by other agitators.).

(12) Wali Muhammad Bhati of Jacobabad swore to refuse to pay land revenue and one Lalbaksh swore to refuse to pay the balance of Rs. 200 *takavi* borrowed by him.

(13) Naib Nasrulla of Jacobabad and Haji Ghulak Nabi Junejo vowed they would resign their Municipal seats.

(14) A number of other speakers supported the resolution with speeches of minor importance.

(15) M. Muhammad Sadik of Moro, Nawabshah, supported the resolution and said that the British Government was the only one in the world that was against Islam. The English were devilish *Dajal*. No Mussalman should perform the funeral rites of anyone who did not disassociate himself from Government. Such had better send for some Englishmen to bury them. They should get rid (*bezar thian*) of these tyrants and infidels who were faithless and untrue. It they had a single particle of faith they should swear to get rid of them. (My Sub-Inspector says the public were greatly moved).

(16) Akhtar Shah, said to be late physician of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and now living at Larkana, in supporting the resolution said that it was their armies that had fought and won the sacred places for the Government. The English called others tyrants and untrue to their word ; but they were this themselves, and also snatch away from people even their faith.

(17) Hafiz Khan Muhammad of Khadda said that the enemies had polluted their Holy Places with their dirty boots.

(18) Moulvi Din Muhammad of Thul said that the English were not human beings at all. They look like men, but were really wolves and rabid dogs, *shaitans* and the sons thereof ; they were the sons of *Pharoah* and *Habil* (i.e., Cain).

(19) Moulvi Muhammad Amin of Kandkot said that the shaitan, Khan Sahib Syed Khan Rind, the head of the Rinds in this district, had fined one of his tenants who had attended a meeting at Kandkot the sum of Rs. 30. The audience called down curses on Syed Khan.

(20) Shaikh Abdul Majid opened his remarks with a poem to the effect that though Moslems were simple, they were ready for the sake of Muhammad to have their heads cut off ; and would subjugate thousands of Government like the British by the policy of non-co-operation. Be ready to suffer forfeiture of lands, grants, etc. ; become like Bilawal. (A rural man here cried out that should policemen come to arrest anyone, they should be killed.) No one should be ready to go to jail. The Government is not afraid of the Zamindars and the moneyed class, but only of them. Two hundred men had given their names to him for migration. Carry this message of his to the outlying places that Government was breaking its promises. Other Governments which had broken their promises had been destroyed, and this one would meet with the same fate.

(21) Mir Muhammad, Schoolmaster of Chandan, Thul taluka, said he would resign his post.

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After a few more speeches the resolution was passed.

(22) Hyat Khan Rind of Jafarabad, said to be a nephew of K. S. Syed Khan Rind, announced his intention of resigning his chair and gun license.

Second Resolution.—Sympathy with Shaikh Hamid Ahmad of Allahabad who was fined Rs. 500 for delivering lectures on the Caliphate and was sent to jail for a year in default.

(23) Moved by Shaikh Abdul Aziz, who said that this man had always served Islam and had suffered merely for speaking the truth. It was owing to the kindness of the C.I.D. that he suffered this trouble. He had mentioned the false promises of the English and so had been punished. They should not mind, however, even if they were beheaded.

(24) Seconded by Pir Anvarali Shah, who cited the example of Islam Hasan and said that Yazin had been born and that now people should show what they were like.

The District Superintendent of Police, Upper Sind Frontier, here notes :— There is no mention of the formal passing of this resolution either in the report of my Sub-Inspector or in that of my Inspector.

The Sub-Inspector reports that the first resolution caused considerable excitement and hatred and that some of the audience began to cry out to be led to jihad and become Ghazis and migrate to a foreign Muhammadan country. Among other incidents a fakir had a fit and called out *kafar ko maro* ". It would appear that if the leaders were prepared to go to extremes, it would be quite easy for them to stir up the fanatical and ignorant local Muhammadans. Even Abdul Majid found it necessary to rebuke one man for his forwardness. It is manifest that it is playing with fire to allow such inflammatory speeches. The effects of this Conference will probably pass of, but any repetition might create a difficult situation.

The usual abuse was levelled at the heads of the Police officers present on duty.

One Paro, Hindu of Jacobabad, who owns a fancy goods shop, was distributing water, and Hindus and Mussalmans all drank from the same glasses.

Third Sessions

On the 3rd May. Audience numbered about 1,000.
(1) Maulvi Khushi Muhammad of Larkana recited a poem.
(2) Maulvi Haji Ahmed of Larkana made a short speech.

My Sub-Inspector says he saw fervour and zeal incarnate though he looked most simple and illiterate ; but he explained the verses of the Koran, dealing with jihad, very clearly and aroused the fervour of the audience for Islam.

(3) Recital from the Koran by Hafiz Khan Muhammad of Khadda.

(4) Syed Anvarali Shah read the Urdu National song by Dr. Iqbal of the Punjab.

(5) Syed Akhtar Shah of Larkana announced that the Shaikh-ul-Islam had been imprisoned in the Island of Malta and a new Shaikh had been appointed by the British. The Shaikh-ul-Islam was the guide of the Caliphate in religious matters and could only be appointed by Muhammadans. If appointed by others he could even give orders contrary to Islamic principles. The British had no right to appoint a *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and they had trespassed on the rights of Islam.

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He then moved the first Resolution that this meeting was greatly displeased at the imprisonment of the Shaikh-ul-Islam and the substitution of a new Shaikh.

(6) Moulvi Abdul Karim, of Larkana seconded the resolution.

(7) Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Thul, supporting the resolution said that the imprisonment of the Shaikh-ul-Islam and the appointment of a new one could never be approved of by them. Their enemies wanted to undermine their Islamic unity.

(8) Moulvi Abdul Razak of Babak supported.

(9) Hafiz Khan Muhammad of Khadda said that the troubles which were being given to their Caliph were inexplicable. The infidels were doing all this because he was a Mussalman and the expounder of the *Kalma*. Of the Fourteen Points, one was that the Turkish Empire should be kept intact ; but the Shaikh-ul-Islam had been seized by strategy and sent to Malta—a very cruel act.

(10) Moulvi Din Muhammad Wafai of Larkana said that the Shaikh-ul-Islam appointed the Caliph ; but from the new Shaikh the British had obtained a *fatwa* condemning the Young Turks who were fighting for the cause of Turkey.

(11) Moulvi Abdul Gafur of Ghouspur supported.

(12) Syed Ghulam Mustafa of Larkana supported and said that they would sacrifice their lives and property for Islam and the Shaikh-ul-Islam.

The resolution was duly passed.

The second resolution condemned the use in Mulla schools of texts contrary to principles of religion and Islam.

(13) Moulvi Din Muhammad of Nawabshah, in moving the resolution, said that the Mulla schools were first started in Nawabshah District and good grants were promised to the Mullas ; but later it became apparent that the object was to make the Mulla schools like Local Board schools and put an end to religious teaching.

(14) Moulvi Abdul Aziz supported the resolution and said that the name of the schools showed that they were to be used for religious teaching only. Mr. Lawrence had favoured Mulla schools and when Collector of Karachi had even given land to Mullas.

Muhammadans should be ashamed to come even to the mosque for purposes of detection. (My Sub-Inspector present was a Muhammadan and there were other Muhammadan Police officers present.).

(15) Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Thul said that the British Government was the worst Government that ever existed. They had ruled by dividing Hindus and Musalmans. They had caused idolatry to be committed and songs to be sung.

(16) Syed Anvarali Shah supported.

(17) Muhammad Ibrahim, a boy of about 8, read a paper on the subject. The resolution was duly passed.

(18) Moulvi Abdul Khalik announced that 14 persons had promised not to pay assessment and that among these were some who had even surrendered their honours.

(19) Ghulam Murtaza Sadhayo, of Shikarpur, announced his intention of resigning his chair and gun license. This man is not a chairholder in the district.

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(20) The names of Mullas of Mirokhan and Kambar talukas who had promised to refuse grants were read out.

The third resolution appealed to Muhammadans to purchase *Swadeshi* articles and not European articles.

(21) Moved by Shaikh Abdul Aziz, who said that this was also a method of non-co-operation with Government, which had been unjust in appointing Controllers to control Indian articles.

(22) A fakir of Jacobabad named Allahbaksh threw fists, brandished his cudgel and said that he had become a *ghazi* and would kill the white men.

(23) Wahidbaksh "Rissaldar "said that in Bombay the fat of pigs, cows and sheep was mixed and sold as ghee. Pigs' fat was mixed in Pears' soap and vaseline ; sugar was cleaned with the bones of all sorts of animals.

(24) Moulvi Abdul Khalik said that their money which went to England was used in preparing gunpowder and machine guns which bombarded the *Kaba*.

The resolution was duly passed.

It was announced that copies of the presidential speech would be sold and the proceeds credited to the Caliphate Fund.

Fourth Sessions

About 1,500 people said to be present.

(1) Moulvi Haji Ahmed of Larkana cursed the English fervently and prayed for their downfall. He referred to the victory of only 300 Mussalmans over myriads of enemies at the time of the Badar War in the days of the Prophet, adding : "So God will help us now. We shall destroy the Zamindars and Pirs who have not joined us with a handful of stones, as mentioned in the Koran. Hindus will become Muhammadans, the French and Italians will also become converts, and we shall then drive out the English from the world. Spend your lives and property in the service of God and God will grant you Paradise. Whoever makes jihad goes to Paradise, so you should not be afraid of the cannons of Government." He then read the passage from the Koran where the lives of the martyrs are described, and that they live for ever. "If God puts them in front of the cannons they would go straight to Heaven. It was very fortunate for them. He was ready to sacrifice his life. He was an old man but would be ready when the banner was hoisted."

(2) Poem by Moulvi Sanwarbakhsh and a boy named Fatteh Muhammad, of Thul, asking for help from the Prophet.

(3) Recital from the Koran by Hafiz Khan Muhammad.

First Resolution.—To migrate from India if the Caliphate was ruined by Government.

(4) Moved by Shaikh Abdul Majid of Hyderabad. He announced the names of Hijrat Committee as follows :—

(1) Pir Turabali Shah,
(2) Pir Taj Muhammad of Amrote,
(3) Jan Muhammad Junejo,
(4) Shaikh Abdul Majid,
(5) Shaikh Abdul Aziz,
(6) Moulvi Muhammad Sadik of Khadda,
(7) Moulvi Abdul Gafur of Jacobabad.

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and spoke to the following effect :—The British Government was bent on the destruction of our Caliphate. If there was any chance of making jihad he would be in the van ; but there was no chance. They did not want to cause any chaos or turmoil, but they must act according to the dictates of their religion. Every year Muslims had sacrificed their lives to save this kingdom and about ten lakhs had sacrificed their lives for the faithless Government and flung themselves into the " vestibule of Orcus ". But if they rendered assistance now they would be apostates and heretics. If they met an Englishman or an official say to him : " O Englishman if you partake in the destruction of our Caliphate, we shall migrate from your country Our Prophet was persecuted for 13 years and then migrated. We shall also migrate, but shall return as victors.". Though it would be difficult to leave this country where they had been brought up from childhood, they should, nevertheless, ask for passports.

The Sub-Inspector said the audience was much moved by this speech.

(5) Syed Aktarali Shah seconded the resolution.

(6) Jan Muhammad Junejo said that he was ready to migrate. Migration was more difficult than jihad. If there was any hindrance to migration, they should sacrifice their lives.

Shaikh Abdul Majid said that jihad was difficult as they had no arms. But while they were supported by their consciences they did not need arms. The English race was untrustworthy, and having obtained their object they interfered with their religion. The English race was " Pabt ". They insulted their Ka'aba by bombarding it.

(7) Resolution was supported by Moulvi Fazal Muhammad of Naushahro.

(8) Pherumal, a Hindu, said that Hindus sympathised with Muhammadans. The English Government was doing a great *zulum,* Shaitan Rowlat Sahib caused so much friction between Muhammadans and Hindus. They should never obey the Law framed by him. If Muhammadans migrate they would follow them. They were the two wheels of a carriage—the two eyes which could not do without each other.

(9) Haji Ghousbaksh Khukawar of Larkana announced his intention of resigning his chair and gun license and migrating with his three attendants.

(10) Dad Muhammad, Constable of Jacobabad, said that he was being kept way by the Inspector and Sub-Inspector, but had come secret. He was a *Kaffir* before because he served in a *Kaffar* Department, but he would resign. He then abused other policemen present on duty, who had tried to persuade him from coming forward. The audience also cursed them. He said that the English were grandsons of *Dajal* and those who served them were great-grandsons of the same.

Note by the District Superintendent of Police.—This man is the son of a late Sub-Inspector. He was serving in the foot police. I have dismissed him. I hear he has been taken on by the Caliphate Committee.

(11) Pir Anvarali Shah sang a song and announced his intention of migrating. His brother Ghulam Mustafa Shah did the same.

(12) Muhammad Saleh of the Armed Police announced his intention of resigning. He has not yet done so.

(13) Shaikh Abdul Majid proposed that a Conference should ask the Central Caliphate Committee of Bombay to hold an All-India Caliphate Conference at Quetta to decide on the question of hijrat. He read out 35 names of those who had promised to migrate.

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(14) Maulvi Muhammad Sadik of Moro supported the resolution for hijrat and said that the Amir of Afghanistan had promised to give refuge to migrators and they should now migrate from the country of tyrants, infidels and faithless people.

The resolution was duly passed.

(15) Moulvi Abdul Khalik moved a resolution of thanks to the Amir who would be their future Emperor. A telegram should be sent to the Amir or to the Afghan Mission at Mussoorie.

The resolution was passed.

(16) Shaikh Abdul Majid moved a resolution for Hindu-Muslim unity. The Muhammadans were very thankful to the Hindus. The Amir had stopped cow killing. Owing to their quarrels with Hindus they have remained under vassalage. They should now unite and oblige Government to stop cow-slaughter. They would be leaving their mosques and tombs under the care of Hindus. Only they were infidels who were the enemies of their religion.

(17) Dr. Menghraj, private practitioner of Jacobabad, supported the resolution and said that Mussalmans and Hindus should be bound together. He seems to have excited the audience and cries of *Allah-o-Akbar, Mahatma Gandhi ki jai, Muhammad Ali-Shaukat Ali ki jai, Hindu-Mussalman ki jai* and *Bande, Mataram* were raised.

(18) Pherumal, Hindu, said that Shaitan Dyer, had united Hindus and Mussalmans. They should not migrate but should on the contrary expel the English. The English were like an evil spirit that charms ; but when any Moulvi began to exercise it, it would vanish.

(19) Shaikh Abdul Aziz said that the case of Hindus and Mussalmans was formerly like that of the two cats who took a piece of cheese to an ape to get it equally divided between them ; but the ape ate the whole of it himself. "Thus had the Government treated them, but now they were too clever to allow this. It was the soldiers who eat thousands of cows daily.".

(20) Syed Anvarali Shah told an *anecdote* of a Moulvi, a Syed and a peasant who went to a garden to eat fruit without the permission of the gardener. The gardener who was alone devised the plan of setting them against each other and so getting them arrested. The same deception has been practised by the English, but if all united what could they do ?

(21) Moulvi Muhammad Muaz said that a Bengalee had dreamed that he saw some cruel king like an Englishman in Hell. On being asked why he had been sent there, he said that in a far country of his dominions there were two nations, one Muhammadan and the other Hindu. He had set them against each other and so managed to rule them. (Cries of shame). So the English in the next world would be flung into Hell. They would be expelled from this country as *Pharaoh* was expelled from his.

(22) Maulvi Abdul Khalik announced his intention of migrating.

The resolution was duly passed.

It was announced that in addition to those whose names had been announced as prepared to migrate, 532 had also signified their readiness to do so.

(23) A *fatwa* concerning migration was read by Maulvi Fazal Muhammad of Nawabshah. All connection would be severed and they should

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migrate like Moses and Aaron, renounce all honours and not join any Government Service. The *fatwa* was signed by well over 20 Maulvis, headed by Moulvi Taj Muhammad.

(24) The Secretary, Moulvi Abdul Khalik, thanked Moulvi Taj Muhammad for his exertions in making the Conference a success which would have been impossible otherwise, owing to the indifference of the local people.

(25) Moulvi Taj Muhammad prayed for the success of the Caliphate and for their remaining firm in their aims.

(26) Syed Anvarali Shah read a poem and the Conference broke up to the accompaniment of shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar, Bande Mataram,* etc.

The District Superintendent of Police notes.—There were about 100 Hindus at this meeting, none of them of much importance. The leading Hindu, Seth Saradas, and his brother, Seth Jamnadas, kept away from Jacobabad, but they did not get others to do so as well. It seems possible that they are playing a double game and trying to keep in with the authorities as well as with the extremist party.

No unfortunate incidents took place during the Conference and the loyalty of the police throughout has been worthy of great commendation. The admission of Moulvi Abdul Khalik that the comparative success of the Conference would have been held more appropriately in the Larkana District, where most of the speakers came from ; but I suppose they have worn their welcome there rather thin. The Baluchis, with one exception among Zamindars of any family, have kept severely aloof from the Conference, although personal appeals were made by deputation to any Zamindars who were available.

(*f*) *Upper Sind Frontier May 11th—Caliphate Meetings in the District.*—Meetings were held at Muhammad Amin Khan Khoso's village on the 23rd April and on the 7th May at Fateh Khan Khoso's village at the instance of some minor Khoso Zamindars. One Morio Khan Bugti is said to have proposed himself to be ready with 1,000 men and Arab Nunari said he was ready with 500 men. The Thanedar in charge of the Police Station has sent in a very incomplete report and further details are being asked for. It was in connection with one of these meetings that K. S. Syed Khan Rind fined one of his cultivators, referred to in the Fifth Sind Caliphate Conference.

One Maulvi Abdul Karim of Nur Muhammad Sial's village in Shahadkot taluka has been making intemperate speeches on the Caliphate question among the Borhis at Allahabad in that taluka and collected subscriptions from them including two camels. This man is said to be a murid of Moulvi Taj Muhammad.

(*g*) *Upper Sind Frontier, May 15th.*—A certain amount of excitement has been caused by the fact that one Rasulbakhsh Wagho, a petty Zamindar, who had threatened P.W.D. officials in the execution of their duty, has been dealt with by the District Magistrate under the Sind Frontier Regulation ; and a petition-writer named Khudabkhsh, dismissed Police Head Constable, who is well known as a mischief-maker and a taker of "*bung*" has been sent up under Chapter VIII. Both these men having taken part in the recent Caliphate Conference, they have now been hailed as martyrs in the cause of Islam by the disaffected section.

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While writing the above, Mr. Thakurdas, Pleader and Vice-President of the Jacobabad Municipality, came to call on me and incidentally mentioned that Khudabakhsh was known as a scoundrel and that there was no real sympathy with him.

Ghulam, pleader of Larkana, and Muhammad Khan, of Karachi, Secretary of the Caliphate Committee and Home Rule League, have both visited Jacobabad this week in connection, it is said, with the proceedings against these "martyrs." They have made enquiries in the town.

My Sub-Inspector, who knew him formerly, has just informed me that Muhammad Khan tried to find out from him whether the men mentioned above had been dealt with for their own misdeeds for their participation in the Caliphate Conference. The Sub-Inspector pointed out that action had long been contemplated against Khudabakhsh, and that Rasulbaksh had brought the law upon himself in a matter which had nothing whatever to do with the Conference. Muhammad Khan, who had been sent up from Karachi to enquire and returned by the 2 p.m. train today, replied that he had understood those to be the true facts and would report accordingly.

In further conversation he said that a meeting of the Sind Caliphate Committee was being held on the 22nd and 23rd at Hyderabad and that it would be then decided whether or not to hold another Conference at Jacobabad. If it was decided to hold another Conference—which he was in favour of Moulvi Muhammad Sadik, Narsinglal, Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars, Hariram Mariwala, Waswani, Jeswani (Editor, *New Times*). Dr. Ahmed, Dr. Haji Kasim, Dr. Nur Muhammad, Shaikh Abdul Majid, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and others would be asked to attend.

Note.—With reference to the possible Conference, the District Superintendent of Police notes that persons making violent speeches on the last occasion should be dealt with.

(*h*) *Sind C.I.D., May 10th.*—A Caliphate Conference was arranged on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd May 1920, at Dubby, Tando Muhammad Khan taluka, Hyderabad District, *By* Moulvi Hamidullah, a Memon resident of Dubby. But he died on the 1st May 1920 and Mian Ahmed Shah, a *derwash* of the village, made arrangements. The volunteers were captained by Muhammad Akbar Khan, a medical practitioner of Sujawal. All of them wore badges of "*Almujahid*" (crusaders) on their breasts. Great unity and co-operation was noticed amongst the villagers who took part in the meeting. They were about 500 in all, amongst whom the following Moulvis and other prominent persons were noticed :—

(1) Moulvi Assadullah of Guni taluka.
(2) Haji Pateh Muhammad Vjari of Guni taluka.
(3) Moulvi Muhammad Nur of Guni taluka.
(4) Moulvi Allah Bux of Guni taluka.
(5) Moulvi Abdulwahid of Guni taluka.
(6) Moulvi Haji Usman of Bathero.
(7) Moulvi Mir Muhammad of Bathero.
(8) Moulvi Muhammad Suleman of Bathero.
(9) Moulvi Muse of Badin.
(10) Moulvi Yar Muhammad of Badin.
(11) Moulvi Haji Ghulam Ali of Badin.

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(12) Moulvi Abdullah of Badin.
(13) Moulvi Muhammad Ibrahim.
(14) Moulvi Haji Ahmed.
(15) Moulvi Mubarak of Badin.
(16) Moulvi Haji Muhammad Guje of Sujawal.
(17) Moulvi Muso Budho of Sujawal.
(18) Moulvi Muhammad Khas kheli of Sujawal.
(19) Dr. Muhammad Akbar Khan of Sujawal.

As a result of this Conference, the following Mullahs renounced their grants from Government :—

(1) Haji Muhammad Umar of Guni taluka.
(2) Maulvi Muhammad Ismail.
(3) Haji Hamzo Nalqani.
(4) Haji Sadik.
(5) Haji Darem.
(6) Haji Muhammad Usif of Zore.
(7) Ibrahim Nalqani.
(8) Muhammad Khaskheli of Jati.
(9) Mian Ibrahim of Pharwa.
(10) Moulvi Haji Usman of Pithoro.
(11) Mir Muhammad of Pithoro.
(12) Hussein of Badin.
(13) Muhammad Yusif of Pithoro.
(14) Ghulam Muhammad Mehri of Guni.
(15) Moulvi Usman of Pithoro

About Rs. 1,500 were collected for the Caliphate Fund. Rs. 500 were subscribed by Malik Fareed Khan of Jati, Rs. 100 by Muhammad Saleh of Khorwah and Rs. 50 by Vasu Jat of Guni.

The President was selected for the meeting and speakers got up at random. Hafiz Muhammad Usman narrated the services which Turkey rendered to Islam during the past and said that the Sultan was the only legitimate *Caliph*. He requested the audience to pray to God to keep the Caliphate intact and to unite and sacrifice themselves for its protection. Moulvi Muhammad Suleman supported the above speaker and said that the sympathy of the Muhammadan Government servants should be enlisted. Meanwhile a white bearded Moulvi got up and recommended jehad, following the example of the founder of Muhammadanism, and said that those who shirk at this time of test were Kaffirs.

Dr. Muhammad Akbar Khan said that British statesmen were untrustworthy, as they (the British) do not act according to their promises. France and Italy were in favour of Turkey, but the British were not so generous ; hence they were enemies of Islam, its Holy places and the Prophet. They have not made anything for the good of India and whatever is done is done for their own good. Mr. Lawrence, to have influence over the Mullas, created Mullan schools. The English are tricky and cunning. They forced the Shaikh-ul-Islam to sign a *fatwa* commanding Muhammadans not to join the Bolsheviks. If this is true, the independence of the Shaikh-ul-Islam is violated. He cautioned his audience to be very careful of the diplomatic Government who, in order to meet their own ends, grant titles and chairs, but in fact do not care a bit for the Indians. He advised the Zamindars not to give anything in Lapa and Cheri and never to arrange for officers' shikar.

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Two poems were recited by school-children for the success of the Sultan and greatly moved the villagers.

Haji Muhammad advised the audience to make physical and fiscal sacrifices for the sake of Islam.

Dr. Muhammad Akbar Khan again got up and said that the present was the question of the Cross and Crescent; of Hell on the one side and Paradise the other, and no official could conscientiously say that he was a true follower of Islam when he served the Government. He appealed for funds and advised Zamindars to refrain from giving any help to the Government, as he explained that a camel given to them would carry one thousand cartridges and each cartridge would be responsible for the death of two Muhammadans. Hence, indirectly, the donor of a camel had a hand in killing two thousand Muslims. He said that funds were required to send deputations to various Muslim and Christian countries to agitate about the Caliphate question.

Sayyid Asadullah Shah repeated the whole history of the Caliphate and concluded that Turks were the best Caliphs, but now Constantinople was in the hands of non-Muslims and the Turks were surrounded by enemies. Turkey joined the war for the freedom of Muhammadan subjects of Britain, France and Italy. But the Muslims blackened their faces by fighting against her. Indian soldiers threw bombs at Harmin Shariff and committed an outrage equal to the action of Yazid. The Muhammadans are responsible for endangering the Caliphate and they should be repentant at the door of Turkey. The Allies dealt lightly with the Germans because they were Christians. The British Government with its guns and aeroplanes is nothing: God is all powerful. The Russian Empire was destroyed in no time. The Prophet was too weak to fight the armies of the enemies. He exhorted his audience to be prepared to achieve the object in view as Paradise could not be entered without hardships and sufferings. He said that the British could be destroyed in the same way as the proud lion in the fable, which jumped into a well on seeing its own image. Muhammad Usman said he accepted the Mullan Grant last year; but he saw the trick behind it, hence he has renounced it, and about fifteen others followed his example.

On the morning of the 3rd instant, Asadullah Shah addressed the audience briefly and told them to be in readiness for hijrat on the decision of the Central Caliphate Committee.

(*i*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 10th.*—The *New Times* of the 9th instant publishes the following telegram :—

Caliphate Meeting at Dhingo.

200 poor farmers declare themselves Mahajirs. Pir Ali Anwar Shah's speech.

(Special by wire).

Bhiria, May 7th.

"A Caliphate meeting organised by Hakim Muhammad Mauz and Mistri Ghulam Muhammad of Nawabshah was held in the small village of Dhingo, near Bhiria Road. Among the distinguished visitors present were Pir Muhammad Imamshah, Pir Ali Anwar Shah Rashidi, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Maulvi Fazal Muhammad, Rais Fateh Khan, Dr. Nur Muhammad, Khan

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Jabhano, Maulvis Abdul Khalik Muhammad Sidik and Syyid Parial Shah. Over 2,000 people were present and 1,000 ladies attended. Other prominent visitors were five C.I.D. officers. Resolutions of the Jacobabad Conference were adopted. Great enthusiasm prevailed. Over 200 poor farmers declared themselves *Mahajirs*. Pir Ali Anwar Shah, the President, in his speech quoted the following text from the Prophet's Traditions :—

"He that dies without knowing or obeying the Caliph dies the death of disbelief.".

Referring to the Pirs' duties, he said, that they are not to receive benevolence and grow vicious in luxury, but to show the path of God and his righteousness. Addressing his disciples inhabiting the Khairpur State, the Pir Saheb declared with emotion that the *Koran* is as much meant for Native States as for British India. A Propagandist Committee headed by Shaikh Abdul Aziz and Sayyid Muradali Shah is touring in Nawabshah District. One salient feature of this meeting was the disillusionment of the representatives of *'Redpugriism'* who always expect *rasai* from the poor agriculturists".

And in the editorial columns appears the following note :—

"The Caliphate and Rai."

An enthusiastic Caliphate meeting was held in the village of Dhingo in the Nawabshah District, where 2,000 men and 1,000 women were present. The immediate effect of the meeting, says a telegram published elsewhere, is that a 'Subedar Saheb must in future learn to pay for his food'? The poor agriculturists will not treat him to sumptuous *rasai* any longer".

(*j*) *Nawabshah, 13th May.*—During the last week several Khilafat meetings are reported to have taken place in the Naushahro Circle.

The most important of them was the conference held at the village Dhingo near Bhiria Road Station.

The audience consisted of about 500 persons from the surrounding villages and included about 40 Hindus. After the proceedings had commenced, many more came up as spectators and the aggregate number may be roughly put down to about 1,000. A novel feature of this meeting was the attendance of about 50 Mussalman women of the 'hari' class.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation of Sindhi poems deploring the present fallen condition of Islam, loss of the Holy places, attacks on the tomb of the Prophet, denouncing the Sharif of Mecca, praising the brave Turks and invoking the help of the Prophet in the present trials.

Pir Syed Ali Anwer Shah Rashedi of Larkana District was unanimously elected as the President. In his presidential address he first referred to the helpless condition of Mussalmans and then stated that the Sultan of Turkey was forced to join Germany by the English themselves, that the Mussalmans rendered every possible assistance during the war on the understanding that it was not a religious war and that their sacred places would remain immune, that subsequently all those solemn pledges were broken and the ministers of the Crown declared that the victory over Palestine was a crusade won by the Christians.

According to the saying of the Prophet he proceeded to state that he who did not accept the Khalif died the death of an infidel, that their Sultan

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was practically a prisoner in the hands of the English, that their Shaikh-ul-Islam was deported to Malta and had been replaced by one Shaikh-ul-Shetan or Sheikh-ul-Maseeh. As the Mussalmans possessed no arms to fight he advised them to sever all connections with Government, and even with those who did not join the Khilafat. The Mussalmans, he declared, were the subjects of God and not of any human being and they should fear none in the defence of their religion. Along with the non-co-operation movement he declared that hijrat was compulsory under the laws of Islam, and referred to his own announcement at the Jacobabad Conference that he was prepared to leave the country.

The Prophet's example was a precedent for them. All their miseries, he complained, were due to the English who were infidels and believed in the *Trinity*. The Hindus had helped them in their cause and the word infidel did not therefore apply to them. Putting briefly he advocated complete non-co-operation with the Government, simultaneously hijrat and, lastly, jihad, when they returned to their own country as the Prophet did after his exile to Medina.

Addressing his Murids in the Khairpur State, he wanted them to know that the Islamic laws enjoining non-co-operation and hijrat were equally applicable to them, although they were the subject of a Muhammadan Native State.

Addressing the Haris class, who formed the bulk of the audience, he exhorted them to refuse tilling lands, if their landlords did not join them in the non-co-operation movement. If the Mussalmans had any respect for their martyr (Imam Hussain) they should not have any rest till their Holy places were freed from the hands of the infidels.

After the presidential address resolutions advocating—

(1) Severance of all relations with the British Government if they did not settle the Khilafat question,
(2) Advance of Swadeshism,
(3) Necessity of doing hijrat,
(4) Hindu-Mussalman unity,
(5) Abolition of Mullan school system,
(6) Thanks to the Amir of Kabul for inviting Indian Mussalmans to his country,

were unanimously passed.

Maulvi Hakim Mahomed Mawaz of Nawabshah, Abdul Aziz, Editor *Al-Wahid* of Karachi, Pir Imamshah, son of Pir Jhandewala, Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro, Maulvi Fazal Mahomed of Naushahro, Hakim Mahomed Sidik of Moro, Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Kandiaro, Syed Parialshah of Chiho, Taluka Naushahro, Akhund Karimbux of Naushahro, Sheikh Abdul Majid, Editor of *Al-Haq* of Hyderabad, Haji Ghulam Rasul of Bhira, Fatehkhan Rajpur, Zamindar of Chiho, Naushahro Taluka, and Bench Magistrate, were the speakers who moved and supported the above resolutions. Fatehkhan Rajpur supported only the *swadeshi* resolution, but several of the other speakers took part in the discussion on more than one resolution. Most of the speeches delivered were strongly worded, objectionable in tone and calculated to excite religious and racial animosities. The English nation, it was repeatedly declared, were the chief enemies of the Islam and were determined on the destruction of Khilafat and their religion. The cause of Khilafat was represented as being that of Islam against Christianity. Exciting references were made to the massacre at

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Smyrna, the bombardment of Medina and to the oppressive conduct of the English nation in general. The Mussalmans were called upon to prepare themselves for the highest sacrifices: to lay down their lives if necessary in defence of their religion, viz., the cause of Khilafat.

The audience, which consisted mostly of ignorant and unsophisticated peasants, was visibly moved by these frantic appeals to their religious prejudices, so much so that some of them actually got up and volunteered for immediate action.

In the course of the speech of Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Kandiaro, while he was referring to the severance of all connections with Government as a jihad and "what their God expected of them", an individual named Sono Shur of Khairpur State got up in excitement of the moment and shouted that the Police reporters attending the meeting should be killed and telegraph communications and railway lines should be destroyed. Another man whose name could not be ascertained also cried out they had not come there to hear speeches but to sacrifice their lives. They were, however, calmed down by others and told to wait. In response to this speaker's call to duty, in the words "Prepare yourself from today to give up your lives", the entire audience stood up in a body, shouting out that they were ready in the name of God to lay down their lives—*jihad* subsequent to the *hijrat* when the *Muhajirins* (emigrants) returned to win back their land of birth was represented as *the goal of the hijrat movement*. The example of the Prophet, who returned as a victor over his enemies to Mecca after several years exile in Medina, was quoted as precedent for the guidance of "the faithful". In this connection pointed references were made to the invitation of the Amir of Kabul, and he was thanked for the same. I may remark in passing that there is no doubt that the recent speech of the Amir at the death anniversary of his father as reported in the Vernacular Press has given a fresh and very strong impetus to the hijrat movement. There are really some men with sincere convictions who are willing to leave India, and now they know of a place where they can go to and be welcomed. Haris were called upon to boycott their Zamindars by refusing to cultivate lands in case the latter did not join the Khilafat meeting. Government officials were condemned as oppressive and faithless, pointed reference being made to Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux or his anti-Khilafat activities, and the Collector and the District Superintendent of Police at Nawabshah were cursed by one Parialshah as for having become their enemies. I have only to add that the Khilafat propaganda is undoubtedly entering on a dangerous phase on account of these repeated appeals to the religious fanaticism of the ignorant peasant class and the utterance of anti-British and anti-Christian sentiments at the Khilafat congregations. Things are moving rather too fast and we should take a warning in good time.

About 200 persons are said to have given their names to the Hijrat Committee for migration to Afghanistan.

Pir Imam Shah made an appeal for funds, and some money was collected but the exact amount is not yet known. Some of the audience offered to part with their landed property if required. All the Resolutions passed at the last Jacobabad Conference were confirmed.

Larkana, May 4th.—On the 28th April the following individuals came to Pat in Dadu taluka from Naushahro Feroz in Nawabshah district:—

(1) Moulvi Fazul Muhammad of Naushahro Feroz.

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(2) Kazi Najmud-din, Zamindar and dismissed Sub-Inspector of Naushahro Feroz.
(3) Kazi Qamrud-din, brother of No. 2.
(4) Kazi Fazulullah of Naushahro Feroz.
(5) Kazi Azizullah of Naushahro Feroz.
(6) Syed Turab Ali Shah of Naushahro Feroz.

They came as a deputation to establish Caliphate Committees at Pat and Borri, Khairpur Nathan Shah taluka. Najmuddin anl Qamrud-din are closely related to the Junejos of Pat and Borri. The members of the deputation were accommodated in the otak of Kazi Muhammad Alam Bench Magistrate. A Caliphate Committee was formed with Maulvi Muhmud, son of Makhdum Muhammad Saleh, as President, Haji Abdullah Junejo as Vice-President, Khudadad Junejo as Secretary, Lutuf Ali Ansari as Joint Secretary and Ghulam Kadir Junejo is Treasurer. On the 30th April the deputation proceeded to Borri and established a Caliphate Committee with Khan Muhammad Junejo, Zamindar, as President, Syed Niamul Shah as Vice President, Muhammad Waris Junejo, Secretary, and Sher Muhammad Junejo, treasurer. From Borri the deputation came again to Pat ; Maulvi Fazul Muhammad and Qamrud-din addressed a small meeting at Borri and Kazi Fazulullah at Pat. Amir Muhammad Junejo attended the meeting Pat. Kazi Ahmadi, Chairman of B. Bench, and his son Muhammad Amin refused to take part in the meeting.

The speakers told the audience that the Shaikh-ul-Islam had been imprisoned ; that the Holy places of Islam had been dishonoured and that the existence of Islam had been imperilled. They urged on the audience the necessity of waking up.

Maulvi Muhammad Ibrahim of Khairpur Nathanshah announced in the course of his *waaz* on the 30th April at Khairpur Nathan Shah that a Caliphate Conference would be held at Khairpur Nathan Shah on the 23rd of the current lunar month on the occasion of the annual fair at Pir jurial.

The District Magistrate remarks.—" Najmud-din and his brother used to be strongly pro-Government, and he had taken an active and leading part in the so called " Anti-Caliphate " pamphlets, etc. He had, however, for some time been dissatisfied with, what he considered, the inadequate recognition of his services and had latterly complained of this to me and told me that the Collector of Nawabshah had been 'set against him' by his enemies and in consequence would not get him rewards for his services in recruiting anti-Caliphate work, etc.

" It seems likely that he has volted to the other side largely out of pique and because he has had promises held out to him by them. He is not a man of much stability of character".

Khilafat propaganda in the Nawabshah District.

(1) *Nawabshah, May 18th.*—At the Dhingo Conference reported above a Khilafat Propaganda Committee headed by Sheikh Abdul Aziz, of Al-Wahid was formed with the object of carrying on the educative work in the important villages and towns in the Nawabshah District. The Committee visited the following places during the week :—

Bhiria	...	6th May 1920 (evening).
Village Sand	...	7th May 1920 (morning).
Tharu Shah	...	7th May 1920 (mid-day).

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Nousharo	...	7th May 1920 (evening).
Moro	...	8th May 1920.
Chiho	...	10th May 1920.
Nawabshah	...	11th May 1920.

It was a hurried tour, and consequently the local police had considerable difficulties in following their movements.

Bhiria

The following took place in the bungalow of K. S. Muradali Shah, Bench Magistrate, Nousharo. Pir Ali Aniwar Shah of Larkana presided; audience about 300 including 50 Hindus.

The following speakers took part in the proceedings :—

(1) Moulvi Muhammad Sidik of Moro.—He referred to the assistance given by Mussalmans in the course of the Great War, the violation of "pledges" regarding the safety of the sacred places of Islam, deportation of Shaikh-ul-Islam and imprisonment of the Sultan of Turkey, etc.

(2) Sheikh Abdul Aziz.—He pleaded for Hindu-Mussalman unity and illustrated the English policy in India of "Divide and Rule" by reference to the fable of two cats and a monkey, recommended *hijrat* as a preliminary to *Jehad,* made deprecatory remarks against the police and officials generally.

(3) Moulvi Fazul Muhammad of Nousharo exhorted the audience to prepare themselves for every sacrifice for the sake of their faith; referred to the persecution of the Prophet in the early days of Islam. The English, he said, were determined to destroy the Muhammadan religion, and had made an effort to blow up the tomb of the Prophet, so the Mussalmans should break all their connections with them. The King Emperor himself, he added, was a good man, but his ministers were against the Mussalmans; they should adopt *hijrat* and then return to win back the country.

(4) Moulvi Muhammad Mauz of Nawabshah.—He thanked K. S. Muradali Shah for his great assistance and for having given a stimulus to the Khilafat movement in Nawabshah District which, he remarked, was slow in the beginning and appealed for Hindu-Mussalman unity and asked them to subscribe to the *Al-Wahid* newspaper of Karachi.

(5) Pir Parial Shah of Phul.—He declared that the Sultan of Turkey was their King and was in great difficulty.

The Kaffirs had committed sacrilege on the tomb of the Prophet, as they tried to blow it up, in fact to destroy Medina itself, but the plot was fortunately discovered by the Turks. The English had determined to crush Islam and, therefore, he added: "We also want to declare to them in clear terms that we are also their enemies and that we hope to triumph over them. We should sacrifice life and everything we have in the world for the cause. Mussalmans should remain firm and not care for the English.

(6) Moulvi Ghulam Rasul.—He referred to a message of some ladies of Delhi to the President of the District Khilafat there to the effect that they were prepared to fight for the cause of their Holy places if their men were playing the part of cowards, and called on the audience to

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behave like brave men in defence of their religion which was in a helpless state.

(7) Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro.—He advised giving up cow-killing in view of the assistance given by Hindus who had awakened the Mussalmans to the sence of their duty.

(8) Pir Alianwar Shah of Larkana.—While referring to the bombardment of the tomb of the Prophet by the English, he said "If somebody were to set fire to the skirt of a poor man's wife, he would not rest till he had revenged that wrong. It is so very painful that the English shelled the Holy tomb of the Prophet and dishonoured our sacred places. Our faces have been blackened by the smoke of those shells. If you want to wash off the blackness of your faces you should offer your heads, so that you might clean your faces with your blood." In this connection he further referred to the martyrdom of Imam Hassan and his family at the hands of the infidels on the plain of Karbala. Continuing he cited the example of Jan Muhammad Junejo, Bar-at-Law, of Larkana, who had renounced his honours and was prepared to refuse even the payment of assessment. He exhorted the audience to get ready for the sacrifice, disown those Pirs who were opposed to Islam, give up all friendship with the English, and act like men for the restoration of their sacred places and the preservation of their religion. He concluded his speech with the following forceful words.

"The Lord our God says, I am with you. I will destroy Europe. I will pierce them (Europeans) with my arrows. I will remove them from the face of the earth. If you do not possess any arms at least you have stones with you. You should keep faith and you should pray for God's assistance." In the course of his lecture great excitement prevailed. Some of the prominent Zamindars of the Taluka, including three Bench Magistrates (1) Muradali Shah, (2) Wadero Muhammad Hassan and (3) Kamar-u-din, were present at the meeting.

Sand

The Khilafat Propaganda Committee was at this village for a short time. Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Moulvi Muhammad Sadik and Moulvi Mohamad Mauz made speeches. One Maulvi Fazal Karim, the author of an anti-Khilafat pamphlet "Facts about Khilafat", published last year, is a native of this small village. The obvious object of this visit was to denounce and curse him in his own village for his hostile attitude towards Khilafat. This the speakers did to their hearts' content. Non-co-operation with the Government and the *hijrat* movement were explained and advocated in the usual style and language. About 150 men attended. Moulvi Fazal Karim was fortunately absent. The speeches were made in the very Masjid where he officiates as Pesh-Imam.

Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux received his quota of abuse for having helped Moulvi Fazal Karim in his anti-Khilafat publication.

Tharu Shah

The Committee next visited Tharu Shah. K. S. Muradali Shah and Mr. Kamar-u-din, Bench Magistrate and Vice-President, Local Board, and one Kazi Khuda Bux, B.A. (of Aligarh), who belongs to Moro and had all along been with the Khilafat Committee, were present at the meeting. The meeting was held near the bridge over the Nawlakhi Wan. Shouts of *Allah O Akbar* and *Jai* for Mahomed Ali, Shaukatali, Abdul Bari, Tilak, Gandhi, Muradali Shah and shouts of "*Lanat*" for Faizul Karim were repeated as the procession went along carrying black flags through the bazar announcing

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the visitors. Speeches on similar lines as reported above were made and need not be repeated. Shaikh Abdul Aziz condemned the "tyrannous, perfidious and selfish conduct" of the English in his usual vulgar and spiteful style. He, however, advised the Mussalmans to lead a moral life and not to resort to dacoities and other crime which they were forbidden by the *Quran*. While praising the King-Emperor for his good qualities he damned the Ministers. In advocating Swadeshi, he argued that inasmuch as the profit of European trade was being utilized for the manufacture of ammunition for the destruction of the guardians of Ka'aba. Mussalmans should have nothing to do with European articles. This was rather a novel argument. All sorts of implications were heaped on the head of Moulvi Fazal Karim and he was challenged to come up and have a discussion with Moulvi Fazal Muhamad over the Khilafat question. They did not want, he added, to fight him but would like to discuss matters with him if he accepted their challenge.

Other speakers, who followed, dilated on the non-co-operation and *hijrat* movements and on the iniquities of Moulvi Fazal Karim.

Nausharo

The same evening the Propaganda Committee met at the house of Najam-u-din (ex-Sub-Inspector of Police) at Nausharo. Sheikh Abdul Aiz, presided. He practically repeated what he and the other speakers had stated regarding the present troubles of Islam and what course of action they shall have to adopt. Moulvi Fazal Muhammad supported and again referred to the bombardment of the Prophet's tomb, welcomed jail in defence of Islam, called upon the audience to make all possible sacrifice including their lives in defence of their Holy places. Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro in the course of his speech referred at some length to the evil intentions and anti-Islam designs of some of the English statesmen, naming Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon and Lord Roberts. The references made were full of spite and calculated to excite strong feelings. He recommended *hijrat*, renouncing of titles, non-payment of taxes, non-recruitment in Police and Military, refusal of the grant-in-aid by Mullas. His speech was as violent as that of his predecessor. Moulvi Muhammad Mauz, who came next, remarked that the Zamindars had joined the movement when they discovered that the infidels were bent upon destroying Islam ; that the English were unjust, were savages in the past, etc., etc. The Police reporters taking notes were called dogs.

Moulvi Muhammad Sidik of Moro referred to the early persecution of Islam and the sacrilege of Holy places, particularly the British plot to explode the Prophet's tomb. Some other minor speeches followed, including that of one Khemchand Tajumal of Nausharo, student, National College, Hyderabad, who dealt with the History of *Swaraj* in India, Hindu-Mussalman unity, etc.

Moulvi Muhammad Mauz announced that those who were prepared for hijrat to Afghanistan in response to the Amir's call should give their names to K. S. Muradali Shah and Kamar-u-din. The audience consisted of about 600 men including 100 Hindus.

Moro

The Propaganda Committee met at Moro on the evening of 8th May 1920 and continued till late into the night. Some of the prominent Zamindars of the taluka attended. Haji Gul Muhammad Khair, Zamindar and Bench Magistrate, was the President. Non-co-operation, *Swadeshism and hijrat* were the three subjects discussed as usual. Audience about 200. Details of speeches have not yet been received from the Sub-Inspector concerned.

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Chiho

On the 10th May 1920 the Khilafat Committee met at the village Phul and Chiho. The intimation regarding the meeting at Phul not having been received in time, no local Police Officer could attend there. Chiho is a village about five miles from Pedidan Station. Fateh Khan, a Zamindar and Bench Magistrate, is the chief Zamindar of the village. Moulvi Fazal Muhammad, Akhund Karim Bux and Moulvi Muhammad Mauz were the chief speakers. Some of the speeches made at this village were decidedly of a milder character. For example, Moulvi Fazal Muhammad in the course of his remarks regarding severance of connection with the Government said : "We have got no weapons to fight the Government, but our spiritual powers will show wonders to the world. With this power of spirituality we shall restore the Holy places once again. We will not organize secret societies as it is against the orders of *Quran*. We are still faithful subjects of the British Government and we are only showing our resentment. We have no idea of causing a rebellion, etc." Hindu-Mussalman unity was another subject of his discourse. Moulvi Abdul Aziz referred to the imposition of punitive police over the Pir of Kingri although he enjoyed the distinction of Sham-ul-ulma, condemned the system of *Resai* and the dishonesty of Government officials in general. Secret societies, commission of thefts, etc., were also condemned by him.

Akhund Karim Bux in the course of his speech while referring to the swadeshi movements which he strongly supported made some disrespectful remarks about the King-Emperor and asked the Mussalmans to sacrifice their lives and everything in the way of God. The rest of the speakers, including one Mulla Nur Muhammad of Mihrabpur, who is a new man, discussed *hijrat* and non-co-operation.

Nawab Shah

The Khilafat Propaganda Committee met at the Jumma Masjid, Nawab Shah, on the 11th May 1920. Moulvi Muhammad Mauz, Abdul Karim and Sheikh Abdul Aziz were the chief speakers. The programme of the Mussalman work (as at several previous meetings) formed the subject of their speeches. Audience about 100 men, both Hindus and Muhammadans. Speeches were much milder in tone than those elsewhere.

I understand the Propaganda Committee will resume their work after about a fortnight. From what I am told they intend carrying on their campaign in almost every important village and town in the province of Sind.

The District Magistrate Comments as follows.—" By the end of last week, it looked as if the more violent phase of the agitation was over. I am afraid, however, that, following the lead of the recent Hyderabad meeting, there will be a return to violence, for expressing disapproval of the peace terms offerd to Turkey. ".

(*m*) *Karachi, May 17th.*—The Caliphate Committee have a big fund of about Rs. 75,000 for carrying on their work. So far there has been no definite instructions from the leaders. But in case it is advocated in right earnest, they will not find it very difficult to provide for those who resign their appointments under Government. The feeling in Sind may be stronger than other provinces of the Presidency.

(*n*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 15th.*—Kazi Fakhruddin, Secretary of the Sehwan Caliphate Committee, has been urging people to attend a Caliphate

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meeting at Kairpur Nathanshah. He said that it is intended to form village Caliphate Committees to propagate the Caliphate question amongst villagers.

(*o*) *S. B. Sind, Karachi, May 15th.*—A movement is on foot to prevent Khalifa Hussain Bux of Rohri, who kept aloof from the Caliphate agitation reading the prayers in the Idgah on Ramzan-Id. It is learnt that Ghulam Nabi, retired Deputy Educational Inspector, and Kazi Ali Muhammad are at the bottom of this and are openly inciting the Muhammadans of Rohri not to follow him.

(*p*) *S. B., Delhi.—From Abstract, dated May 15th.*—Shaukat Ali returned to Delhi on the 8th May. A small meeting was held at Hakim Ajmal Khan's house at which Shaukat Ali delivered a violent onslaught on Abdulla Churiwala, Tajud Din, Arif Naswi, Ghulam Muhammad Aziz of the hijrat office and the other minor leaders. The gist of Shaukat Ali's complaint was that the workers' conference, the oppression of the Imam of the Jumma Masjid and the establishment of the hijrat office were unauthorised by the Central Khilafat Committee, were obviously premature, and had afforded to Government an opportunity of delivering a counterstroke. Shaukat Ali conferred at length with Ajmal Khan and Ansari and left for Bombay on the 9th. It is believed that Tajud Din will shortly be transferred to the Central Khilafat Committee.

(*q*) *Bombay, May 18.—Khilafat Situation.—Development upto mid-day, Tuesday the 18th.*—The meeting of the 12th was attended by only 33 of the 200 members of the Central Committee and of these 17 belonged to Bombay. Sind sent 5 delegates; the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Madras 2 each. There were present in addition 7 visitors, as well as Gandhi, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and C. Rajagopalacharya from Madras. The meeting decided to adhere to non-co-operation as already defined, and appointed a sub-committee consisting of Chhotani, Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Khatri and Mahomed Ali of Dharavi to work out in detail a plan for starting it. A resolution endorsing the policy of *hijrat* was put before the meeting, but was subsequently withdrawn. The meeting also rejected the application of the Allahabad Committee for financial help for the defence of Mahomed Fakhir. It asserted Gandhi's principle that the victims of such prosecutions should make their protest and suffer gladly; but commended to the local Committees the care of the families concerned. (*Note.*—Mahomed Fakhir refused to make any defence and was in consequence sent to jail.) Jamnadas Dwarkadas attended as a candid friend, and did his best, without success, to secure a reversal of the policy of non-co-operation. In consequence, probably of events connected with the objectionable poem referred to in last week's report, the meeting also decided that in future only such poems and leaflets should be published as had been previously examined by Ahmed Siddick Khatri.

The immediate results of the meeting were (a) the despatch by Shaukat Ali all over India of jubilant telegrams and (b) the resignation of Badruddin Abdulla Koor of his office of joint Honorary Secretary to the Committee. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and Rahimtullah Chinoy have also resigned—the former ostensibly on account of his departure for Europe in connection with the Economic Conference at Brussels. Gandhi has been elected to Chinoy's place on the Committee. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan is said to be on the point of resignation. (A note on the letter in which Koor announces his resignation is subjoined, marked "A"). Gandhi returned

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to Ahmedabad on the 13th morning accompanied by C. Rajagopalcharya, who is said to have used strong language at the meeting. He was followed to Ahmedabad 24 hours later by Shaukat Ali. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali are to prepare there in detail a draft plan for the consideration of the sub-committee above mentioned. Further light is thrown upon this conference by the following telegram from Abdul Bari to Shaukat Ali.

"Adoption of non-co-operation satisfies Maulana Fakhar matter extremely grave Ulemas holding extreme opinion consult Gandhi and wire what course I should adopt otherwise violence feared.".

In the meantime Shaukat is organizing a more systematic collection of funds ; to assist in which he has appealed for a hundred workers.

The Central Provinces Police report that in consequence of this meeting the Nagpur Muhammadans have informed Chhotani of their rejection of non-co-operation and have warned him against sending emissaries to Nagpur to advocate that policy.

A few letters continue to reach the Central Khilafat Committee from up-country Government servants anxious to do *hijrat* or to help in other ways. The Khilafat (Delhi) of the 8th instant publishes a list of Government servants including a Police Sub-Inspector of Ludhiana and a constable of the Delhi C.I.D. who have already withdrawn from co-operation with Government. The same paper says that the Jhansi Mussalmans are boycotting the civil courts and have set up a tribunal of their own. Abdul Bari's attitude to the policy of non-co-operation is plainly indicated in the letter on which a note is appended marked "B". It appears that he regards bloodshed as not only inevitable but necessary. The following passage occurs in a letter received by the Central Khilafat Committee from the Upper Sind Frontier District :—

"Thousands have enrolled themselves as *Muhajirs* and no meeting big or small passes without warm offers to lay down lives for the safety of the Khilafat. Some Police clerks resigned their jobs in Jacobabad and more people are ready to do so whenever asked.".

In connection with *hijrat,* Abdul Bari is said to have received from Amir Amanullah a reply to the letter he wrote to him, and to have informed Gandhi of the fact.

The Peace Terms.—The papers have published in full the Khilafat Deputation's telegram to the Sultan of Turkey urging him to reject the Allies terms, and assuring him of India's support if he does. The Khilafat deputation have also cabled to Chhotani informing him of this communication to the Sultan, and asking him to take similar action. The news of the peace terms was calmly received. Except for a solitary black flag over the house of Mojawalla in Abdul Rehman Street there were no manifestations of feeling. There were no demonstrations in the mosques or elsewhere. Abdul Bari has called upon the Central Khilafat Committee to convene an immediate meeting of the whole body to discuss at some central place like Delhi "the extremely heart-rending terms". Khatri was at Uran (Kolaba District) when the news reached him. He with the local Mussalmans wired to Chhotani in similar terms, adding "non-co-operation must commence after ultimatum". These worthies repeated the wire to Gandhi and he sought him firmly to declare the attitude of

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India and to lead the people to their goal". *The Chronicle* heads its issue dealing with the Peace terms "The Hour of Trial", condemns the Treaty without stint, but counsels patience and restraint. A similar line is taken by the *Akhbar-e-Islam* and the *Praja Mitra*. The other Vernacular papers will probably follow suit. So far as it is possible at present to judge, the explanation of the Government of India is regarded with even greater disfavour than the terms themselves.

The Central Provinces Police have reported the intention of Hasrat Mohani and his Khilafat Workers' League to send out emissaries as soon as the Peace Terms are declared, to stir up trouble all over India. Shaukat Ali returned to Bombay yesterday morning. He and Gandhi have issued manifestoes denouncing the Peace terms and urging adherence to the policy of non-co-operation without violence. Shaukat Ali has announced in the newspapers that a meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee will be called immediately at some central place which, from later information, is believed to be Allahabad, and has advised to that effect the leaders all over India.

The following telegram has reached Chhotani from "Muslims Hyderabad, Deccan :—

"Khilafat propaganda stopped for ever as per *firman* today take actual steps immediately".

A rumour is current to the effect that the alleged dismemberment of Turkey is untrue ; but that if it is true an All-India *hartal* will be held by way of protest.

Talattaff Hussain, Surveyor, Survey Party No. 12, Shillong, Assam, explains in a letter to Shaukat Ali how during his official tours he assisted in the propaganda ; and, speaking from personal experience of Arabia, advises the deputation proceeding to that country how to act there. He reluctantly notes, however, that the Arabs strongly dislike the Turks. The Central Khilafat Committee is paying for the long propagandist telegram from Mahomed Ali which is published from day to day in *The Chronicle*. Mahomed Ali has asked them to sanction similar arrangements in respect of other newspapers also. A film depicting the activities of the Khilafat deputation at Home is now being exhibited at the Empire Cinematograph.

In a letter dated the 12th of May an Aligarh student named Bashir Mahomed Khan implores "Uncle" Shaukat Ali, to whom he ascribed the "wild ideas" that fill his mind, to find him some active work to do for the Khilafat. He explains how useful the other students are to the Khilafat cause ; points out that it would be a mistake to neglect these reckless enthusiastic youngsters who, under proper guidance, will emulate the deeds with which the name of *El-Azhar* is associated ; and quotes a couplet of which the following is a translation :—

"In the midst of an ocean you have confined me to a plank.

"Yet you tell me to be careful not to wet my clothes.".

Funds.—The Ali Brothers' Purse Fund, which amounts to a lakh of rupees, is to be added to the Central Khilafat Fund.

The joint monies are said to have been deposited with the Bank of Bombay in Ahmedmia Chhotani's name. The Aga Khan has subscribed

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Rs. 9,000 to the Smyrna Relief Fund, stipulating that the money is to be used for no other purpose. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy is reported to have subscribed another Rs. 25,000 to the Khilafat Fund, but this has not yet been confirmed.

It is becoming the fashion among tea shopkeepers and hotelwallas to advertise by means of leaflets and otherwise their intention of assigning to the Central Khilafat Fund their takings on particular days. In this way the Fund has already benefitted appreciably.

Miscellaneous.—Muhammad Ali has cabled to *the Chronicle* a copy of his wire to the Secretary of State urging that any refusal of permits to the Moslem Relief Mission for Smyrna and Asia Minor will be a clear case of unfair discrimination in favour of Christian Relief Organisations.

Kidwai has telegraphed to the Aga Khan as follows :—

> "No letter yet anxious have sent you letters kindly wire your programme and whether you are willing to invite conference or take deputation to Viceroy of those in whom Government have confidence to obtain fulfilment of Premier Plegde received another cable from Ispahani asking date of my return. The Agakhan, together with Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and Rahimtulla Chinoy, sailed for Europe by *S. S. Morea* last Saturday".

Gandhi is sail to hae received a number of annoymous letters, abusing him for letting his followers down over the Rowlatt Act agitation and asking him whether he is going to act similarly in reference to the Khilafat. It is also said that his health is steadily deteriorating, and he proposes to start a fund in aid of the famine districts of Bihar and Orissa.

Shaukat Ali is said to be seriously considering how to break away from the control of Gandhi whose mildness of method irks him. Chhotani is still trying to get the forthcoming emergency meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee held in Bombay instead of up-country.

Ahmedabad, May 19th.—On the afternoon of the 16th instant Shaukat Ali met leading Muhammadans of Ahmedabad at the residence of Dr. Jalaludin Kadri, the Secretary of the local Khilafat Committee, Gandhi, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Anusayaben were also present. Shaukat Ali expressed his regret at the lack of zeal and interest displayed by the Muhammadans of Ahmedabad at a time when their religion was in jeopardy. They had contributed an insignificant sum, viz., Rs. 5,000, when a lakh at least was expected. He enquired what assistance the people of Ahmedabad were prepared to render in their struggle for justice for their religion. On receiving no definite or re-assuring answer from anyone, he made no attempt to conceal his indignation and disgust.

Gandhi then addressed the meeting. He said that the Khilafat situation would call for the exercise of a high degree of self-sacrifice on the part of the Muhammadans, without having resort to force, and Hindus, who were their real brothers would help them with heart and soul. Muhammadans would first be required to give up all Government titles and appointments. Here Fattah Mahomed Munshi, proprietor of the Match Factory, enquired whether the Hindus would not step in and accept the vacated posts. Gandhi assured him that he would strain every nerve to dissuade them from doing

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so, and he believed that they would follow his advice. With that very object in view he intended to go to Upper India and tour through the country in support of the campaign of non-co-operation with Government. He was taking Anusaya Ben with him and he would address both Hindus and Muhammadans. Speaking with emphasis he reminded them that the question was one concerning Islam alone, and therefore Muhammadans would be expected to play the larger part in the campaign. He would see that the Hindus who were subject to his influence would readily assist their Muhammadan brethren.

A remark was made that the Muhammadans of Ahmedabad were poor men and could not afford to lose their jobs. On this Shaukat Ali gave them to understand that it was evident that he would not receive much assistance in this part of the country. He said that on his return to Bombay a manifesto would be issued by the Central Khilafat Committee and he hoped that every true Muhammadan would act according to its instructions. A cablegram has been sent to Mahomed Ali and the other members of the Khilafat Deputation to return to India, and they would be back soon to take part in the campaign.

Shaukat Ali has left the impression behind that he is a man who will have recourse to active resistance if he finds that the country is behind him.

"A"

Note.—In a lengthy letter to Chhotani explaining why he has decided to resign Koor after pointing out that he had been a zealous worker on constitutional lines from the beginning state that "on deep and mature consideration of the said report (drawn up by the committee consisting of Gandhi, Shaukat Ail, Abul Kalam Azad and Chhotani as the result of the Central Khilafat Committee of India's meeting in April). I have come to the conclusion that the methods advocated in the said report are highly dangerous and if they are acted upon by the Mussalmans of India we shall be driving the whole community towards certain disaster. I have come to this conclusion after deep and anxious thought and I firmly believe that the methods proposed are not only unconstitutional but positively dangerous to the best interests of the Mussalman community of India."

He then proceeds to dissect the proposals which together form the proposed policy of non-co-operation and to demonstrate their impracticability.

(*Note.*—The full text of this letter appeared in *The Times of India* and *The Bombay Chronicle* of the 22nd).

"B"

Note on the letter, dated 14th May 1920, from Abdul Bari, Lucknow, referred to in text.

The letter deals mostly with the trial of Maulana Fakhar. It points out that as all have been concerned in the offence for which he is charged he should be supported though the case is not a fit one for making a defence. He would like to know what Gandhi's opinion in the matter is as he does not wish to break his promise of acting in conformity with the others. As two other Moulvis and a Maulana have been warned he thinks that the matter is not likely to end with the prosecution of Fakhar.

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People, he says, have begun to suspect him saying he talks a great deal but does very little. He had originally decided upon *hijrat* but feeling that he would never be allowed to leave India without some pretext he expressed a desire to go to Smyrna.

He fears lest with the passage of time the remaining strength of Mustafa Kamal will be crushed and the people not wake up till that has happened. Here he adds "Lest these proceedings be simply with the object of stopping blood-shed, we desire to gain our own objects and not to stop bloodshed. You must perfectly understand this. At present prevention (of the impending calamity ?) is (our) duty, whether it is done by *Swadeshi Bideshi*, by co-operation or non-co-operation, by bloodshed or peace and quiet, by hijrat or remaining at home.".

(*r*) *S. B., Bengal.—From Abstract, dated May 8th, paragraph 779.—Burdwan, May 1st.*—An insured cover for Rs. 600 was despatched from the Asansol post office at 3 p.m. on the 12th April by Dost Muhammad Khan, the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee and leader of the Muhammadan community, to the following address :—"The Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee India, Chhotani House, Khadak, Bombay."

Further collections are being made.

(*s*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, May 17th.*—The *Kesari* of the 11th in its leader on the dismemberment of Turkey considers that Gandhi's suggested non-co-operation is the only possible and effective means of obtaining redress left open to Muhammadans. It then proceeds to discredit Mrs. Besant pointing out that since Lord Sinha's speech she has been endeavouring to spread his views and therefore must be a Government agent. Gandhi's acceptance of the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League is put forward as her motive for opposing him.

It adds that she has lost her following in this Presidency now that Jamnadas Dwarkadas has joined the Committee of the Indian Home Rule League.

Khilafat and the Turkish Empire.

(*a*) *Sukkur, May 16.*—Haji Abdulla Haroon, President, Sind Khilafat Committee, has issued handbills throughout Sind in which he has alleged that the European Powers having found the Khalifa week wanted to devour the Ottoman Empire, and deprive the Muhammadans of their holy places. He has therefore found it necessary, to form a committee of Muhammadans to be called "*Baitul Mal*" for the purpose of ventilating their grievances in America and Europe. He has estimated the Expenditure of this concern at about 30 lakhs rupees and has asked Muhammadans to subscribe liberally towards the fund. In response to this notice a meeting was called at Shikarpur on 30th April 1920. This meeting was attended by about 150 men including Hindus and Muhammadans.

Pir Zia-al-Haq, Sarhandi, Pir and Pesh Imam of Lohars mosque, was made to occupy the chair. This meeting had the support of the local Home Rule League.

A committee of the following five men was appointed to collect funds for "*Baitul Mal.*". The committee consists of individuals who have no local influence whatever :—

(1) Wadero Piran Jurio, Zamindar. Age 72.

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(2) Amanulla, son of Edan Mulla, Age 20, works in Mulchan's press, pay Rs. 25.

(3) Mohamed Ibraham, Boot and Shoe shop-keeper.

(4) Mohamed Saleh, dealer in raw hides.

(5) Abdul Rahman, Carpenter; earns about Rs. 2-8 a day.

Amanulla's speech on this occasion was worded in such a way as to cause disaffection against the Government. Agitation was recommended as it had proved a success in the case of Bengal. The audience were told not to help in landing foreign goods from steamers or to deal with Europeans.

Seven resolutions were passed at this meeting as follows :—

(1) Prayer for eternal unity between Hindus and Muhammadans.

(2) Satisfaction at the Afghan mission's interest in the Khilafat question.

(3) Use of *Swadeshi articles* was recommended.

(4) Renunciation of titles recommended.

(5) General assistance be given to those who got into trouble over the Khilafat question.

(6) Liberal contributions to be made to the "*Baitul Mal*" fund.

(7) Regret at the confinement of the Sheik-ul-Islam.

(*b*) *Sukkur, May 17th.*—At Mian-jo-Goth on the 4th May, Muhammadans collected in the Jumma Masjid to say Friday prayers. Moulvi Muhammad recommended *jihad* in case the question about the Turkish Empire was not decided according to the wishes of Muhammadans. After *Jihad* Muhammadans could leave British India. This Moulvi is said to have been living in the Mian-jo-Goth for the last three or four years. He originally came from Drighi (?Dirghi), Nasirabad tehsil. From those present about twenty volunteered to act according to the wishes of the Moulvi chief among whom were :—

(1) Jan Muhammad, brother of Ghulam Muhammad (Mian Gul Muhammad), Zamindar of the village.

(2) Yar Muhammad, son of No. 1.

(3) Moulvi Abdulbhai, son of Moulvi Mubarak of the village.

This small village is taking a keen interest in politics. A Hindu-Muslim library has recently been started in this place.

(*c*) *Thar and Parkar, May 19th.*—Several Zamindars and their agents and others are busy collecting for Khilafat funds in the Khipro, Imarkot and Samaro talukas and are instilling the usual Khilafat ideas into the minds of the people and trying to induce other Zamindars and influential people to attend the meeting at Dhoro Naro. One of them, Haji Shadman Mari, is telling the people that the money collected will be used to induce Indian soldiers to leave the army and fight for the Mussalman Badshah. Among the others who are collecting are Syed Ghulam Nabi Shah. Ahmed Shah. Shahdad Shah, Jam Halepoto and an agent of Mir Abdulla named Mahomed Makhan, who was formerly a Tapedar and resigned a couple of years ago. Pir Ismail Jan and Isak Shah of Samaro taluka are also taking an active interest and retailing to the villagers of their vicinity the proceedings of all Khilafat meetings.

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The District Magistrate writes.—"I understand that most of the Palli zamindars of Umarkot Taluka have refused to take part in the Khilafat meeting. Walidad Palli told me today that the agitators (local) had tried hard to get him to join in, but he had refused. One Sobho Palli told me the other day that the Pir of Kingri, who is his Pir, had told all his 'murids' to take no part in the Khilafat agitation either by attending meetings or by contributing funds."

(*d*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 19.*—On the 14th May a Caliphate meeting was held at Khairpur Nathanshah, Larkana District, presided over by Pir Ghulam Shah Rashidi. It was attended by about 1,000 people. Maulvi Muhammad Suleiman Thariri moved a resolution to sever connection with Government. Maulvi Abdur Razak of Bubak, Maulvi Faiz Muhakmad of Dokri, Maulvi Muhammad Ibrahim of Vegi, Jan Muhammad Junejo of Larkana, Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot, Maulvi Muhammad Alim, Maulvi Sher Muhammad and Abdul Karim seconded and supported the resolution. Muhammad Mawaz of Nawabshah decided not to pay Government taxes. Hakim Shamsuddin said that the British had lost their senses. and in the event of Germany declining to fulfil the Peace terms, they would not receive any help from India. He said he was willing to go to jail for non-co-operation, and remarked that imprisonment in the cause of the country was an honour. Maulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot moved a resolution deprecating the action taken by Mr. Smyth, Deputy Commissioner, Upper Sind Frontier, and requesting Government to enquire into this interference in the Caliphate question. Jan Muhammad Junejo said that one Rasul Bux and a Rind Zamindar were roughly handled by Mr. Smyth. Shaikh Abdul Majid said that it was pure *badmashi* on the part of Mr. Smyth to have beaten Zamindars, and he appealed for Rs. 100 to send telegrams to Government and the press and a collection of Rs. 100 was made. Maulvi Muhammad Suleiman Thariri moved a resolution praying God to help Turkey and to destroy those who had no religion. Shaikh Abdul Aziz seconded the resolution. He advised people to die as true Muhammadans. He said that the brother of Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux and certain European officials (mentioned by name) ought to be sent to the lunatic asylum at Gidu Bunder. Maulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro, in supporting the resolution, said that Mr. Smyth had asked a zamindar to prevent people attending the Jacobabad Conference and after the Conference was over he sent simple men to jail. He regretted that he himself had not been sent to jail with them. Europeans are shameless and faithless. They say one thing and do another. Pandit Udebanu of Dadu said that today official *zulum* was a common thing. The police were powerful, and if *rasai* were not given to a Sub-Inspector, people's cattle were bound to be stolen. Maulvi Taj Muhammad moved a resolution in favour of *hijrat*, and Muhammad Ibrahim supported him. Maulvi Abdur Razak of Bubak said that they would be successful if they were to sever connection with Government. The English would never be satisfied until they convert us to Christianity. It is the command of God to wage war. Indian soldiers fired on Muhammadan women and children through fear. He alone and none other should be feared. By having faith in God, one can win a war with stones and lathis.

On the 15th May the audience had dwindled down to 200. Shaikh Abdul Aziz and Hakim Shamsuddin, however, brought in a few prostitutes from the fair and this attracted another 200 men. Maulvi Faiz Muhammad of Dokri said that it was the duty of Muhammadans to wage war in spite of Martial Law. He said that he was waiting for the permission of his King,

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the Amir of Afghanistan, to declare war. If the Amir declined to fight of his own accord then he would either become a Sayyid or a Ghazi. Maulvi Muhammad Suleiman Thariri said that the enemies of Islam were getting frightened. His advice was to fight at all costs. *Hijrat* was necessary and the Amir had invited them to his country. Hakim Shamshuddin of Karachi said that from the English papers and magazines it was apparent that they wanted to convert Muhammadans to Christianity. It was essential that they should leave the country until the English vacated India. Maulvi Abdur Razak of Bubak said that if all joined the British could be driven out immediately, but lack of unity made it impossible. Jan Muhammad Junejo said that to save Islam it was essential to sever connection with Government and to leave the country and to declare *jihad*. Hindus were not Kaffirs, but the English who have uprooted Islam were. Five thousand men from Sind had given their names to go to Afghanistan. Maulvi Abdul Khalik said that with the help of God they would break the heads of the English with shoes. Shaikh Abdul Aziz said that India originally belonged to the Hindus. The English were in the beginning *markers*. They created friction between the two religions of India by giving favoured posts first to the Hindus and then to Muhammadans. If the English remained any longer they would even take away their *dhotis*. Jan Muhammad Junejo read the names of men who were ready to leave for Afghanistan :

Maulvi Taj Mahomed of Amrot.	Wadero Mahomed Khoso with 300 men.
All Pirs of Larkana.	
All Pirs of Jhandewalla.	Fateh Khan Khoso with 600 men.
All Sarhandi Pirs.	Haji Khan with 200 men.
Abdul Rahim with 500 men.	Ghazi Khan Sardar Muri with 2,150 men.
Ibrahim Bugti with 200 men.	
Haji Ahmad Khoso with 500 men.	Morukhan with 1,000 men.
Haq Rahman of Sadhusing Goth with 2,000 men.	Haji Khan Mahomed with family.
	Hot Mahomed Khan with 10 men.
Ghaibikhan Bakhrani Gado with 200 men.	Tharo Khan with 50 men.
	Karim Bux with 30 men.
Allahbux Khoso with 100 men.	Hayat Khan with 40 men.
Fateh Mahomed Khan of Baluchistan with 500 men.	Lotu community consisting of 1,000 men.

(*e*) *Karachi, May 20th.*—Pir Mian Agha Ghulam Muiadid, Sirhandi of Matiari, Hyderabad District, went to Tatta on the 9th instant and delivered a speech calling on the people to appoint a Caliphate Committee for Tatta and to boycott European goods. This man appears to be a foreigner within the meaning of Act III of 1864.

(*f*) *S. B., Sind, May 20th.*—A Caliphate meeting was held on the 8th instant at Moro village, Nawabshah District. Haji Gul Muhammad zamindar of Malka village, presided. About 400 attended. Shaikh Abdul Aziz said that the British were, under the guise of nominal friendship old enemies of the Turks. The Christians, in order to demolish the tomb of the Prophet, purchased a garden at a distance from Medina in order to get at it by means of an underground passage, but the vigilant Turkish Government discovered this and stopped it. The British won over the greedy Shariff with bags of counterfeit gold coins. Government kept the Hindus and Muhammadans divided for their own interests. He moved a resolution for non-co-operation. Maulvi Muhammad Fazul Rasul seconded

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Shaik Abdul Aziz and said that in order to destroy the doctrine of Islam one man daily purchased several copies of the *Koran* and burnt them as he believed that till that book was destroyed Christianity could not overcome Muhammadanism. He unfortunately did not know that the Hafiz could repeat the *Koran* word for word. He mentioned amidst cries of 'Shame' and '*Lanat*' the deportation of the Shaikh-ul-Islam to Malta. Maulvi Muhammad Mawaz, in supporting the resolution said that no Zamindar should entertain any officer from the rank of Commissioner down and all officers and others should sever connection with Government as soon as possible. Maulana Haji Muhammad Sadik of Moro said that it was against the commandments of God to have any connection with those who acted against Islam or hindered it. He said that the British alone were the enemies of Islam and Muhammadans should preserve their faith through all sufferings and troubles. Maulvi Muhammad Adris, Muhammad Sadik and Faiz Muhammad supported the resolution. The President moved a resolution on the necessity of *hijrat* as the Christians were plotting to destroy Islam and infidels had been allowed to open wine shops in the Holy Places. Parialshah of Naushahro upbraided Baluchis for joining the British and for preferring the worldly titles of Khan Sahib and Khan Bahadur to the Islamic title of Ghazi. About 20 Baluchis repentantly stood up and gave in their names as *mujahids*. He criticised the Police and C. I. D. officers who were taking notes as Kaffirs. and told them that they should inform their Superintendents to detail Hindus for this duty. The agitators tried their level best to harass the C. I. D. reporters by getting them turned out of their rooms, depriving them of vehicles and preventing their supply of food even on payment.

(g) *Upper Sind Frontier, May 23rd.*—Munshi Khudabakhsh has gone to jail in default of security. The local paper, the *Frontier Gazette*, expresses its satisfaction in its issue of the 22nd instant, which is echoed on all sides.

(*h*) *C. I. D., Bombay Presidency, May 25th.*—Caliphate Meeting Belgaum, 30th April; President Maulana Gulam Muhammad: audience about 15,000; object to explain Gandhi's proposals for non-co-operation.

The President opened proceedings by pointing out that they had not met to pass resolutions but to consider their future line of action in connection with the Caliphate question.

Balkrishna Lad, a Mahratta Extremist of Belgaum, advocated Hindu-Muhammadan unity in all matters as today the Muhammadans were in trouble but tomorrow the turn of the Hindus might come. Referring to the Amir of Afghanisan's offer of an asylum, he advised Muhammadans not to emigrate but to stay and face the trouble.

D. A. Mulji, pleader, Belgaum, then made a somewhat rambling speech the point of which appeared to be that if the Government of India were sincere in their desire to bring about a solution of the question in consonance with Moslem wishes they could effect it. Apparently also with the idea of showing how insincere Government were, he referred to the importation of goods from France and England. He hinted that the public would in future be chary of subscribing to war loans and ended by extravagantly claiming that world-wide peace could only be secured through Hindu-Muslim unity.

Moulvi Muhammad Nijamuddin referred to the sacrifices made by Indians during the War and, comparing the conduct of Turkey with that

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of Russia and Greece, asked why the first should be treated so harshly, and whether a country could submit to the loss of its kingdom. He concluded by saying that since the Allies made a great show by applying the principle of self-determination to Turkey why should they not do the same to India ? G. B. Deshpande said that this was the third Caliphate Conference at Belgaum in which the Hindus and Muhammadans had worked together and as a result the bureaucracy were about to expire. He warned Muhammadans to be on their guard against the wiles of Europeans who might try to prove that the Extremists were merely deluding the Muhammadans by a show of sympathy over the Caliphate question.

But for the help given by the Hindus and Muhammadans the operations in Mesopotamia would not have been successful. He characterised the new word " mandate " which had been heard so much of late as euphemism for annexation.

Speaking of the proposals for *hijrat* that had been made lately, he said that Hindus would never allow them to go, but would rather die instead, and spoke of Gandhi's non-co-operation as the best remedy. He, however, warned them against rowdyism.

He concluded by saying that when Jerusalem was in the hands of the Muhammadans, the Christians were well treated, but that this could not be expected now that the Christians had got the whip-hand over the Muhammadans.

The President, summing up, declared that the time for meetings of protest were over. The westerners in their baseness had offered a cup of poisoned *sherbet*. He exhorted them to be bold and self-dependent remembering their past history.

Commenting on the lack of sympathy that existed between Europeans and Indians he pointed out that the Amir of Afghanistan when he visited India refrained from eating beef lest he should wound the susceptibilities of the Hindus, but no Christian prince had been so considerate.

Concluding he remarked that though the Prime Minister could not be captured and brought to India his policy could be exposed before America and other nations.

(*i*) *Broach, May 14th.*—On the 30th April, Moulana Mukhai Ahmed Delhvi arrived at Broach from Bombay and held a meeting the same evening. The audience at the outset was about 450 and eventually, after special messengers had been sent out to beat people up, about 700 to 800. The local Kazi, Syed Nurudin Hussain, presided and introduced the lecturer from Delhi as a worker at present for the Bombay Khilafat Committee.

The gist of the lecture was that English rule in India during the last 150 years had been misrule. Gandhi and others had, however, put an end to Government's policy of divide and rule.

He then spoke in favour of Sultan as Khalifa and declared that the holy places had been entrusted to him by God and should be protected by some Islamic power.

He was sanguine that, however dark things might now look, the Khilafat was not doomed, and that England to secure peace in the Muslim world would give in to their demands.

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About Rs. 1,300 were collected in the meeting and a provisional Khilafat Committee was formed.

(j) S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 17th.—A meeting was held in the Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad, on 16th instant. This meeting was convened and took place after the Turkish Peace Terms had been published.

Nur Mahomed, pleader, explained the terms and spoke as follows :—

"..... The Viceroy expresses regret in communicating these terms to us and says that these terms were arrived at after full consideration for the feelings of Muhammadans. These terms were bound to be bad as we fought against the Khalifa, but it is still in our hands to rectify these misfortunes. The Viceroy, who expresses this regret, is the same Viceroy, during whose tenure of office the Jhallianwala Bagh massacre took place ..... He then commented upon the Peace terms in a belittling manner, remarking that the Khalifa—the ruler of 40 million Muhammadans—is to be allowed a bodyguard of only 700 and the defenders of the *Jazirat-ul-Islam* are to be punished. in conclusion he said that these were the facts of the terms and it was left to Muslims to consider whether they were based on the principles of justice or not and what they should do.

Abdul Jabbar, pleader of Hyderabad, moved the first resolution that these terms were against justice, manhood and morality on which principles peace had been concluded with other belligerent nations ; that the requests of Muhammadans of this and other countries had not been considered, that the Khilafat would, therefore, be destroyed ; that the withdrawal of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* from the protection of the Khalifa had destroyed the prestige of the Khalifa and was against the highest principles of their religion ; that these terms were contrary to the faithful promises given during the war by responsible ministers of the King Emperor ; that they could not accept these terms and promise in the name of God that they should endeavour by every effort to save the Khilafat and to retain the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* in the hands of Muhammadans ; and that in order to achieve this object everyone should support the scheme of non-co-operation and promise to refrain from active resistance. In proposing these resolutions which he incorporated into one, Abdul Jabbar remarked .... 'Today a duty has been given to you and you must all swear before God to observe this. We helped the tyrants (English) with the result that they now want to destroy us. Our existence is in the hands of God. The sympathy of this Viceroy, whom neither Hindus nor Muhammadans want in India, is a daring act and is a lie spoken in the Presence. They have no more consideration for us than for a particle of dust. They say that these terms have been made after due consideration of our feelings ; which means that they consider us their enemies. This is the result of believing the diplomatic promises of Englishmen' ..... He explained non-co-operation.

Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani supported the resolution. He said ..... "They (the English) repeat that we helped in a war for freedom. The war was a war of *Thagi* in order to squeeze the weak nations, and we believe them to be *Thags*. How can a *Thag* have any sense of justice? They say they have given freedom to Palestine and Mesopotamia. Brethren, these are mere words. Ireland is next door to their country and they have exercised such tyranny there that the Irish no longer wish to

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see their faces. They have not given them any freedom. They have the eye of kindness on Egypt in that they wish to make it free. Egypt belongs to the Egyptians and in returning it to them no act of Kindness is done. I say we do not want their kindness" ..... "I am not a Mussalman, but, as a man, must object to these imperious terms. I am of opinion that such terms will spread discontent amongst the Muhammadans of the world and the war will continue. Hence I say that British Imperialism is a cheat and being dishonest should be destroyed. If we become passive resisters, God will help us and this Imperialism will be destroyed".....

Shaikh Abdul Majid supported the resolution, saying: "..... Brethren, Islam is being destroyed and the Khalifa crushed. What should we do? This is not the time to deliver speeches and pass resolutions. We can destroy this power which wants to destroy Islam although we have no guns or rifles. Were we not given promises that Turkey would retain her country and the Holy Places would not be attacked? Have not these promises been broken? It is the British Government that has done this. Today the proclamation to destroy Islam has arrived. In Smyrna 100,000 Muhammadans were slaughtered. The British Government is helping that Government (Greece), hence why should I not pray God to destroy the British Government? If the Viceroy says that we should remain loyal under these terms, then I send my curse to such loyalty. I declare that I am an enemy of the British Government. (Cries of Amin! Amin!). Will these Muslims who sacrificed their lives and property for the British Government not now sacrifice again for the Khalifa? We have not to consider the means to bring the British Government to the right path. Non-co-operation has been advised. I have no sympathy with the English, and had I considered that any good would have been derived from slaughtering, I would have advocated that. It is no use slaughtering until the Hindus are with us. If you are given orders to ask military men to resign, you will have to do so. The result will be that you will be either shot or sent to jail. This you must undergo quietly; in this way you can destroy not only the British Government but several Governments. We must not have a *Jihad* until Mahatma Gandhi is with us; but if we find the English obstinate to the methods of Gandhi then we draw the sword and kill the *Kaffirs*. God will also destroy the British Empire (Cries of *Beshaq, Amin*). You should ask your relations to resign their Government appointments. .....In conclusion, he requested the audience to pray to God that they might be allowed to sacrifice their heads for the sake of Khilafat.

Maulvi Mukhamdin of Jamesabad spoke in a similar strain.

(*k*) *Karachi, May 20th.—Caliphate Agitation and the Turkish Peace Terms*—There was a Caliphate meeting on the 19th May in the evening under the auspices of the Muslim League. Abdul Karim Dars presided. The audience numbered about 700 at the start but dwindled down.

Dr. Ahmed read out the Turkish Peace Terms from a red newspaper obtained from the shop of Malik Ahmed. Haji Abdulla Haroon spoke on the unjust terms and broken promises, advised the audience to take to non-co-operation and boycott of European goods, which would cause the bankruptcy of Europe in two years, but to refrain carefully from violence of

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any kind. Muhammad Khan read out the resolution which was to be put to the meeting. Professor Waswani was the next speaker and delivered a long speech in Urdu interspersed with English phrases. He attacked the Turkish Peace Terms as well as the terms granted to Austria and Germany, whose children, he said, are starving as a result. He advised the people to continue the agitation. The question of the Reforms was, however, not as important as the Caliphate. He was of opinion that a world-wide organisation was necessary to carry on this agitation.

Non-co-operation by the boycott of European goods was a good method. Cases should not be taken to Court. But violence should not be resorted to, non-co-operation with non-violence was the watch word.

Moulana Fazal Haq said that to interfere in the Caliphate was to interfere in the religion of Moslems. If this does not cease the excitement among Moslems will gather force.

J. T. Mansukhani who arrived by the Quetta Mail, said that he wondered at the effrontery of the British in spite of these meetings. There is now a strange excitement among Indians the effect of which will surely be left in England. British Imperialism wants to destroy Asia.

Moulvi Abdul Karim Dars closed the meeting with a brief speech in which he referred to the lying policy of the Allies. "Policy" was so evil a word that its equivalent did not exist in Persian or Arabic. The boycott of European goods was strongly recommended. He asked the audience not to purchase European shoes on the day of the Id. He advised them against violence, but showed them how much their religion was injured by the Peace Terms as to excite them to violence. He concluded with appealing to Moslems to stop the slaughter of cows. A resolution made out by Muhammad Khan was passed by the audience. A collection was then made for the Malir mosque.

(*l*) *Larkana, May 23rd.*—The Turkish Peace Terms and the Government of India's statement have been received with the utmost dissatisfaction by the large majority of the public whom they have so far reached.

(*m*) *Upper Sind Frontier, May 23rd.*—I have heard no local comments on the Turkish Peace Terms as yet, and I doubt whether much real interest is taken in them.

(*n*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 19th.*—The *Al-Wahid* of the 18th, commenting on the Peace Terms, says.....Let us see whether the new Turkish Cabinet formed after the occupation of Constantinople will accept the Terms, or not. If the delegates are not allowed to declare their free opinion and if they be forced to accept them, then it does not necessarily mean that the whole Turkish nation and Muhammadans will accept these terms and sit silent. Afghanistan will sure move; Mustafa Kamal and Anwar Pasha with the Nationalists under them are already fighting and upto now have to some extent been successful in their action. It was published some time ago that Shah Hussain, who had been made an independent King by the Allies, had refused to bear the burden of the Caliphate and on this account is ready to unite with Turkey and more especially at this critical period when the Christians are oppressing them. The Arabs have already opened their eyes and are sympathising with the Turks. They have learnt the lesson that Islam insists on unity. From these facts it appears that all the Islamic powers will fight against the Christians to save the honour of Islam and the responsibility of this war will lie on the British and the Allies. As regards the Viceroy's message

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that the Terms should be accepted with courage and fortitude and that we should remain loyal to the Crown, it seems that the Viceroy is ignorant as to how far the Allies, especially the British, have wounded the hearts of Muhammadans by such action. What kind of critical situation there will be in India now and what our duties will be published at a later date.

(*o*) *S. B. Sind, Karachi, May 22nd.*—The following article on the Turkish Peace Terms appeared in the *Al-Wahid* of the 19th instant :—

The Turkish Peace Terms and our Duty

"What Muhammadan's religious fervour and honour is not moved after seeing the unjust Turkish Treaty terms ? Turkey's death warrant is signed. Preparations for the funeral of Islam are being made. If the Muhammadans are asleep it would be better for them to become Christians and pass their short life in comfort. The British Government gave us hopes and then did not consider our religious feelings. What stronger proof than this can you want when you know that neither *Zazirat-ul-Arab* nor any other holy place will remain in the hands of the *Kalifat-ul-Musalmin*. Our concern and connection with the Turks is not merely due to the fact that we are their co-religionists but also on account of the Caliphate. Constantinople has been the political centre of Islam for hundreds of years but we regret that the Sultan will never now be independent there. Christian Courts will be established in Constantinople. Seeing the Caliphate in such a state every Muhammadan should ask himself the question as to how a Muhammadan can exist under a Government that is destroying their religious connections with the Turkish Empire. Should we retain faith in the British and not sever our connections with them ? No ! We shall never do this and remain asleep while the destruction of Islam is going on. According to the orders of Moulana Abdul Bari and other learned Ulemas, India is now "the home of war", and it is our duty to migrate. Those who are emigrating to Muhammadan countries like Afghanistan, where they can serve Islam with full freedom should not lose time but leave at once. Those who adopt non-co-operation and remain here should (before making up their minds to remain) decide that they will adhere to non-co-operation through all hardships, troubles, imprisonments, sentences of death, and that these hardships, etc., will be borne with the greatest firmness of mind and with an open heart in order to show truthfully the power of Islam. How non-co-operation will be worked in India and how it will be carried out in practice will be decided at the next Hyderabad Provincial Caliphate Conference which is to take place on the 22nd and 23rd May 1920. We are convinced that by remaining firm we shall show the British that the present Turkish Terms cannot be accepted by us and it is certain that they will be amended. The maintenance of our faith and firmness during this period of hardship is essential. Sacrifices of property and lives will be required. It will be the duty of every one to suffer, each according to his share. The rich people, seths, traders and pleaders should give money, the Ulemas instruction, and the poorer classes of Muhammadans who are greatly devoted to Islam should become true and faithful persons and should come under the Islamic national flag. They should reserve their lives for Islam, carry out the orders of their leaders from village to village and from street to street with zeal and love. As the betterment of Islam depends upon our firm belief in the saying "living for God and death for God", this should be our duty and our faith. Then what are property, riches and even life itself ? As long as a particle of honour for Islam remains in our bodies, we shall surely be successful."……

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(*p*) *Ahmedabad, May 25th.*—The promulgation of the Turkish Peace Terms has had no visible effect on the Muhammadans of Ahmedabad. Their faces bear no traces of sullenness, and there is no change in their attitude towards Europeans, Government officials or Indian Christians. The Terms are undoubtedly a great blow to them, and from conversations with Muhammadans of education I find they are very sore at heart. The illiterate seem to be indifferent. Excepting Gandhi, and to a slight extent Vallabhbhai J. Patel, the Hindu leaders of Ahmedabad are keeping aloof from the Caliphate agitation. Jadavji Z. Gandhi, one of the most bitter of the agitators, has been avoiding the Mahatma for some time back lest he should ask him to hold meetings in support of the Caliphate agitation. He said that violence was sure to follow on any attempt to stir up the Muhammadans, as it would be impossible to keep them under control. I am sure that 99 per cent. of the Hindus would be glad to see Government adopt a firm attitude towards the non-co-operation campaign.

(*a*) *Kaira, May 24.*—The Turkish Peace Terms have not so far caused any excitement in Nadiad where I went last week. The Home Rulers, though believers in Gandhi, do not appear anxious to enter into a non-co-operation campaign.

Ismail Rasul Pandhi, who went to Bombay to attend the closed-door meeting, returned on the 19th. No public meeting has been called in Nadiad.

(*r*) *Broach, May 24th.*—The attitude of the general public towards the Turkish Peace Terms is that the terms are hard for Turkey.

(*s*) *Bombay, May 25th.*—Developments in Khilafat situation up to mid-day, Tuesday, 25th.

1. *The Peace Terms.*—(1) The Peace Terms were published in Bombay on the 15th. On the 18th a meeting of 2,000 Muhammadans was held at Madanpura with Shaukat Ali in the chair. Only six members of the Central Khilafat Committee attended Chhotani and Mirza Mahomed Khan being the chief absentees. A few Hindus were also present but none of the Tilakites or the Home Rulers. In fact no Hindu of note appeared. The Chief speakers were Shaukat Ali, Azad and Dr. Nur Muhammad of Hyderabad. Only two resolutions were put to the meeting. The first pledged support to the entire scheme of non-co-operation and the second commended Mahomed Fakhir and Hamid Ahmed, the up-country agitators who have been sent to jail in connection with the Khilafat. The verbatim report is not yet to hand but the speeches are said to have been strong. Rs. 400 were collected for the fund. The objectionable pamphlet already reported to Government under this office No. 02224-M. 32, dated the 23rd May 1920, was freely sold. Perhaps the chief interest of the meeting was that it took no cognizance of the Peace Terms published three days before.

(2) There are still no signs of any excitement in connection with the Peace Terms. No other meetings have been held either inside or outside the mosques. Of the three muslim newspapers in Bombay, the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* has not yet resumed publication. The *Akhbar-i-Islam's* comments are colourless while the *Muslim Herald* counsels obedience and loyalty. The effect upon the Central Khilafat Committee's plans of the publication of the treaty is noted in the following section.

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(3) The *Mahratta* of the 23rd instant concludes as follows a leader, written in its usual style, on the Peace Treaty :—

"We frankly admit that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have done their best to impress the Moslem and the Indian view on the minds of the Allies. They did not succeed is however another matter. Indians can have no grudge against them".

The paper suggests that a special joint conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League should be summoned to decide what to do.

II. *Central Khilafat Committee's activities and policy.*—(1) Haji Azam Ghulam Hussain, a Bombay member of the Central Khilafat Committee, has resigned. His reasons are believed to be the same as Badruddin Koor's.

(2) Since the publication of the Peace Terms, the Central Khilafat Committee is understood to have abandoned at least for the present the projected deputations to Europe and Muhammadan countries. It has been decided to summon a general meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee without delay, but upto the 24th no agreement had been reached as to the place of the meeting, in respect of which struggle had been going on behind the scenes. Chhotani and his associates wanted to hold the meeting at Bombay, Shaukat Ali and the extremists, as already reported, were strongly in favour of some central place in Northern India. Most of the Up-country leaders were consulted. Khuddus Badshah of Madras strongly supported Bombay. Abdul Bari and Abul Kalam Azad urged that the matter should be decided by the executive sub-committee of eleven which should be summoned at once to Bombay. On the 19th, Shaukat Ali replied to this suggestion as follows :—

"Time short possible date meeting 27th members coming twice difficult suggest calling meeting Lucknow if arrangements accommodation possible. Members paying all food expenses. Wire reply urgent. No reply from Allahabad yet. Chhotanishet suggests if holding meeting Lucknow difficult Bombay more suitable. Better you Maulana Azad come Bombay immediately. Mahatma Gandhi arriving tomorrow."

On the 22nd, apparently in reply to a further communication from Shaukat Ali, Gandhi wired as follows :—

"Yes, Allahabad, 1st or 2nd June suits."

On the 24th therefore a decision was taken to hold a general meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee at Allahabad on June 1st, 2nd and 3rd. Invitations have been issued to all members, and the Press has been informed. Invitations have also been sent out to Hindu leaders in all parts of the country to a simultaneous Hindu-Muhammadan Conference. The object of both these meetings is to discuss the Peace Terms and to draw up a practical programme of non-co-operation. The projected preliminary meeting at Bombay of the executive committee will not take place.

(3) Another indication of the trend of events is the transfer to M. K. Azad's house of the Central Khilafat Committee's office which has hitherto occupied a part of Chhotani's premises. It is understood that when the "Army of Workers" from the mofussil, which Shaukat Ali is busy summoning by wire, reaches Bombay the office will again be moved to some larger building. Shaukat Ali's advertisements for whole-time workers have

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been published in several up-country papers. The next move is apparently to be the transfer of the office of the Central Khilafat Committee from Bombay to "some more central place". The following extract from a letter, dated the 22nd May 1920, written by Abdul Bari to Shaukat Ali, indicates the stage which this question has now reached :—

> "About the transfer of the office I will discuss verbally when we meet in Allahabad and would then decide about it. If it is decided to locate the office at Lucknow it would be good."

(4) In an interview which took place a few days ago, Gandhi stated that the Secretary of State had at last replied to his cablegram asking for permission to visit England as a representative of the Khilafat Committee. Mr. Montagu appears to have said that though the Peace Terms were now a settled fact he would be very glad if Mr. Gandhi would come and discuss with him the effects of the treaty. Gandhi would like to go, and thinks that if he does his journey is likely to be successful as were his two previous errands on similar business. He thinks the most favourable time for his departure will be early in June, so that he may have his say before the Allies' decision upon the Turkish reply is reached. Not being a Muhammadan, however, he will not go except at the urgent request of his Muhammadan friends, and with a renewed pledge that there shall be no violence. He added that no decision had yet been reached as to the inauguration of non-co-operation. He hoped that the next three months would be devoted to preparation, in order that the actual inauguration might take place after his return from England.

(5) The Central Khilafat Committee has been asked by a Meerut correspondent what it intends to do about the Prince of Wales' visit. The correspondent advocates a prompt decision so as to deprive shirkers, when the time for action arrives, of the excuse that they are already committed and cannot retrace their steps.

(6) In reply to the representation from Nagpur, to which a reference was made in last weeks' report, Chhotani has advised that town that it must abide with the Central Committee's decision.

III. *Non-Co-operation.*—(1) The "*Khilafat*" (Delhi) has published a violent attack upon Chhotani and foreshadows attacks upon the Central Khilafat Committee. Its quarrel with Chhotani is his failure to relinquish his J.P.ship. This is the first open breach between the Khilafat Workers' League at Delhi and the Central Committee, whose policy that League was professedly established to further.

(2) In a communication to the Press, Gandhi condemns the commencement of non-co-operation in advance of the plan now being matured by the leaders of the agitation. In other words, he regards as premature and unauthorised such abandonment of honours, titles or offices as that recently announced by Yacub Hassan, Ghulam M. Bhurgri and the Honourable Nawab Haji Mahomed Ismail Khan of Lahore.

(3) *Young India* of 5th May contains an important exposition of the methods of non-co-operation. The object of the article in question is the removal of misconceptions connected with that policy. The first stage in non-co-operation, namely, the abandonment of titles and honorary offices, is simple and requires no explanation. If the response to it is inadequate or ineffective, the second step will be taken. As the movement is not anti-English not a single private employee will be touched. As it is not

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even anti-Government, no pressure whatever will be put upon any Government servant. Only purely voluntary withdrawal will be countenanced, and then only by persons who are able to support themselves and their dependents, whose support is guaranteed by the Khilafat Committee. As if this step is properly carried out, success is quite certain, the third stage in non-co-operation, namely the withdrawal of the Police and Military, is merely a distant goal meriting no further consideration at present. Still more distant is the refusal to pay taxes, which is the fourth and last stage of the scheme.

(4) Questioned by the Commissioner of Police as to the attitude of the Muhammadan leaders, Gandhi stated that Shaukat Ali was prepared to give non-co-operation a six months' trial. If it failed, he thought he would do *hijrat*, with the ultimate object, possible, of returning to attack India. He admitted that some of the Muhammadan leaders regarded bloodshed as inevitable, but he thought they were being held in adequate check by saner men than themselves. On the day before the Commissioner of Police's interview with him he had heard for the first time of the *Koranic* injunction that the Khalifa should belong to the tribe of Quarish; and during the interview itself he was admittedly under the impression that the geographical terms Asia Minor included both Syria and Palestine. He had already tackled Shaukat Ali on the Quarish question and had received from him a large quantity of literature on the subject which he was about to assimilate. He laughingly admitted that it was just as well he had made this discovery before his interview with the Secretary of State.

(5) A list has been received from the North-West Frontier Province Police containing the names of four school-masters, two Public Works Department clerks and a Sub-Inspector of Police who have resigned in connection with the Khilafat.

IV. *Other Propaganda.*—(1) Apparently, with a view to influencing in favour of the Khilafat Shia Mujtahids of Lucknow, Abdul Bari has sent urgently to Bombay for copies of the *fatwas* issued by the Mujtahids of Kerbala and Najf and by Maulana Abdul Rahim Mujtahid of Bombay. It is also stated that under instructions from Abdul Bari a *fatwa* supporting the Khilafat is under preparation in Bombay and will shortly be issued.

(2) The *Anjuman Khuddam-ul-Musalmin*, Cawnpore, has sent down to Bombay a consignment of leaflets designed to familiarise, through the *Khutbas*, the ignorant masses with the name and title of the Sultan of Turkey. (Translation attached, marked A.).

(3) Shaukat Ali is preparing a pamphlet on the inauguration of non-co-operation. With it will be issued a form of declaration which every Mussalman will be asked to sign.

(4) Four thousand copies of Yacub Hassan's presidential address on the Madras Khilafat Conference have been received in Bombay for distribution. The Central Khilafat Committee has issued an appeal to Muhammadans to save by simple living as much money as possible during the month of Ramzan, and with the savings to help the Khilafat funds to the utmost possible extent. (Translation of this appeal is attached, marked C.).

(5) Moulvi Abdul Khalil, Secretary of the Upper Sind Frontier Khilafat Committee, has supplied the Central Khilafat Committee with details of oppressive acts alleged to have been committed by European officials upon persons taking part in the agitation in the Jacobabad District. Shaukat Ali

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has wired the substance of these allegations to a dozen newspapers in different parts of India. It is understood that the Larkhana Khilafat Conference recently held at Khairpur Nathanshah has addressed the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay direct in this matter.

(6) The Khilafat newspaper of Delhi publishes for general use a swadeshi vow, which in reality is a boycott vow.

(7) The Zamindar gives prominence to a dream of a Bandra man named Balambhai Fazulbhai, in which the Holy Prophet of Islam had told him that the enemies of Islam were trying to destroy it, and implored Mussalmans to gird their loins in its defence. The *Mufid-i-Rozgar* of the 3rd drew attention to the prophecies of a Mussalman Saint in the days of Tamerlane, to the effect that on the near approach of the Day of Judgement serious epidemics will break out frequently ; Muhammadans will be addicted to all forms of vices ; Christians will be all-powerful, and will overrun many countries ; the Sultan of Turkey will fight with one Christian power against other Christian powers, will be defeated, will lose Constantinople and repair to Syria ; Medina will ultimately become the seat of the *Khilafat-ul-Musalmin,* and that Mussalmans will again arise to their former grandeur and be masters of the world.

(8) *Hijrat.*—A few days ago the Central Khilafat Committee received a telegram from the Muhajirin Office, Delhi, announcing the successful departure from Jamrud of the first caravan of *Mujahirin.* The Vakil of Amritsar announces that Committees have been formed both at Peshwar and Jalalabad to welcome and help such emigrants. According to a manifesto of the *Mujahirin* office, Delhi, published by the Zamindar newspaper, the expenses of the journey to Afghanistan are estimated at Rs. 60.

V. *Miscellaneous.*—(1) One Syed Ghalib Hussain, son of Syed Abid Ali of Kamaun Darwaza, Jaora, has applied to the Central Khilafat Committee for written authority to collect in its name. Wearing a false beard and moustache and assuming the appearance of a fakir, he proposes to begin his work at Neemuch. The projected descent of a disguised emissary upon a military cantonment is worth nothing.

(2) Immediately after the publication of the Peace Terms, Shaukat Ali wired for Gandhi, who reached Bombay on the 20th and after a conference with the local leaders returned to Ahmedabad the following day. Shaukat Ali himself reached Bombay from Ahmedabad on the 17th instant.

Mohammad Duad Ghazanavi of Amritsar has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter, dated the 22nd May 1920. After describing as " salt on wounds " the Viceroy's message about the Peace Terms he urges that the forthcoming Conference should be held after, not during the Ramzan, and proceeds as follows :—

> " Thirdly, I have to state that I put forward a proposal about the propagation and Spread of the Khilafat movement which will have a very great effect on our special objects, and which is more needed in the Punjab, especially in those districts of the Province which took a prominent part in recruitment for the army during the war. This proposal has been devised after sufficient thought and consideration and in view of the conditions of the Province, and it is hoped that you will pay attention to it and adopt useful and easy means to make it a success.
>
> That paid preachers and propagandists should be employed in the Punjab generally, and in the particular districts especially as soon as

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possible. There should be three preachers for every district, i.e., one for every tahsil, and one of whom will be the Chief, and, besides working in his tahsil, will supervise the work of others also. These workers in the districts will send their weekly or fortnightly reports to the office of the Central Committee or to someone in the Punjab if the Committee so order. The pay of each preacher should be from thirty to fifty rupees? Both the upper and inferrior employees of the army come to their homes on leave and this will be the best instrument of propagation among them. The large amount of expenditure on this should not frighten. This is one of the greatest objects. I will also try that the Khilafat Committees in each district relieve the Central Committee of the expenses of these preachers as much as they can. It will be necessary to keep up this arrangement for one year at the most or even for six months. I hope you will very soon sanction this and inform me so that I may begin the work. This will help us on a very large scale and it will also prepare your community, and immediate action will be begun on the instructions received from your side. I want to go out in connection with my propaganda work. Kindly send me a reply very soon. I will be obliged. Further *Salaam*.".

Accompaniment "A"

(Translation of an Urdu leaflet.).

With the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate.
Istadua (Request).

The *Pesh Imams* of all the mosques are requested that at the time when with every *Jamait* (congregration) they pray to God for the maintenance of the power of the Sultan of Turkey they should also mention his revered name with the *Khutba*. If they have *Khutbas* 20 or 25 years old, they should write on it "*Amir-ul-Momanin. Khilafat-ul-Mussalmin. Sultan-ul-Moazzam. Mohammad Wahid Uddin Khan Sadis Khudid Allah Malakhu wa Saltanatho.*" because it has been seen that the ordinary ignorant people do not even know the name of the king of Turkey. Under these circumstances how can they sympathise with Turks? This body of the public has always been in the hands of the religious leaders. Therefore, it behoves you to again revive those Islamic orders which have been abandoned through our negligence or any other cause and infuse a new spirit into the Muhammadans, the honour of whose Khalifa the infidels are today bent upon destroying, so that they may awaken from their sleep, may regain their old lost greatness and show the enemies of the faith what the religion of Islam really is.

From—
Anjuman Khuddam-ul-Musalmin,
Cawnpore.

Accompaniment "C".

A test of the faith of Mussalmans and their devotedness to Islam.
An appeal by the Central Khilafat Committee.

The month of *Ramzan-ul-Mubarak* is the month for offerings. It is the duty of every true Mussalman to take the simplest food and having saved money by curtailing expenditure spend it in the way of God during this month.

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At this time a dark cloud is hanging over the Islamic world. The enemies of Islam have left no stone unturned to annihilate and destroy Islam. At such critical time it is duty of every true and faithful Musalman to live most simply during this sacred month of Ramzan, to spend as little as possible for *sohri* (food taken before daybreak) and after (food taken to break the fast), save as much as they can from their household expenses, and credit the amount thus saved to the Khilafat Fund.

All the Mussalmans, and especially all the believing women and children, are therefore requested not to spend after delicious and expensive food. They should give a proof of their devotedness to Islam by saving whatever they can by taking simple food and credit the amount thus saved to the Khilafat Fund and for the safety of the Holy Places. Collections should be made simultaneously in every part of India from *Jumat-ul-Wida*, the 18th June, to the 5th July. On the day of the Id also this duty should not be overlooked. The Mussalman children should willingly sacrifice their *Iddees* (monetary presents which are given to children) for the service of Islam.

May God grant to all Mussalmans the heart to make such offerings.—Amen.

(Signed) Mian Mohammed H. J. M. Chhotani,
President.

Mirza Ali Mohamed Khan,
M. Shaukat Ali.
Ahmed Haji Siddiq Khatri. | Honorary Secretaries.

(*t*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency. May 26th.*—The Special Officer for Bolshevism writes:—"Khilafat agitation continues unabated. The terms of the Turkish Treaty announced during the week were received by the Khilafat agitators with a sense of disappointment and dissatisfaction. It is reported that in Delhi and other places in the north the names of volunteers for *hijrat* are being registered by the Khilafat Committee and a caravan of emigrants is said to have already left for Afghanistan.

The following is an extract from the *Times of India* of the 22nd May 1920:—

(From our own correspondent.).

Calcutta, May 20th.

"The *Englishman's* Frontier correspondent says:—The other day twenty-two Muhammadans, the bulk from Delhi, arrived at Peshawar with the declared intention of proceeding to Kabul and there declaring their allegiance to the Amir. They said they were determined to settle in Afghanistan and would not return to India. On the whole they seemed a quiet and well-behaved party, some of them being educated men. They said some harsh things, however, about the Indian Government."

Swadeshi and boycott are strongly advocated as effective weapons of revenge in addition to non-co-operation. Extremists would have the non-co-operation resolution rigidly followed, but there is a good deal of controversy on the subject and many a Hindu has openly declared against the practicability of this resolution. In order to secure candid and hearty co-operation of the Hindus, Muhammadan agitators are now organising

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an anti-cow-killing campaign, an instance of which will be found in the joint Hindu-Muslim meeting held at Ahmednagar on the 16th instant. At this meeting Maulvi Abdus Salam of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh—(connected with the Anjumane-Tablige-Islam : 65 Moulvis are attached to this institution, and, it is said, go about preaching to Muhammadans not to kill cows. Abdus Salam visited Sholapur in April last)— delivered a lecture dwelling on the dismemberment of Turkey and exhorting the audience to form a solid Hindu-Muslim unity. United he said, they could drive their common enemy across " the seven oceans ". He quoted instances from ancient history of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, including that of Arjuna, who by their prowess and enterprise had achieved success over their enemies. He said the 20th July was the date fixed for issuing a notice on Government against cow killing and for all the Muhammadans to swear by the *Koran* not to kill kine. The Moulvi harangued for about an hour. Vinayak Balwant Chowkar, pleader, presided and the audience numbered between 400 and 500. Abdus Salam left Ahmednagar for Bombay. In connection with the Khilafat agitation, the following gossip may be of interest.

The acquisition of independence by Azerbaijan is the prelude to the political renaissance of the Turkomans ; that Khiva, Bokhara and Tashkent will follow suit and these States together with Turkey in Asia will form a greater and stronger Islamic State able to hold its own against all its Christian aggressors combined.

That in view of the harsh conditions imposed on Turkey, an appeal to the sword is inevitable. The theatre of the next war will be in Asia Minor.

That Shevkat Pasha and many other Turkish officers have gone over to Mustafa Kamal Pasha who is organising a strong and powerful national army.

Mustafa is reported to have said at a public meeting that after the events in Smyrna it was foolish to expect justice from the Allies, their (the Turks) entreaties and overtures were disdainfully treated. The Turks must gird up their loins and defend their country and their religion with the sword.

General Nadirkhan is bringing about unity among the Frontier Pathans.

The dismemberment of Turkey will induce the Arabs to make a common cause with the Turks.

The downfall of Islam is indicated by their dispossession of the four keys of the world, viz., Suez, Besra, Baku and Constantinople.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam was deported because he refused to issue a *fatwa* declaring Mustafa Pasha a rebel.

The Afghan delegates refused to enter into an alliance with the British Government owing to the latter's hostile attitude towards Turkey. The Amir, it it said, will soon send an ultimatum to the British Government.

(u) S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 22nd.—At a meeting held at Pet, Larkana, District, on the 16th instant, the following men renounced their various offices under Government :—

Rais Mian Amir Muhammad renounced his chair, assessorship and membership of the Local Board, Sanitary Board and School Board.

Rais Mian Khan Muhammad of Borri village, Kakar taluka, renounced his chair.

Mian Ihsan Ali, Zamindar of Pat, renounced his chair.

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Mian Muhammad Waris Sahib, Zamindar of Borri, Kakar taluka, renounced the membership of the Local Board.

(*v*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 22nd.*—At the Caliphate meeting held at Dhoro Naro, Thar Parkar District, on the 17th and 18th instant, Sub-Inspector Ismailshah Sumarshah of the Sind C.I.D., almost at the end of the meeting, went to the platform and tendered his resignation saying that although he had served Government honestly for the last 19 years, he could not bear to see his religion in such a state of disgrace. He was given the title of "*Fida-i-Islam*". The same evening he tendered his resignation to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police for Sind by wire and the following day his formal resignation was received in writing, in which he gives his reason. The Sub-Inspector was wired for and after being spoken to by the Deputy Inspector-General of Police was transferred to the Sind Railway Police with effect from the 21st May 1920.

The Superintendent of Police, Sind Railway, reports that his resignation will be accepted after the usual two months' notice. He is a Sayyid and had been placed on special duty under the Special Superintendent of Police attached to the C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, for anti-Bolshevism duty. Apparently having nothing to do but to attend Caliphate meetings has upset his mental balance.

(*w*) *Sind Railways, May 23rd.*—Sub-Inspector Ismailshah of the Sind C.I.D., who became a convert to the Caliphate propaganda at a meeting at Dhoro Naro on the 15th instant, was sent to me by the D.I.G. on the 21st. He was unassumedly ashamed of himself. In his wire to the D.I.G., asking to be relieved within 24 hours, he had mentioned a *fatwa* of the Ulemas. I asked him what *fatwa* by what Ulemas necessitated his resigning. He said he did not know. He had been sitting in the meeting. Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sarhandi was presiding and Pir Assadullah Shah of Tikkur was speaking. As he recited some religious verses the Sub-Inspector suddenly felt a change come over his heart and he stood up in the meeting and announced he was with them. He is an honest man and at the present moment seems to be somewhat doubtful of his position. It is proposed to put him into Kotri Railway Police Station for two months and I have hopes that with steady work to do and immunity from the heady eloquence of Caliphate meetings he will come into his right mind again.

(*x*) *Larkana, May 11th.*—The Agents of the Hijrat Committee are inducing Muhammadans to give their names for hijrat.

(*y*) *Sukkur, May 17th.*—The *Al-Haq* and the *Sind Moslem* announce that the *Khalim-ul-Muhajirin* has been formed at Delhi to take steps for the removal of Muhammadans from British territory to Afghanistan should the Khilafat question be decided against them.

Hijrat posters.

(*z*) *S. B., United Provinces.—From Abstract, dated May 15th para-1125.—C.I.D., United Provinces, May 8th.*—The Superintendent of Police, Moradabad, forwards a copy of a large poster issued by Ghulam Muhammad Azid of the office of the Muhajirin, Delhi, stating that the invitation by His Majesty the Amir has solved the problem of *hijrat*. Abdul Bari has sent him the following telegram :—

"As regards migration I hereby declare that all Muhammadans who cannot satisfy their conscience and act according to the dictates of Islam

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should migrate from this country to places where they will have more facilities for the discharge of their religious duties as well as for acting according to the commandments of the holy Shariat.".

Note.—Will all officers be on the lookout for the appearance of similar posters? (S. B., Bombay Presidency.).

(I) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 18th.*—The *Al-Wahid,* dated the 15th instant, says that Muhammadans will not follow the orders of the new Shaikh-ul-Islam. They will not consider any instructions that are against the dictates of the *Koran* and they will follow Gandhi only as long as his instructions are consistent with the Islamic laws. In conclusion, the editor asks his Muhammadan brothers to sacrifice their lives and property for the protection of Islam.

A poem composed by Fakir Sarwarbux of Thul, Jacobabad District, praying for the victory of Turkey and the speedy destruction of her enemies (i.e., the Allies) is also published in the same issue.

(II) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 22nd.*—The following is a report from the Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, for the 18th May 1920:—It is reported that the Khilafat agitators in Hyderabad are spreading or beginning to spread disaffection amongst the Indian Sepoys there.

On the 16th instant Aminuddin N. Munshi and several others are reported to have been present at the wrestling matches and Aminuddin spoke as follows:—"Our Holy Places have fallen into the hands of *Kaffirs* (English?). Today full information to this effect has been received. It is your duty to attend at Holmstead Hall to hear the full facts about the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and to learn the order of our religion with regard to them".

(III) *Sind Railways, May 16th.*—In connection with the enquiry as to whether any attempts are being made to seduce troops and police from their loyalty, though it does not fall strictly under this head, it may be mentioned that the Head Constable in charge of the Sind Railway Police Reserve, who belongs to the Ahmadiyya or Qadiani sect, recently showed me two tracts published by the Qadianis: one, written in 1916 is entitled "What the Ahmadiyya Movement has done for Government", and is directed against "Ghaziism"; the other, republished from "The Review of Religions", of October and November 1919, is entitled "The Future of Turkey" and is directed against the alleged prejudices of the Americans, French and Italian peoples towards the Turks as a ruling power. It is a very moderate statement, but as it attributes the feeling against Turkey to hatred of Islam and as it contains a lurid description of the *lynching* of a negro at Vicksburg, Mass., "only a few months ago", it is not very suitable literature for police officers.

(IV) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 22nd.*—The following is a report of the Civil Intelligence Officer, Karachi Brigade, for the 17th May 1920:—There are now signs of anti-Khilafat agitation as is apparent from the report of a C.I.D. officer of a meeting held at Sakhi Taj Muhammad, Hyderabad, with Kazi Ibrahimshah as president. It is understood that Kazi Ibrahimshah has been asked to renounce his title of Kazi of Hyderabad under the threat that otherwise he would be treated in a similar manner to the Imam of the Juma Mosque at Delhi.

Kazi Ibrahimshah in his speech said that whatever the Khilafat agitators were doing was against their religion and that such anti-religious steps were

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harming the Sultan. All that could be done was to request Government to consider the question of the Sultan favourably. It was anti-Muhammadanism to join with Hindus as also to use a Hindu place like the Holmstead Hall (Hyderabad). On this Nur Muhammad, pleader, asked the audience tp pray for the safety of the Khilafat, whereupon Kazi Ibrahimshah stood up, objected and read a "*Hadis*" stating that the Khilafat would remain for 30 years only after the death of the Prophet and the last Khalifa would be Imam Hussain. After Imam Hussain there would be no Khalifa. Hence, said Kazi Ibrahimshah, there is no Khilafat question at all; but we sympathise with the Sultan.

Abdul Wahab, editor of the *Musafir* of Hyderabad, said it was useless threatening Government, who should be approached in a respectful manner. He criticised the present violent methods of the agitators.

The excitement at this meeting was very great owing to this bold speaking against the Khilafat agitation and would have ended in a disturbance (amongst themselves) had not a certain number of policemen arrived on the scene.

(V) *Hyderabad, May 16th.*—The District Magistrate writes.—"Mr. Abdul Wahab asked for police protection at a meeting he held against the Khilafat agitation. A few constables were put on duty. Nur Muhammad pleader, and a few other Khilafat agitators appeared and were beginning to abuse Abdul Wahab and Kazi Ibrahimshah, the speakers, as Kaffirs. They were sent away by the police. Action under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, will be taken against any persons who interfere unlawfully with any such meetings."

(VI) *West Khandesh, April 23rd.*—Sayyid Muhammad walad Sayyid Yadya, Arab of Medina, appears to be active in visiting Muhammadan centres, and I think should be watched.

Khilafat and the Turkish Empire.

879. *Vide Paragraph 643* (*a*) *Hyderabad, May 22nd.—The District Magistrate writes* :—"As reports and complaints were received that Khilafat agitators had incited a breach of the peace at a meeting held by Kazi Ibrahimhhah and Mr. Abdul Wahab at which speeches were made against the Khilafat agitation, the District Superintendent of Police was requested to warn Sheikh Abdul Majid and four others that they could not be permitted to threaten and abuse persons who differed from them and proceedings would be taken against them under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, if they excited a breach of the peace. The reports in the *Bharatwasi*, and the Hindu, that they behaved truculently to the District Superintendent of Police are untrue. Also the statement in the *New Times* that proceedings under section 108 were threatened appears to be a mistake for section 107, Chapter VIII, of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(*b*) *Larkana, May 13th.*—On the 10th May a meeting of about 50 Hindus and 150 Muhammadans took place at Fatodero under the presidency of Kazi Fateh Muhammad, ex-Municipal Councillor. Another meeting was held the following day under the presidency of Seth Gopaldas, Bench Magistrate. About 125 Mussalmans and 30 Hindus attended and the promoters and speakers were the same on both days.

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Kazi Fateh Muhammad said that he and Shah Madan Shah had lost their seats in the Municipality because they had prayed for the integrity of Turkey on the 19th March.

Pandit Udhebhan of Dadu and Kanaylal, Brahman, of Ratodero, spoke on the Hindu-Muslim unity, the use of swadeshi articles and the undesirability of cow-killing.

Moulvi Ghulam Sidiq Nunari of Hyder Khan Chandio and Moulvi Khush Muhammad Tunion of Mirokhan urged the necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity and deprecated cow-killing.

Ghulam Sidiq said.—"India has always been loyal but now certain events have taken place which have endangered the loyalty of India. Our Holy Places are in the possession of the *Kaffirs*. How can we remain loyal under such circumstances ? ..... If you are Mussalmans sacrifice your lives and property and be prepared to go to jail and to face guns and cannon for the sake of Islam. It is better to die than to live..... Help Islam if you want to be included in the Muslim Party. Be prepared to carry out the orders of your religion."

Amulsing, servant of Seth Gopaldas, Bench Magistrate, said that he was glad as well as sorry that Kazi Fateh Muhammad and Shah Mardan Shah had been deprived of their seats in the Municipality and that outsiders had taken their places. He suggested that telegrams should be sent to the higher authorities.

The District Magistrate remarks:—"I had Gopaldas up and made him understand that he was going the right way to lose all his honours. The whole thing was petty pique with him because he wanted to be put on the Ratodero Municipal Council, ousting another Hindu, his relation, and managed to get a recommendation out of the Deputy Collector, but I would not put him on as I did not trust him.

"Kazi Fateh Muhammad has been troublesome for a long time."

(*c*) *Larkana, May 25.*—After the Caliphate meeting dispersed at Pat on the morning of the 16th May, Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Editor of the *Al Haq*, Hakim Shamsud-din of Naushahro Feroz and Moulvi Abdul Khalik of Moro and a few other men proceeded to Dadu and with the help of Dwarkadas Prasad, Brahmin of Dadu, convened a small meeting at nightfall. The audience numbered about 30. Shaikh Abdul Aziz, Shamsud-din, Abdul Khalik and Dwarkaprasad delivered short speeches. Shamsuddin and Abdul Khalik said that India had been improverished by the British Government, her money and foodstuffs had been taken away and now her religion was being attacked. They, as well as Dwarkaprasad, said that the intentions of Government were dishonest and that if the Hindus and Mussalmans were to unite, they would be able to wrest the government of the country from the English people. Shaikh Abdul Aziz spoke chiefly on the Caliphate question and said that the European powers were bent on destroying Islam.

(*d*) *Nawabshah, May 25th.*—On the 17th May a small Caliphate meeting was held at the village of Mithiani, Naushero taluka, at the instance of Moulvi Fazal Muhammad and a few others while on their way back from Pat, Larkana District.

Moulvi Fazal Muhammad and Pir Parial Shah were the chief speakers. Non-co-operation, *hijrat, swadeshism,* and the oppressive conduct of the English in connection with the holy places of Islam were as usual the chief subjects of their discourses. In supporting the *swadeshi* movement, Moulvi

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Fazal Muhammad made a statement that cows and pigs' fat were used in the manufacture of soaps coming from Europe.

Parial Shah was particularly offensive in giving expression to anti-British feelings. He raved like a maniac.

Some four men offered themselves for the service of Islam (believe *hijrat*) and their names were registered.

(*e*) *Nawabshah, May 25th.*—On the 20th May at Hot Khan Koloi, Moro taluka, one Maulvi Gul Muhammad, son of Muhammad Ismail, resident of Purani Gachiro, addressed a meeting of about 100 men on the subject of the Caliphate and repeated the usual remarks in connection therewith advising hijrat to Afghanistan. He collected a subscription of about Rs. 10 for assistance of Turkish Mussalmans, but passed no receipts for the amount.

Towards the end of the week I interviewed some of the leading Zamindars of Naushahro circle and Moulvi Fazal Muhammad of Naushahro who is believed to be the most sincere and enthusiastic worker in the cause of the Caliphate. I explained to them at some length the extreme undesirability of using unnecessary violence and vulgar language at the Caliphate meetings, and their potentialities for mischief if they persisted in the way in which they had begun. While declaring to me that much of what I had heard was untrue and that the things had been greatly exaggerated by the Police, they admitted that some of the speakers did utter some hard things at times. They, however, promised that they would try their level best to control intemperate speeches in future. I am watching the result of this interview, but I hope the frank and informal discussion I have had with them will do some good.

I am strongly inclined to think that statements containing unfounded allegations, such as the plot to bombard the holy tomb of the Prophet, burning of the holy covering of the Kaaba, killing of pigs, opening of liquor shops and walking with shoes on in the Holy Places are creating the greatest amount of mischief, inasmuch as they can be fully understood by the illiterate and ignorant villagers and can hurt their religious susceptibilities most. I am told that when references were made at different places to the above "sacriliges" in the course of speeches, most of the audience, including respectable Zamindars, cried and sobbed like children. Such misrepresentations are, therefore, undoubtedly of a much greater danger than any amount of political grievances—supposedly genuine—in exciting the religious fanaticism of a simple and ignorant people and embittering their very souls. It is absolutely necessary that every effort should be made to spread, by all possible means, information correcting such vilifications.

The District Magistrate remarks:—"Moulvi Muhammad Mauz and Fazal Muhammad have been to me and expressed regret that some of the uneducated speakers at meetings have been using wild expressions. They promised to try and check such fanaticism and intemperate language. I have seen several Zamindars lately on the subject of the Caliphate. Their policy is to "wait and see"; none of them seems to have made up his mind as to how far he is prepared to go with the agitators. They all hope that their loyalty to Government may not be put to the test. They have not the courage to keep away from the agitation for fear they might be boycotted and lose their influence.

"I think the Director of the Information Bureau ought to take steps to make known the truth regarding the treatment of the Tomb of the Prophet and the Kaaba. Even the facts regarding the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* have not reached the masses as yet."

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(f) S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 26th.—On the 17th and 18th instant, a Khilafat meeting was held in the village of Dhoro Naro, district Thar Parkar, with Pir Ghulam Mujadid, Sarhandi of Matiari, as president. Maulvi Pir Mahomed, while proposing the president to take the chair, said that people would be educated for non-co-operation as the peace terms with Turkey were cruel and Islam had suffered considerable misfortunes. The president said that the English only were responsible for this and it was a mistake for them (the people) to have helped Government. It is religious duty of the Khalifa to protect the Holy Places. To deprive him of this was just like cutting a living being from the body of Islam. There was a Hadis to expel the Jews and Christians from the Arabian Peninsula and this country would have to be taken back. The bigotry and the bad faith of the Europeans was apparent from the way in which they had broken their promises as also from the ill-treatment of Moslems by the Greeks. He advised the audience not to waste time in talking. He cursed those who gave men and money for the extirpation of Islam and urged them to repent. He attributed the disorder in Europe to the prayers of Muhammadans. He thanked Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus for their sympathy and commended the actions of Amir Amanullah, Mustafa Kamil Pasha, Anwar Pasha and the Bolsheviks. He said he differed from those leaders who were against declaring a *Jehad* and said that he was ready to have his head cut off for the sake of Islam. Still, he decided to abide by the decision of the Central Khilafat Committee and Mr. Gandhi for non-co-operation. Muhomed Hasham of the Kackhol proposed non-co-operation. Pir Ismail Jan, Sarhadi, in seconding the resolution, said that with religion at their back the weakest could oppose the strongest Government and be successful. He advised them to renounce all titles. Pir Asadullah Shah of Tikhar said that by this 'peace Turkey and the Khilafat were shattered and the terms should not be accepted. Those chair and title holders who associate with the tyrants should be destroyed. At this the president declared that 11 Mullas had renounced their grants and 16 police officers, whose names he did not mention, were desirous of resigning. Pir Ali Anwar Shah of Larkana read a poem asking Muhammadans to save their religion and to the following effect....." The Prophet left the Arabian Peninsula, the *Koran* and *Ali Rasul* as his legacy. The Greeks have destroyed Muslims. If you cannot kill you should die in the cause of Islam. Curse on European manufactured goods" (Cries of 'Curse on them.') At this stage, Mahomed Kassim Mulla renounced his grant and Pir Muhomed Ali Shah returned his honours. Shaikh Abdul Majid, the editor of the *Al Amin*, in a strong speech which caused loud sounds of grief, explained the misfortune of Turkey. He told them to renounce their honours and start non-co-operation, otherwise they would go to hell. He asked for the names of those who were willing to do *hijrat* or to go to jail by infringing the law of Government. He announced himself as an enemy of the British. Aminuddin Munshi of Hyderabad said that he himself, his wife and children were ready to be sacrificed for the sake of Islam. He advised the audience to die the death of martyrs. Swami Krishnanand said that the Khilafat question was not only a Muhammadan question but it concerned the Hindus and the whole of Asia. "The Government had tied the bandage of selfishness over their eyes." He advised non-co-operation, *Hijrat* and *Jehad*. Muslim rule was a thousand times better than the present one. He recommended *Swadeshism*. Abdul Jabbar, pleader of Hyderabad, said that those Mullas who had not renounced their grants should be boycotted. At this juncture Mulla Rahim Ali stood up and asked the speaker what should be done to those Zamindars who in order to please the Khilafat party sent their children

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to the Conference and remained themselves absent to please the Government. The speaker replied that if others were infidels, it was not necessary for a Mulla to be so. At this the Mulla remarked that the effect of the resignation of the Mullas could not influence Government, as Government had much more to do with zamindars than with Mullas. Abdul Jabbar in continuing his speech said that Turkey had to enter the war. According to the 14 points of the Peace terms Turkey was not to be touched but now she is being destroyed and cut up. He said that if a telegram was received announcing that Turkey had accepted the Peace Terms it should not be believed. He advised protection of Islam with non-co-operation, as Muhammadans could no longer remain loyal. The president asked the audience if they were ready to give their lives for Islam (cries of Yes, Yes). Nur Mohamed, pleader, of Hyderabad, read out the peace terms to the audience amidst cries of "We do not accept them". He advised non-co-operation in case Turkey was forced to accept the terms. Aminuddin supported the resolution and appealed. for funds. Pir Anwar Ali Shah advised non-co-operation and said that Islam would destroy Christianity and force the English out of London as routed Pheraun and Namraud. Moulvi Makhumdin cursed the English who had troubled and were troubling Turkey. The British had influenced the Sharif to protect Egypt and convert Muslims to Christianity. All true Muhammadans should spit in the faces of Collectors and other officials. They should not conceal their identity with the Khilafat agitation. The position of an Indian was as that of a dog, in the opinion of the English. He advised the audience to go to jail for non-co-operation. He appealed to the Pirs and Ulemas to influence the people to rise for the protection of their religion. The president supported it. Aminuddin said that if a man's wife became a prostitute the man was ready to hang himself. What they should be done as regards their religion which was being polluted. He said that each leader should go to jail with one thousand people otherwise they would not be true Muslims. A resolution sympathising with those persons who were sent to jail at Jacobabad for the sake of Khilafat was passed. The support of their dependents was considered. Pir Ghulam Mujadid proposed that swadeshi articles should be used in future. Shaikh Abdul Majid announced that Tikamdas Motiram was ready to go to jail for the sake of Islam. He appealed to the audience to prepare themselves to go to jail. At this five Mullas renounced their grants. Nur Muhamed, pleader, said that Government servants should not resign until the Central Khilafat Committee and Mahatma Gandhi considered it necessary. Abdul Jabbar, pleader, stood up and asked Hafiz Mian Madri, Deputy Inspector of Education, when he was going to resign instead of coming to see what Mullas were doing. The Inspector appeared much ashamed as all the people stood up and began to gaze at him. He replied that he was waiting for the proper time. Mahomed Mulla Yusuf renounced his grant. Abdul Majid recited a couple of poems which excited the audience, and the recitation of a third caused such excitement amongst them that even Sub-Inspector Ismail Shah, who was in attendance taking notes, sent to the platform and said he would resign. He said that he had served Governnment honestly for 19 years, but he could not continue to do so when Government had imposed such cruel terms on Turkey. At the request of the audience he led the prayers which were offered three times with bare head and feet. Pir Anwar Ali Shah and the president compared the action of the Sub-Inspector to that of Imam Hussain. Shaikh Abdul Majid said that this was a great success for his party.

(g) *Thar and Parkar, May 25th.—The District Magistrate writes.*—"The Khilafatists held their meeting at Dhoro Naro on the 17th instant.

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The police report is not yet in though I understand Boyd has received a very long screed from Partabrai, Sub-Inspector of Jhudo and last year in the C.I.D., branch.

The local paper, the *Mirpur Khas Gazette,* gave a long account of the meeting but not very much about the speeches and nothing like a verbatim report was attempted. It gave the names of several zamindars, chair-holders and men of decent position who were said to have been present. Of these one Khair Muhammad Sufi Fakir, a durbari of the Commissioner in Sind and exempted under the Arms Act, came to see me this morning. He said he had received two invitations to the meeting—one from Pir Ghulam Mujaddid, Sarhandi, and one from Mir Jan Muhammad Walhari of Umarkot Taluka. The former is the well-known Sarhandi Pir of Matiari. He also holds land in deh Khirol, taluka Umarkot. Khair Mahomed remarked that neither invitation stated the object of the meeting, and that consequently when he got there and found out what it was he left after 5 or 10 minutes and did not go inside the pandal. He promised to send me the invitation he got in order to let me see that zamindars were called to the meeting without knowing the object which they were summoned to support. He also gave me to understand that the other zamindars who were present were called in the same vague manner. He told me the meeting was not a success, so he heard, and that the zamindars of that side were not favourably disposed towards the present agitation.

Apparently Pir Ghulam Mujaddid feels that he is making rather an exhibition of himself, as he wrote me a letter on 14th May, which I got on the 17th, in which he apologised for his present course of action by saying that the "responsible officers of the administration" (presumably the British Government and not the Indian) "wished not only to reduce the importance of the Muhammadan religion, but also there is danger that the Muhammadan religion may be destroyed.". He is therefore, "helpless" and so writes to me for my information, and signs himself my "true friend".

This '*volte face*' of the Pir is the more remarkable in that to a late date in January he was apparently all against the agitation pro-Sultan as Khalifa. He used to come and see me often in Hyderabad and Matiari, and there was little doubt that he was pro-Government until the last two or three months. I can only attribute this turning of his coat to the fact that he found Government doing nothing at all to counteract the warm and mischievous agitation of the openly disloyal Khilafatists, and do, as in the case of other men without stout hearts, he joined the side he thought would come out on top. A pleasant contrast to this adoption of the line of least resistance is the attitude taken up at a meeting at Hyderabad recently by Kazi Ibrahim Shah. Bhurgri's resignation has excited no comment yet in this district. Being an absentee for the most part, he does not mean much to the district.

(*h*) *Hyderabad, May 28th.*—The terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty have undoubtedly caused grief to many Muhammadans, but as every clause was anticipated there has been no marked outburst. A special meeting of the members of the Caliphate Committee was summoned and sessions were held at the Holmstead Hall on the 22nd and 23rd instant to decide what steps should be taken to meet the situation. The *Bharatvasi* of the 25th instant gives the decisions arrived at. The following resolutions were passed :—

(1) Congratulating Mr. Yacub Hussain for resigning his Membership of the Council and other honours, and deciding to place all his resources at the command of the Caliphate Committee.

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(2) Congratulating Mr. Bhurgri on his resignation from the Council, but expressing regret that he had joined the non-co-operation movement and hoping that he would reconsider his decision on this point.

(3) Congratulating all Muslims in Sind who had resigned their honours, service or Mullah grants.

(4) Congratulating Muhammad Fakhar and Ahmid Ahmed for refusing to give bail and preferring to go to jail.

(5) Expressing disapprobation of the policy of Government in undertaking repressive measures against Caliphate workers.

(6) Protesting against the proclamation of the Viceroy published at the time of the announcement of the Peace terms ; stating that Government did not press the case of the Muhammadans before the peace Conference as regards the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and the Caliphate ; that the terms are a violation of the pledges given by the British which were made to obtain the help of the Muhammadans of India ; that the Terms had destroyed the temporal power of Turkey, and thus the Caliphate ; that *Jazirat-ul-Arab* had been placed in non-Muslim hands ; that all Muslims, therefore, consider that the Caliphate has been taken from them by deceit; that, therefore, the Peace Terms could not be accepted by any Muhammadan ; that all Hindus and Europeans dwelling in India be called upon to assist in the non-co-operation movement without permitting or encouraging any force ; that all Muslims be called on to sacrifice everything they have to help in re-establishing the Caliphate.

(7) That a Committee be formed to decide how the policy of non-co-operation be carried out.

Names of the members of the Committee.—Seth Haji Abdullah Haroon, President ; Taj Muhammad of Amrot, Vice-President ; Muhammad Khan, Secretary ; Hakim Shamsaldin Ahmed, Joint Secretary ; Seth Haji Abdulla Haroon, Treasurer ; Muhammad Ali Muhammad and Mian Muhammad, Assistant Treasurers.

The Committee numbers 22, but the names of the members are not given.

The result of the meetings referred to above appears to be a split in the camp, Pir Mahbub Shah and Pir Muhammad Imam Shah, brother and son respectively of the Jhandewalla Pir, heading a faction which desired the adoption of extreme measures. The rift in the lute was evident on the 23rd evening when a notice was issued announcing a meeting at the Holmstead Hall at 9 p.m.

When the crowd arrived at the Hall they were met by men who told them to proceed to the Malakhra ground to hear Pir Mahbub Shah speak. The crowd accordingly went there and Pir Mahbub Shah began a speech exhorting all Muhammadans to sacrifice all they had for their faith. Just as he was getting into his *stride* a message was received from the other members of the Caliphate Committee inviting the crowd to come to the Holmstead Hall. This enraged Pir Mahbub Khan, who stated that " these people want to be leaders and to take all the kudos, and yet will do nothing. " However, an adjournment was made to the Holmstead Hall, but the atmosphere was apparently surcharged for no further meeting was held and the people went home quietly.

(*t*) *Surat, May 22nd.*—The Peace Terms with Turkey published in the newspapers of the 17th instant have caused keen disappointment amongst

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the Muhammadans of Surat. So far they have not made any outward manifestation of their feelings, but they are watching events from outside, especially from Northern India, and are waiting instructions from Bombay as to the course they should follow.

(*j*) *Poona, May 28th.*—No developments regarding the Turkish Peace Terms. No one has taken any notice of them, nor of the Viceroy's Message. Some of the Papers attribute the latter to motives of policy.

(*k*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 1st.*—The District Superintendent of Police, Bijapur, reports that owing to the backward state of the inhabitants of the district, the Caliphate Question and the Turkish Peace Terms are not understood and consequently no enthusiasm is displayed. Such interest as there is comes from the pleader class.

The District Magistrate adds that he agrees with the District Superintendent of Police's estimate of the attitude of the people.

(*l*) *Belgaum, May 25th.*—The District Magistrate writes.—"I went round the town to see if there were any feeling among the Muhammadans over the Turkish Peace Terms. I found none."

(*m*) *Ratnagiri, May 22nd.*—The District Magistrate writes.—"No excitement among Muhammadans has been noticed owing to the declaration of the Turkish Peace Terms."

(*n*) *Kolaba, May 25th.*—The decision in regard to Turkkey does not seem to have caused any visible results in this district, except that two Honorary Magistrates have resigned their seats on the Uran Bench as a protest against the decision of the Supreme Council. The resignation in both these cases is regarded as a homage to a practice lately adopted by some who are moved by motives of cheap political notoriety and not by motives of conviction. The Hindus, as a whole, seem to be indifferent as to the fate of Turkey and the Mussalmans do not seem to be particularly exercised over her so-called dismemberment.

(*o*) *Kanara, May 29th.*—The news about the fate of Turkey was received by the Muhammadans of Karwar without any feelings of uneasiness or disappointment.

(*p*) *Poona, June 1st.*—The newspaper-reading public expresses its disapproval of (a) the Turkish Peace Terms, (b) The Viceroy's Proclamation and (c) the Hunter Committee's verdict.

People are saying that if such wrongs are left unrighted the Empire of the British is bound to fail.

(*q*) *S. B., Sind, May 24th.*—Shaikh Abdul Majid is reported to the distributing copies of the following form in Sindhi throughout Sind and about 5,000 persons (including certain Government servants whose names have not yet been received by this office) are reported to have signed the same.

"I commence it with the name of God the Gracious.

If the decision regarding the Khilafat Islamia is not arrived at in accordance with our religious teachings and in conformity to our demands, I, the undersigned, God being my witness, promise that in obedience to your order or the orders of the Ulemas, I will—

(1) Refuse to pay taxes and land assessment;

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(2) Resign my appointment ;

(3) Return the titles given to me ;

(4) Resign the membership of the Council, the Municipality or the Local Board ;

(5) From today purchase Swadeshi articles ;

(6) be ready to do *hijrat ;*

(7) If necessity arises be ready to go to jail if Government will not permit *hijrat ;*

(8) not injure or harm the life and property of anybody, but I will be ready to sacrifice my property and life in the interests of the Khilafat.

So please God (*Insha-Allah-Tallia*).

Name ..... Father's name .....
Occupation and monthly income ....., Age ....., Married or Unmarried ....., Number of Children ....., Value of Property ....., Village ....., Taluka .... District ....., Amount of Assessment ....., Amount of Tax .....

Please strike out those items which are not applicable or those which are not acceptable."

(*r*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 8th.*—An officer reports.—" Jan Muhammad Bhurgri, brother of the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, has submitted his resignation of the Office of Vice-President of the District Local Board which he was holding. This is due to the Caliphate agitation apparently. It is said that he received a letter from the District Magistrate, Mirpurkhas, asking him to be loyal to Government as he was Vice-President of the local Board and in reply he tendered his resignation.

(*s*) *Karachi, May 28th.*—The following is an extract from the *Bharatvasi* of the 27th May :—

" *Hijrat.*—Intention of the Editor of the *Al Amin.*

To the Manager, *Bharatvasi.*—' As I have to go away on *hijrat* and as I am busy preparing for the same, I have to leave the editorship of the *Al Amin* paper. I have also wired the facts to Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri.

All readers should, therefore, await until another editor is forthcoming when the *Al Amin* will continue its publication.'

Shaikh Abdul Majid.

(*t*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, May 29th.*—The following appeared in the *New Times* of Karachi on the 26th May :—

25,000 Sindhi Muslims ready for *Hijrat.*
Telegram to the Governor.
Hyderabad, Sind, May 24th.

(By wire).—From Mr. Jan Muhammad Junejo Bar., the Secretary, *Sind Hijrat Committee,* Larkana :—

The *Sind Hijrat Committee* formed at Jacobabad met at Hyderabad (Sind) when the following telegram was sent to the Political Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay :—

" 25,000 Muslims ready for hijrat to Afghanistan on account of interference in religion ; if any formality, please wire."

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(*u*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, May 31st*—The following appeared in the *Loksangraha* of the 28th May :—

"25,000 Mussalmans have decided to go to Kabul and if they go they will place before them the example of their *Paigambar* who invaded Mecca and took possession of it. They have started the Caliphate movement, being inspired with the principle that no compromise is possible in the matter of religion. Therefore, Muhammadans who are now going to Kabul, or will go there in time to come, are the future enemies of the British. It is a question whether these enemies should be allowed to go away or live where they are. Similarly, it is a question how long and how far Government will allow these departures. India is the home of religion. Europe is being divided on the principle of religion. The Christian religion or civilisation cannot thrive under Turkish rule and the dismemberment of Turkey is sanctioned by the Allies in order that the Christian race should be paramount everywhere. All this is done in the interest of Christian civilisation."

(*v*) *Bombay, May 81st.*—A notice regarding *hijrat* has been pasted up at a mosque in Bhendi Bazaar recommending that men who wish to do it should repair to Rawalpindi.

Two wooden guns (imitation rifles) are being used by the Caliphate Volunteers.

(*w*) *S. B., Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara.—From Abstract, dated May 29th, paragraph 80—Caliphate Agitation.*—The Superintendent of Police, Ajmer-Merwara, reports that two more notices were found pasted in the Ajmer city on the matter of *hijrat*. Local Muhammadans are forming the opinion that Abdul Bari has rather contradicted himself. Some time ago he said India was not *Dar-ul-harb* but *Dar-ul-Islam*, as it is only in *Dar-ul-harb* that *Jehad* or *hijrat* can take place : they do not understand his present attitude. Also they say that *hijrat* is only for those who can afford it, and, as nobody can afford it, they are not seriously considering it.

(*x*) *Note by S. B., Rajputana.*—The two Urdu notices referred to in the above report have been issued over the signature of Ghulam Mahomed Aziz Amritsari from the *Muhajarin's* office, Fatehpuri, Delhi. They contain Abdul Bari's proclamation that all Muhammadans are exhorted to do *hijrat* and asks intending emigrants to register their names at the above office ; also the information that the date fixed for departure will be intimated through newspapers or notices in about two weeks' time.

(*x*) *Ahmedabad, May 29th.*—The District Magistrate writes.—"Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel came to me on the morning of the 18th with Mangaldas Girdharidas in connection with the settlement of the Spinners' strike. That business was soon settled and Mangaldas left. I asked Gandhi to remain. He did so and Vallabhbhai did so likewise. Gandhi held forth for more than an hour upon the khilafat campaign and many other matters, while I listened. He went rather far afield in his discourse, even to discussing the relative methods of Christianity and Hinduism, but the gist of it was this.

"He cared nothing for Turkey as such, but the Indian Muhammadans did, and, as Government was breaking their clear promises to the Indian Muhammadans, he considered that their cause was a good one and felt justified in championing it. Incidentally it was a glorious opportunity for unifying Hindu and Muhammadan sentiment, without which nothing great could be achieved in India. But the fight was really a bigger one than a mere struggle with the Government of India or Great Britain. It was

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a fight between soul-force and brute-force and in waging it he had the good of England and Europe as much in mind as that of India. His object was to prove that a new force had been born into the world before which fleets and armies and all the methods of a material civilization would prove useless. He believed that India was better fitted than any country in the world to receive this new teaching, and if he could carry the country with him he believed that the victory of soul-force over brute-force was assured ; and that this victory would open the eyes of the world and ultimately convert them to his way of thinking. Soul-force consisted practically of passive resistance to wrong and injustice : to force it opposed not force but suffering India could hope for nothing from force and violence. If a single act of violence were committed by his followers he would consider the cause lost and acknowledge defeat that is, he would abandon his campaign about the Khilafat. It was not only that he realised how easily violence could be put down, how helpless the Eastern world was, confronted with the material resources of the West. But violence was opposed to his creed and was a betrayal of India's mission. If he could transform India, by wishing, to a sort of Japan he would not do so. Japan was on the same evil road as Western nations, and India had a higher destiny.

"I asked him if he did not think that the masses when refused would proceed to violence as they did last year. He admitted the danger, but said that but for his influence with the Muhammadans there would have been violence already. Besides nothing great was ever done without risk. He had been on four battlefields and seen life thrown away for mere chances of some advantage. If the believers in force were willing to do that why should we not also risk lives in a sacred cause ? ,

"I asked him what he proposed to do. He said : Make a representation to the Home Government fixing a time limit of three months within which they would take no measures except 'sounding the country'. I asked whether this meant stirring up the country, and he admitted that he means this. He would probably tour the Punjab with this object.

"I told him that this would certainly end in bloodshed ; but he was very cocksure about his ability to control the Muhammadans there or anywhere, and boasted that he had already succeeded in doing so in Sind."

(y) *Bombay, May 31st.—Caliphate Situation.*—Developments up to midday. Tuesday, the 1st June.—The Peace Terms.—A meeting of four or five thousand Muhammadans including a few Hindus was held on the 28th to protest against the Turkish Terms. "*Nasir-ul Islam*" Chhotani was in the chair. As at the time of the last meeting, many of the Bombay Members of the Central Caliphate Committee were absent. Nor was any Hindu of any note observed. The speeches were much more moderate than those delivered at the meeting a few days ago. Shaukat Ali and Nur Muhammad, though present, did not speak. Four resolutions were passed—one denouncing the Peace Terms ; a second expressing sympathy with the people of Sind in the face of official misconduct ; a third congratulating Muhammad Fakhir and Hamid Ahmed upon their sacrifice for Islam ; and a fourth enjoining special contributions during the Ramzan to the *Caliphate Baitul mal.* The most important features of the meeting were the announcement by Chhotani of (1) the relinquishment of his J.P.ship and (2) the policy of restricted non-co-operation, of which further details are given below.

The Peace Terms continue to be a target for criticism by the Press ; but except as above indicated there have been, during the week, no further expressions of public opinion on the subject.

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The cablegram from Muhammad Ali to Chhotani should be noted in this connection. (See below.)

Central Caliphate Committee's Activities and Policy.—Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri and Syed Rifai, one of the Bombay members of the Central Caliphate Committee, have resigned. Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan has resigned both his Honorary Secretaryship and his membership on the ground that he cannot support an unconstitutional measure, such as non-co-operation which has been accepted by the Committee.

The Allahabad meeting is being held on the dates originally fixed notwithstanding the following urgent telegram to its promoters from Ajmal Khan and Ansari :—

"Meeting All-India Congress Committee coming of thirtieth regarding elections binding on Congressmen may hamper Caliphate.....urge Central Caliphate Committee holding meeting Benares one day earlier Mahatmaji presence essential."

At the moment of writing all the Bombay leaders of the agitation are participating in the deliberations at Allahabad.

Invitations to the Joint Conference, fixed for Allahabad simultaneously with the meeting of the Central Caliphate Commitee, have been issued practically to all the prominent leaders throughout India without distinction of religion and caste and regardless of the opinion already expressed on the policy of non-co-operation. Among those invited, for instance, are Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mrs. Besant, Sir Narayen Chandawarkar and Mr. Natrajan, all of whom have publicly announced their disapproval of unconstitutional agitation. In reply to her invitation Mrs. Besant wired : "Will be present but I disagree" Baptista's letter expressing his inability to attend the meeting contained outspoken criticism of the policy of "Gandhism". Others who joined in the chorus of disapproval are Sir Narayen Chandawarkar, Dr. Satyapal and Professor Paranjpe.

Non-co-operation.—The most important news for several weeks past is the announcement made by Chhotani on the 28th of the new policy of restricted non-co-operation. This policy is outlined in the Manifesto of which a copy is attached. The circumstances under which that manifesto, was issued are explained in the covering letter (copy attached). This new moderation constitutes a reversal of the decision arrived at by the specially convened meeting of the Central Caliphate Committee on the 12th May.

MANIFESTO

ISSUED BY

The Central Khilafat Committee of India

As a crisis of the first magnitude is being reached on the question of the Khilafat, it is necessary, even at the risk of repetition, to state its terms, and to define the means to be adopted for seeking redress.

The Muslim claim is :—

(1) European Turkey to be left as it was at the time of the war, specially where the Muslim population was preponderant, with such guarantees as may be necessary for fair treatment of non-Muslim races.

(2) The retaintion of Turkish suzerainty over *Jazirat-ul-Arab* with self-government for the Arabs if they so desire. *Jazirat-ul-Arab* includes :— Hedjaz, Yeman, Najd, Iraq (Mesopotamia), Palestine and Syria. The

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Muslim religious authorities define the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* as a country bounded by the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates and the Tigris.

((3) The Khalifa's control of Holy Places of Islam, viz., the three Sacred *Harams*, namely, Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and the Holy Shrines, namely, Najfa, Karbala, Samarra, Kazmain and Baghdad.

This claim is supported by President Wilson's declaration and pledges of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Hardinge. It is supported by Islamic scriptures and is therefore a religious question with the Mussalmans, and, as Hindus desire to show their brotherly feeling towards their Muslim fellow countrymen by co-operating with them, it is also a question of such magnitude as to overshadow all others. On the political side, again, the Indians have a right to examine the justice or otherwise of all measures that may be contemplated for determination of countries subjugated with the help of Indian men and money, for instance, Mesopotamia. We believe that if the Turkish question is not settled to the satisfaction of the Mussalmans, more men and money will be required from India to keep order in Muslim countries, which will materially retard the progressive development of our own.

There is no question of compromise in this matter of life and death with millions of Mussalmans. We still hope that justice will be done, but if fortunately the issue is decided against us, then there is no rest for India till the ..... redressed.

We shall not count the cost in order to secure a just solution, and we hold that in making His Majesty's Ministers fulfil their promises, we shall have served the Empire of which we claim to be members. We have studied the Peace Terms and we consider that they are a direct violation of the pledges referred to and in no way calculated to satisfy the requirements of justice or of Islamic Law.

The remedy that lies before the Hindus and Muhammadans is simple. The least we can do is not to help the Government if it supports the wrongs.

We must, therefore, advise the country to withdraw co-operation from the Government and continue to do so till justice is done.

But we have no desire to take hasty steps which may result in violence or unnecessary embarrassment to the Government.

We wish to state in the most emphatic terms that in the joint Hindu Moslem scheme of action there is, at no stage of it, any idea of doing violence secretly or openly. We recognise that the pressure must be peaceful and moral. We must evoke sympathy by suffering. We wish to cultivate a world opinion in favour of our cause by inviting suffering on ourselves. Violence can only retard the process of enlightenment.

We therefore propose to resort to non-co-operation in the following stages for the time being :—

(1) Surrender of honorary offices and titles and stopping of all voluntary financial support.

(2) Surrender of civil employments under Government.

(3) We reserve our opinion as to the other stages suggested and approved by the Central Khilafat Committee.

(4) The methods we wish to adopt for the purpose of securing the acceptance by those concerned are of the foregoing programme and open

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agitation in the press and on the platform to individual canvassing. We shall neither use nor tolerate any force being exercised ; we shall depend upon argument and social pressure to bring about non-co-operation. Definite steps to be taken will be advised from time to time. It is hoped that no one will take initiative without consultaion with the authority of the Joint Committee.

No departure from policy will be taken without joint deliberation. It has been stated that the Hindus have serious misgivings about the ultimate aim. The Mussalman signatories therefore desire to state that they have no other aim than to serve their religion and the country of their birth. In serving their religion they wish to keep the Khilafat intact. They certainly desire the Muhammadan powers all the world over to prosper for the common good of humanity. But they do not desire to oust England and introduce a Muhammadan or any other power to rule over India. They wish to realise the highest national aspirations in association with the British, but they would certainly seek to end the British connection if it hampers India's advance or if it puts affront upon cherished religious sentiments.

At the same time, it should be remembered that India's loyalty in terms of the proclamation of 1858 is conditional upon absolute protection of all religions flourishing within the British Empire.

The Mussalmans of India will fight to the last man in resisting any Mussalman power that may have designs upon India. They wish to respect to the full the religious sentiments of the Hindus, and they expect them to respect in an equal measure those of the Mussalmans. The latter have realised by bitter experience that too often have the bureaucracy played the one against the other. Disputes and differences we shall have. It should be our duty to settle them all by mutual discussion or arbitration. The Mussalmans desire to state further, that whilst they do not accept the view that boycott of British goods is not a lawful political weapon. out of consideration for some of their Hindu friends they have abandoned the boycott propaganda. They, however, realize that the country has become inipoverished and enslaved by reason of having abandoned Swadeshi. We shall, therefore, by every means at our disposal restore Swadeshi to its original status, and we advise all to encourage home manufactures, even though it may be at some inconvenience and sacrifice, and to encourage hand-weaving and hand-spinning and all other cottage industries so as to be independent, so far as possible, even of all foreign machinery.

Our attention has also been drawn to the unrest in the student world. We desire to state that students ought not to take active part in the agitation save in so far as it is necessary from the religious standpoint. In no case should they harbour thoughts of violence.

Finally, the Mussalmans desire to observe that whilst they expect full success through the peaceful method of non-co-operation they realize that either through Hindu apathy or disunion amongst Mussalman ranks, non-co-operation may fail to achieve the end. In that case and no other the Mussalmans reserve to themselves the right to take such other and further steps as may be enjoined upon them by their religion for the purpose of securing a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat question ;

The framers of this Manifesto invite all who wish to help movement, and who wish to avoid violence and guide it through proper and healthy channels, to sign this and give such support as they are capable of giving. We

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expect that the course of action we have outlined is not only in the interest of the faith of millions of Muslim subjects of the Empire, but also in the interest of the Empire itself, to which we have shown our active loyalty times without number.

OFFICE OF THE CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE :
MILTON HOUSE,
NEAR PARSI STATUE,
Bombay, 23rd May 1920.

Dear, Sir,

I am writting this on behalf of the Central Khilafat Committee of India to request you to kindly attend its urgent meeting on the 1st June at Allahabad, and to give it the benefit of your advice and assistance. As you are no doubt aware, these are the most critical times for us, and we the Muslims have to make decisions the gravity of which cannot be minimized. We have had all along the advice and active co-operation of our Hindu brethren, for which we are most greateful.

I feel sure that after hearing our religious obligations in this case, explained to you by competent authorities, you would be able to offer us such advice and assistance as would help our cause. We have no other desire except to see the just demands of Islamic law fully satisfied. I need not assure you that your advice would receive our utmost consideration. I am writing to all the leading Hindu brethren of all shades of political opinion from all parts of India.

I know it would be very hot in Allahabad in June and you will have to bear many inconveniences, but for the sake of your Muslim brethren you will gladly put up with them.

I have fixed the 1st of June for the meeting, so that those who are attending the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Benares on the 30th and 31st May may easily run up to Allahabad. We will make arrangements for your comforts either in hotels or with friends.

Kindly let me hear from you by wire—"Khilafat"—Bombay would do for address.

An early reply would oblige.

I remain,
Your's sincerely,
MIAN MOHAMED HAJI JAN MOHAMED CHHOTANI,
President,
Central Khilafat Committee of India.

The question of welcoming the Prince of Wales continues to exercise the minds of many. Numerous communications on the subject practically all anonymous, have reached the Central Caliphate Committee. The letter from Yacub Hussan to Shaukat Ali (copy attached) purports to give Madras in perticular and India in general a lead in this matter. It also suggests the attitude to be adopted by Muhammadan leaders in respect of the impending Council elections. This letter elicited from Chhotani and Shaukat Ali the following telegraphic reply : "Well done God's Good Man. Letter follows." :—

Copy of a letter, dated the 23rd May 1920, by Yacub Hassan, Madras, to Shaukat Ali.

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Thanks for your letter from Ahmedabad. I expected to hear from you after the publication of my letter to Lord Willingdon. I have wired a copy to Lloyd George, Montagu and Mahomed Ali.

I cannot understand why Mr. Gandhi has written to the Press that it is premature to give up titles and honorary posts. All other methods have failed to influence the Treaty and as a last resort in order to bring about the revision of the terms, non-co-operation must be resorted to. Non-co-operation, as I understand it , is a means to an end and not an end itself to be resorted to when the Peace Treaty becomes an accomplished fact.

I enclose a draft communication regarding the elections to Councils. It will show the authorities what our attitude will be on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. This will make them more nervous than other forms of non-co-operation for they are very touchy where the King's son is concerned. We will hold a meeting on the 25th to express our views on the Treaty.

I would attend the Central Committee provided it is not held on the 27th as you intend to do. Delhi is too far off. Bombay is perhaps exhausted and it is not advisable to meet too often at one place. Why not try Calcutta. It is central and equidistant from Delhi, Bombay and Madras. Bengali Mussalmans require rousing too.

We have huge work before us and not a minute should be wasted. I shall be glad to come and assist you if you think I can be of any use out of Madras. I have started the ball rolling here ; one or two more pushes, and it will keep in motion till my return from the north.

Elections and the Khilafat.

A question has been put to me that in view of the acute situation that has arisen in respect of the Khilafat what should be the attitude of Mussalmans in connection with the elections to the Reform Councils, Assembly and Council of State.

We cannot foresee events that may take place in the near future and cannot now, in anticipation of a certain contingency, abstain from participation from the elections to the bodies which will only assemble in January next. I have consulted several leaders of opinion in this matter and we have come to the following conclusion. In countries where Legislative bodies have been in existence for some centuries, candidates always make their attitudes on the burning question of the day the principal plank in the electioneering campaign, and all parties in India are now following the same method. The Khilafat question is the one topic which occupies, and will continue to occupy for a long time, the mind of Mussalmans to the exlusion of almost all other questions. The electors are sure to exercise their franchise in favour of candidates who have rendered the greatest service to Islam, in a matter that vitally affects its very existence as an important world power and universal brotherhood. The candidates should give an undertaking to their electorates that if the Turkish Treaty is not substantially modified in deference to the wishes of Indian Mussalmans they will as a protest refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown and sit as a member in the first meeting of the Council which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will open. I and my friends, whose number is legion, will support the candidature of those who have given, and are prepared to give, their best to the cause of Khilafat and Islam in preference to those who are disposed to equivocate in this matter of national life and death.

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Muhammad Daud Guznavi of Amristar has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter, dated the 22nd May, in which he outlines an improved scheme of propaganda for influencing the Punjab generally and the recruiting districts in that province in particular. The idea is an organised system of paid Caliphate preachers. A copy of this letter is attached.

Khilafat Propaganda.

Mohammad Daud Ghaznavi of Amritsar has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter, dated the 22nd May 1920. After describing as "salt on wounds" the Viceroy's message about the Peace terms he urges that the forthcoming Conference should be held after, not during, the Ramzan, and proceeds as follows :—

"Thirdly, I have to state that I put forward a proposal about the propagation and spread of the Khilafat movement which will have a very great effect on our special objects and which is more needed in the Punjab, especially in those districts. In the Province which took a prominent part in recruitment for the army during the war. This proposal has been devised after sufficient thought and consideration and in view of the conditions of the province, and it is hoped that you will pay attention to it and adapt useful and easy means to make it a success :

That paid preaches and propagandists should be employed in the Punjab generally, and in the particular districts especially as soon as possible. There should be three preachers for every district, i.e., one for every Tahsil, and one of whom will be the chief, and, besides working in his Tahsil, will supervise the work of others also. These workers in the districts will send their weekly or fortnightly reports to the office of the Central Committee or to someone in the Punjab the Committee so order. The pay of each preacher should be from thirty to fifty rupees. Both the upper and inferior employees of the army come to their homes on leave and this will be the best instrument of propagation among them. The large amount of expenditure on this should not frighten. This is one of the greatest objects. I will also try that the Khilafat Committee in each district relieve the Central Committee of the expenses. of these preachers as much as they can. It will be necessary to keep up this arrangement for one year at the most or even for six months. I hope you will very soon sanction this and inform me so that I might begin the work. This will help us on a very large scale and it will also prepare your community, and immediate action will be begun on the instructions received from your side. I want to go out in connection with my propaganda work. Kindly send me a reply very soon. I will be obliged. Further salaam."

Attitude of Ceylon.—To a communication from the Central Caliphate Committee, one S. L. Naina Marikar, Colombo, has replied that his country has no desire to join in the Caliphate or any other agitation against the British Government, to which all the Singalese are grateful.

Muhammad Ali wires to Chhotani that the best relief officer is the Turkish Governor of Smyrna, but that the majority of refugees are in Greek territory. He has sent a second reminder to Mr. Montagu regarding passports but has received no reply. Almost all the French papers criticise the Treaty and the Chamber and Senate are uniquely unanimous. The Government have asked that the interpellations may be postponed probably pressing England.

Abdul Bari is expected to pay a visit to Bombay immediately after the pressing England.

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At the instance of Abdul Bari the Central Caliphate Committee has recently interested itself in the sailings of pilgrim ships from Bombay. The occasion for this interest at this particular juncture is not known.

The attached translation of a letter from Abinash Chandra Sen Gupta is interesting in that this is the first instance on record during the present agitation of personal sacrifice by a Hindu for the Caliphate Cause .—

Date of censorship	Sender and date of letter	Addressee	Substance, extract, etc.
28th May 1920	Abinash Chandra Sen Gupta, 30, Dickenson Road, Bangalore, 25th May 1920.	Chhotani	Says : " I am a Bengali young man. I wish to work on behalf of the sacrod cause of Islam. Though a Hindu I will feel proud to sacrifice my life for Islam if necessary. So I resigned my post of Upper Subordinate Officer in the Survey of India Department on the 17th May last and I am quite free now. If you permit I may come to you. Fervently hope you will kindly allow me an opportunity to serve my country and religion." P. S.—Please do not publish it now.

(z) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 4th.*—The following is an extract from the *Times of India* of June 1st :—

Non-Co-operation.

Its impracticabilities.

Sir N. G. Chandavarkar's Advice

Bangalore, May 31.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was invited to the Khilafat Conference, which is to open at Allahabad on June 1, but he has wired to Mr. Chhotani, the President of the Khilafat Committee, as follows :—

" I regret my inability to attend the Conference, as the invitation was received too late. I would gladly support and join the movement for a united and reasoned and emphatic appeal to the Allies, the British in particular, pointing out that the Turkish Peace Terms are unjust and politically and religiously impolitic. Such an appeal, in my humble opinion, would, in the long run, succeed in strengthening the cause of Islam, especially because the opinion in Europe and America among the eminent statesmen is steadily growing that the Turkish Peace Treaty, as a whole, is unsatisfactory and requires revision.

" Therefore, I humbly and earnestly advise unresentful action and deprecate and disapprove measures of non-co-operation and the like as impracticable and inopportune and sure to fail, being opposed to general Indian sentiment and only calculated to result in discord, suffering, and loss, marring the cause.

" The British Government is bound by its interests to Islam more than the other Allied Powers ; therefore, we must secure its support by friendly action and not spoil the cause by resentful, impracticable movements. "

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(*f*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 4th.*—The following is an extract from the *Mahratta*, dated the 30th May 1920 :—

Non-co-operation ideas.

There are two ideas of non-co-operation in the field before the public. One has been started by Mahatma Gandhi as a protest against the humiliating Turkish Treaty, and the other is put forward by Mr. Pal as the logical outcome of his interpretation of the Amritsar Congress resolution. The two are distinct from each other and must not be confused by anybody. The first is primarily confined to Muhammadans, and is, according to Mahatma Gandhi's plan, to be worked out in four stages. There is a sharp difference of opinion among the leading Muhammadans themselves as to the utility and expediency of it, and until and unless our Moslem brothers agree upon rejecting or accepting it, their Hindu brothers cannot follow them consistently. The resignations of the members of the Khilafat Committee, the open opposition of the leaders like Mr. Bhurgri and others, and the absence of any striking response from the Moslem public, have made the problem a hopless tangle, and it is therefore absolutely necessary that some definite conclusion should be arrived at. Until that happens this non-co-operation scheme will lack vigour and sternness. We cannot think that men of sterling patriotism and flaming religious fervour like Mr. Bhurgri are like invertebrate Moderates or loyalists who pretend to frown upon Government sometimes. And a movement which lacks support of such men cannot therefore be expected to be a success.

S. B., Sind,Karachi, May 0th.—The following is taken from the *New Times* of the 7th May:—

Sind Madressah Old Boys' Dinner : Abandonment of on account of the Khilafat question.

Sind Madressah Old Boys' Dinner.

(To the Editor of the *New Times.*)

Sir,—I have read in your paper an extract from the *Al Haq* strongly objecting to the holding of the Sind Madressah Old Boys' Association Annual Dinner in these days when the whole Islamic world is in mourning. I have also received letters to that effect from Mr. Taj Muhammad, Editor of the *Al Haq*, Mr. Akhmud Rasoolbux, Private Secretary to Pir Sahib Pagaro, a Kingri, and several other friends, asking me, as a member of the Standing Committee, to get the dinner cancelled. With a view to respect popular opinion, I have now written to the Secretary to cancel the dinner and to hold only the Annual Meeting where accounts and reports should be passed and new elections of officers made. The Secretary is circulating my letters, along with the enclosures, among the members of the Association to ascertain their opinion. I hope all members will agree with me and cancel the dinner ; otherwise, I am afraid, our Association will be boycotted by many useful and energetic persons.

Kazi Abdul Rahman,
Editor, *Al Wahid.*

The mention of Akhmud Rassoolbux as Private Secretary to the Pir of Kingri is significant. This is presumably the tutor to the son of the Pir whose participation in the Caliphate agitation has already been commented on. The association of such a man with the Pir of Kingri, whether as his private Secretary or otherwise, is ill-omened.

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Khilafat Agitation in India.

(*a*) *S. B., Central Provinces. From Abstract, dated May 8th. S. B., C. P., May 3rd.*—The following note on the Khilafat agitation prepared by the Director, Criminal Intelligence, is published for general information :—

The bearing of the Khilafat agitation.—It is now months since a telegram from England warned the Muhammadans of India that peace with Turkey was imminent and its terms likely to be severe. This was the origin of a movement which has combined two currents of thought, one moderate and religious, the other seditious and revolutionary, and proceeded by a series of climax to a point from which it is possible to jockey all Muhammadans, loyal and far-seeing ones as well as the mob, into a position of such constraint that many of the former will be swept away if the tide of religious feeling rises high enough. Whether one regards the agitation as one more added to the disturbing element of Indian life, or whether, more truely, one regards it as the complement of all these other elements linking them together and giving to them a fire of unreasoning reality, one must take it seriously. In this note it is not proposed to do more than sketch the outlines of the agitation in order to bring into relief the reality of it; nor are copious quotations from speeches given, only an attempt is made to show the development of the arguments used by the speakers.

The first telegram from England led to the first Khilafat Committee in Bombay. This was a moderate body presided over by Chhotani. It was eagerly supported by a number of keen young politicians and must undoubtedly have appealed to a very large body of moderate Muslim opinion. Its activities were somewhat sluggish until stimulated by the younger men, who in several places seem to have chafed under the control of their elders. These men spread the agitation as widely as possible before the first climax was reached. This climax was the boycott of the Peace Celebrations on the ground that the Government was crying peace where there was no peace. By this time prominent Hindu Politicians had been drawn into the movement in the name of the Hindu-Moslem Entente—Mr. Gandhi seems to have raised the boycott project; at least he gave it his approval, and in many places such success as it attained was due to the activity of local Hindu politicians. But the time for organization had not been sufficient and the boycott was not a sensational success, though in most places it caused a serious curtailment of the programme of celebrations, and gave great prominence to the Khilafat question throughout India. So far in pose at least the agitation had not been seditious. It pretended to strengthen the hands of the sympathetic Indian Government in pressing the Indian Moslem view on the Peace Conference. It was claimed several times then and since that the Indian Government favoured, if it did not openly approve, the agitation.

The second current of thought was loosed by the Amnesty, which released from internment the Ali Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad and others whose Pan-Islamic cast of mind had long been directly opposed to the British Indian Government. They at once joined the fanatics of the old agitation, men like the Maulvis of the Feringhi Mahal, and found followers in the younger men who had chafed at the restraint of the first moderate leaders. The first signs of the coming storm were seen in the receptions given to the Ali Brothers on their journey from Betul to Amritsar to take part in the Congress

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and Muslim League meetings. These meetings gave the Pan-Islamists an opportunity to link themselves with the Hindu extremists, to join in torrents of vilification of Government, and to make a bold bid for general Hindu support by causing the Muslim League to make a public renunciation of cow sacrifice. Sure of support the Pan-Islamists then began extended tours in which they indulged in much violent speaking. This culminated in the Calcutta Conference which gave practical expression to the doctrine of contingent disloyalty and placed in violent terms the Christian Moslem issue before the country. This Conference, and particularly Abdul Bari's speech which was almost a declaration of *jehad* and spoke of soaking Christians in kerosine and burning them alive, provoked a reaction. The moderates of Bombay became alarmed. But they were muzzled at once by the threat of the Calcutta Conference to take the complete direction of affairs in their own hands and by the warning that would ruin the cause of Islam by disunion. The only result was that Abdul Bari was not allowed to make more public speeches, possibly on the ground that his speeches revealed too much.

The Calcutta Conference, among its other extravagances, had ordained a definite and immediate object of effort in the shape of a second climax, the Hartal of March 19th. This date was apparently selected because the announcement of the Turkish Peace Terms was expected immediately after it. Nothing was spared to make this Hartal a success and to prevent any explosion of violence. Agitation was no longer confined to large centres of population, but was carried almost to every district. Conferences were held and district committees formed. And the good work was assisted, as it had been assisted all along, by the fragmentary news wired by Reuter concerning the designs of the Allies towards Turkey and the feeling aroused against her in England. The opportunity was too good to lose; while the leaders acquitted themselves with energy their efforts were almost eclipsed by those of a crowd of Moslem agitators whose eloquence, together with that of their Hindu Extremist allies, all bore in the single direction of dissolving every bond of loyalty between Government and its servants and subjects. Most of the speeches delivered prior to March 19th had a strong family likeness; in a few cases similar terms of abuse were employed simultaneously in widely distant places. Space does not allow any summary of speeches: a summary of arguments is alone possible.

That the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalif of Islam and that any interference with the Sultan was an attack on religion were by this time accepted as truism, whatever their historical accuracy. When the Pan-Islamists seized the direction of affairs the demands that all the Moslem Holy Places should be in the wardenship of the Khalif, that the integrity of the Turkish Empire should remain in tact as it stood before the war, had been added. The British Premier's pledges too had been freely quoted. But a feverish fertility of invention marked the preparations for the Hartal. It was declared by speaker after speaker that Turkey alone of the late belligerents had been marked out for spoliation of territory; that the late war had been in truth a crusade; and that those who had fought against the Khalif and died were Kafirs, and those who had survived should be excommunicated, as well as those who should in future take service in the Army under the British Government or should contribute to its loans. It was argued that Britain alone was anxious to destroy Turkey while the other Allies would

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spare her, that Britain had drowned her pledges and her sense of justice to her Moslem subjects in a wave of Christian bigotry. Islam was dead and her funeral being prepared vengeance also remained to her followers. Christians and Englishmen were anathema. The great final argument, crowing racial and religious rancour was that of contingent disloyalty, that if the Turkish question were not settled consonantly with the wishes of Mussalmans. It would be their duty to act, as it was variously expressed, in accordance with the dictates of their religion or by severing all connections of loyalty with the British Government. In effect, the agitation was transformed under the guise of religion into a political movement against the British Indian Government, which was probably the staunchest friend left to Turkey. This political character was clearly seen by the attempts made in various parts of India to connect the agitation with other forms of unrest, economic and purely political.

March 19th, whether the *Hartal* was intended to advertise the agitation or, as seems more likely, to measure the amount of support on which the leaders could rely, was a great success. Though prayer and fasting was not conspicious, cessation of business, both Hindu and Muhammadan, was fairly complete. Meetings were generally held in India and Burma; the disloyalty resolution of the Calcutta Conference was passed with only more or less modification in some places, the modifications being due generally to Hindu timidity. The cessation did not include Government servants because Government issued a warning to its servants beforehand; nor mill workers, nor coolies, because the agitators wished to avoid violence.

Such was the second climax, an immense advance on the first and testifying by its success to the superior effectiveness of the methods adopted by the enemies of Government. In describing these methods I have dealt only with the leaders who have shown that they will stick at nothing. In every agitation there are the agitated as well as the agitators. Of the latter many are desperate men; of the former it is more difficult to judge. So far only one Province has attempted to review results, and that the United Provinces, regards the masses, who have heard the speeches described as excited but not desperate. But everywhere the agitators have addressed enormous meetings of thousand of men who have received their most extravagant fights with applause. A feature of many meetings have been interruptions by men who said in effect: 'Enough of words, it is time for deeds' and who left little doubt as to the deeds they contemplated.

Besides the open agitation described there must have been work underground of which there have been signs in the circulation of seditious literature. Since, the *Hartal* there has been more secrecy; secret meetings of leaders, secret propaganda, and, it is reported, secret organization. The Khilafat question is being kept in the forefront of the National week inaugurated by Gandhi, and a pronouncement of policy has been promised. Whether Gandhi's announcement of progressive boycott, and the Delhi meeting's endorsement of *Swadeshi,* is that pronouncement cannot now be said exactly. Apparently the fires are to be banked by some kind of definite anti-Government programme until an occasion arises which requires them to be fanned.

Note.—Will all Superintendents of Police please note ?

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(*b*) *Upper Sind Frontier, May 20th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "The headmen of all the sections of the Khosa tribe resident in this district, with their Sardar, Khan Bahadur Hazai Khan, waited upon me two days ago, and expressed their regret that two zamindars of their tribe should have publicly announced their refusal to pay their land revenue, and their intention to bring pressure on these men to see reason before it is too late. The Sardar expressed the full determination of himself and his tribe to assist Government in the maintenance of law and order. I replied that I had every confidence in their sincerity and loyalty."

(*c*) *Nawabshah, June 1st.*—The District Magistrate writes : "It is interesting to note that Najmudin has practically sent word through a friend of his that he would abstain from agitation now if Government gave him some honour e.g., Honorary Magistrateship, but the man is of too despicable a character to be thus honoured. His importance lies in his influence over K. S. Muhammad Ali Shah."

(*d*) *Thar and Parkar, June 3rd.*—The Sub-Inspector, Phulahdiun, reports that the people in general of his police station area, and especially those who attended the recent meeting at Dhoro Naro, appear to be considerably affected by the doctrines preached at the meeting. He also reports that Makhan Fakir Lund, Mir Abdulla Khan, Haji Shadman Mari and Haji Shahdad Shar are carrying on the agitation in the villages and keeping the people up to the principles of non-co-operation.

The District Magistrate remarks : "The status of the Zamindars mentioned is under enquiry. The Makhdam of Multan Khan Bahadur Hasan Bakhsh Koreshi, saw me this morning. He told me he had warned his followers neither to attend Caliphate meetings nor to contribute to Caliphate funds"

(*e*) *Larkana, June 4th.*—The District Magistrate writes : "Jan Mahomed Junejo, who moved the resolution to sever all connection with the Government at the fifth Caliphate Conference at Jacobabad, has since the meeting, paid up the greater part of the assessment and promised to pay the rest in spite of the oath he took in public and without alluding to it. I learn that he had also paid up his arrears to the Law Library."

(*f*) *Sukkur, June 5th.*—Khilafat meeting was held on the 23rd May in Sukkur. The audience numbered about 200.

Abdul Satar Adam Memon, Sukkur, was chosen president. In effect he said that by the peace treaty with Turkey, the Holy Places of Islam had been taken from the Turks, and a *Khalifa* without the Holy Places was not a *Khalifa*.

Dr. Mahomed Yamin, Local dentist, said they had met together to consider the Viceroy's message. The Prime Minister had broken his promise that Turkey should not be broken up. Moreover the Sheik-ul-Islam had been deported. However, he hoped that, in spite of their feelings in the matter, they would bear it with courage and silence. But God had commanded in the *Quran* that Arabia was for Muhammadans alone, and any other nation taking it should be driven out and destroyed, so now was the time for them to show they were true Mussalmans. They should obey the commands of God.

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Taj Mahomed of the *Al Haq* said that all their meetings, petitions, etc., during the last 12 months had been of no avail. When His Excellency himself thought the conditions hard, it was not to be wondered at that they should want to show their feelings like this. They would do anything Government asked them except betray their religion. Therefore, they could not accept the Peace Terms. The Khalifa was no longer entitled to be called *"Khadm-ul-Harman"* (Protector of the Holy places). It had been suggested that the Sherif of Mecca should be Khalifa, but this was impossible. He then expounded the principal peace terms, and put the Resolution, shortly, that the peace terms with Turkey violated the Muhammadan religion. This resolution was passed *nem. con.*

Mulla Yar Mahomed said they had been wasting time approaching the Viceroy and George (?). George was not God. Everything was in God's hands, not George's. George should remember the time during the late war, when he was looking for a place to hide (?). He was responsible for all the trouble which had come to the Sultan. What right had other nations to decide about Turkey? It were better for George and His Excellency that they should not meddle in such matters. The English were blind fools. The railway strike was in the right direction. The members of Council took very good care that they were well paid.

The District Magistrate notes.—"Apparently means Mr. Lloyd George."

Amanulla, son of Edan, Mulla of Shikarpur, said English Justice did not exist. The English were always saying the Turks were cruel, but never advanced any proof for the statement. It was the English who were cruel, as witness the massacre at Jhallianwalla Bagh, by the orders of *"Nimak Haram"* General Dyer. He proposed *Hijrat*. "The English had first come to fetch the coal, and had now become the cooks in the kitchen". It was up to Muhammadans to sacrifice their lives, property, etc., in the cause. Ramchand, son of Virumal, Sukkur, said he thought the rule of the *"Napak"* (unclean) English would not last longer than five or ten years now. His speech consisted chiefly of abuse, the words *"Napak"* and *"Badmash"*, applied to the English, being frequently used.

The ususal appeal for funds was made.

(*g*) *Sukkur, May 19th.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The only Zamindar in this district who has hitherto announced his intention of resigning an honour has made to me a complete apology and recantation. Apparently he was put up to it by other persons at the Jacobabad meeting, and did it in the excitement of the moment, with no intention, as he says, of making good his words.

"This is a type of all such testifications: the only people who make a good their words are those who are actually intimidated. No movement was ever less voluntary.

"A meeting was held in Sukkur on the 23rd instant at which Ramchand, a son of Virumal Begraj, repeatedly spoke of the English as 'unholy' and as 'Badmashes'. I am considering the strength of the evidence, with a view to prosecution under section 153-A, Indian Penal Code."

(*h*) *Sind C.I.D., May 31st.*—It is reported that Mullan Mahomed Ismail Khoso of village Karimbux Khoso, district Jacobabad (Sind), and one Ali

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Hussain Rind of Ratodero, district Larkana are secret agents of Maulvi Taj Mahomed of Amrote and Jan Mahomed Junejo of Larkana and that they are trying to induce the tribesmen of the Upper Sind Frontier District as far as the Baluchistan Border to do *hijrat*.

(*i*) *Sind C.I.D., June 2nd.*—An officer of this Department reports that Najmudin Insari of Naushahro Feroze has succeeded in dissuading Muhammadan students from the study of English in the village of Pat, Larkana District.

It is also reported that Moulvi Makhdum Muhammad Saleh, Khudadad Junejo and Molada Junejo of Pat are advising Government servants to resign their posts ; but Kazi Ahmed of Pat is against this movement. Hence, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Editor *Al-Wahid*, calls him *Kazi Ahmak* (Foolish Kazi). They also attempt to impress upon the minds of Hajis that as the Holy Places are in the hands of *Kaffirs*, the haj is not acceptable to God.

Haji Fazalshah and Lal Baksh of village Bhang, district Larkana, spread the same doctrine.

It is also said that Pir Turabali Shah of Kambar is in favour of using violence if constitutional methods fail to annul the Peace Terms, and he and his party hail Bolshevik successes.

(*j*) *S. B., Sind, Karachi, June 7th.*—As regards the resignation of Ghulam Muhammad Bhurgri from the Bombay Legislative Council, Shaikh Abdul Majid writes in the *Al Amin* of the 31st May as follows :—

> "The Muhammadans may have derived a certain amount of pleasure from the fact that Mr. Bhurgri resigned his seat on the Governor's Council, but they are equally displeased at this resignation of the Central Caliphate Committee. We hope, therefore, that Mr. Bhurgri, who has taken part in the Caliphate question both in India and England, will reconsider his action and withdraw his resignation. Although the *Al Amin* belongs to Mr. Bhurgri, it has continually expressed the true feelings of Muslims, and I should be lacking in my duty were I not to inform the public of the feelings about his resignation."

It is reported that the Caliphate agitators consider Bhurgri as a man with a crooked policy.

(*k*) *Karachi, June 7th.*—Moulvi Fazal Mahomed Sheikh of Naushahro Feroz, Nawabshah District, arrived in Tatta on the 29th Ultimo and put up with Muhammad Rajib, Shafiani. He delivered *vaaz* in two mosques and told the audience that the Holy Places are in danger and in the hands of foreigners. He admonished the assembly by referring to the *Koran* and advised them to form a Caliphate Committee at Tatta. Batchu, brother of Muhammad Rajib, had wired to Pir Raza Gulam Muhammad of Matiari to attend but he did not arrive. The people are depressed owing to the speech of the Moulvi.

A Caliphate Conference will be held at Jhimpir this month. Pirs, Moulvis and other big men will attend. The expenses will be borne by Malik Sobdar Khan. Moulvi Muhammad Hassan Hafiz Abdul Alim, Muhammad Rajib and Saiyid Muhammad Zaman of Tatta are keen on the Caliphate movement. The last has written some verses to arouse interest in the Caliphate agitation.

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(*l*) *Ahmedabad, June 6th.*—A moulvi named Abdulla Jaffarmia Lath of Atarasumba, Baroda State, came here at the end of May. On the 3rd instant he addressed a gathering of about 200 Muhammadans near the Pankor Naka. He indulged in strong language and spoke in an excited manner, but requested them to be calm and peaceful. If Government did not hear them, they should prepare for hijrat. He said that a batch of 25,000 people had left India, another batch of 14,000 had also done so, while a third batch of 25,000 from Sind had not been allowed to leave the country.

(*m*) *Surat, May 24th.*—Wahidudin Rajudin arrived here on the 13th instant and Alaudin Shaik Abdul Samad arrived on the 16th. The former deals in medicines and did not seem to take part in politics. The latter deals in tooth-powder and also had in his possession about twelve copies of an Urdu book entitled "Farida Islam". He did not sell any copies of the book here so far as we know. The former left for Bulsar on the 23rd instant and the latter for Bombay on the 20th.

(*n*) *Nawabshah, June 1st.*—The Turkish Peace Terms have not been favourably received. The bulk of the rural Muhammadan population are not very much interested in the details of the terms, but the generality of the literate Muhammadan Zamindars, who form their opinions on the views expressed in the Varnacular press and on those of their Moulvis, are dissatisfied with the broad fact that the custody and control of the Sacred Places have passed out of the hands of the Sultan and all their hue and cry on behalf of Turkey have not been productive of any good results.

The District Magistrate remarks : "Unless something very unexpected happens, the Caliphate agitation in this district has, to my mind, passed through the acute stage. The Zamindars, at first carried away by violent oratory, have had time for reflection, and, with a few exceptions, have decided that nothing can be gained by violence. The Peace Terms have not roused any interest ; indeed, the agitation never had any foundation on facts. The Zamindars have been disgusted by (1) some advice to haris to resist their Zamindars, (2) by vulgar and intemperate language used by some speakers, e.g., Parial Shah and Abdul Aziz, and (3) the obvious insincerity of most of the eloquent Moulvis, etc., who are not prepared themselves to suffer any loss or even discomfort for "the cause". They realise that the Sultan of Turkey can gain nothing, while they themselves have everything to lose by non-co-operation. Consequently, I do not anticipate any recrudescence of agitation on a large scale in this district. Of course, in the cultivation season, meetings of cultivators could never be a success.".

(*o*) *Karachi, June 5th.*—The Turkish Peace Terms and the Government of India's statement have caused disappointment to those Moslems interested in the fate of Turkey, but there is no excitement apparent. The Caliphate leaders have gone to attend the Conference at Allahabad, and their return is anxiously awaited by Moslem and Hindu agitators.

(*p*) *Kathiawar Agency, June 1st.*—The Superintendent of Police reports : "All Chief Constables report that there are no discussions in their Stations over the Turkish Peace Terms or regarding the Viceroy's statement. Muhammadans in Kathiawar are not sufficiently educated to become agitators.".

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(*q*) *Kaira, June 1st.*—Small groups of men have been noticed in Nanded studying the Turkish Peace Terms and the Viceroy's message; these are discussed, and the general opinion is not favourable to either, though the criticism is not violently expressed.

(*r*) *Nashik, June 7th.*—The Turkish Peace Terms have, as far as I can ascertain, caused no discussion—adverse or favourable. No interest seems to have been taken therein.

(*s*) *Bijapur, June 7th.*—Nothing noteworthy has occurred to mark the attitude of the people towards the Turkish Peace Terms.

(*t*) *Ratnagiri, June 7th.*—The attitude of the general public is against the terms of peace with Turkey and the statement of the Government of India, although no demonstrations have yet been made anywhere.

(*u*) *Kanara, June 7th.*—At Karwar and Haliyal the public is of opinion that Turkey has not been properly treated by the Peace Conference and no value is attached to the statement published by the Government of India.

In the rest of the district the people are indifferent.

(*v*) *Karachi, June 7th.*—The *Al Wahid* of the 5th instant publishes the message of the Amir to those Indians who wish to leave India and settle in Afghanistan. He promises them grants of land, etc.

(*w*) *Larkana, June 1st.*—The local Khilafat Committee have opened a "Muhajrin" office in Larkana Town.

(*x*) *Ahmedabad, June 3rd.*—Hijrat posters were pasted up in different parts of the city on the 27th May.

(*y*) *Panch Mahals, June 4th.*—Leaflets printed in Urdu were found pasted up at different places in Godhra Town, in which Muhammadans were entreated strictly to observe the fast during the Ramzan, and whatever money they saved thereby should be given to the cause of the *Khalifa*.

Outwardly there appears to be practically no change in the attitude of the local Muhammadans in connection with the Turkish Peace Terms, neither is the question much discussed.

(*z*) *S. B., Sind Karachi, May 31st.*—An officer of the Sind C.I.D. reports that he was informed by Dr. Yamin that a Khilafat Committee has been formed at Kerbella. The Kerbella Committee asked the Bombay Committee to supply them with funds, which they did, and which funds have been seized by Government. This fact ought to be considered by the Shiahs and they should hurry on with their agitation.

(*l*) *Bombay, June 7th.*—Chhotani has received from Zakupy Reichstaft, which appears to be in Czechoslovakia, notices, of which a specimen is attached, with a request that he will transmit them to prisoners of war in eight camps in Central Asia. It should be noted in this connection that Chhotani's Manager, Schmidt, was formerly an Austrian prisoner of war, interned at Belgaum. He was recently released on his establishing to the satisfaction of the Government of India his Czecho-Slovak nationality and is now negotiating a business connection with William Fuhrhop, a German prisoner of war, who sailed for Europe this morning (*vide* translation of

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a letter attached). Another fact to be noted is that Chhotani has recently been making enquiries from the International Banking Corporation about the Zion-Osteinska Bank of Prague.

Reichaserganisation.

Heimbeferderung der Kriegagefangenen
in Reichstadt.

Reichstadt, a m 22nd April 1920.

Herrn
M. Chhotani
in
Bombay.

Wire bestatigan Ihnen dan kend den Empfang Ihrer werten Zuschriff vom. 20./III 1920 und anerkennen Ihre Hilsberreitschaft fur unsere humanen Bestrebungen.

Mit gleicher Post senden qir Ihnen einige Pakete Kriegagefangen Korrespondenz und eruchen holichst, dieselbe nach Turkestan zu vermitteln. Wire haben den wesentlichen Inhalt Ihrer gesch. Zuzchirft einigen interessierten hiesigen Geschaftshausern vermittelt und durfzen sich dieselben binnen Murze direktmit Thnen ins Einvernehmen setsen.

In der angenehmen Erwartung Threr sehr gesch, Ruckausserung Zeichnet.

hochachtungabell
f. d.

Arbeltsausschue Z. Heimbeforderung
der Kriegagefangenen.
mit d. Sitze in Reichastaft.

(*Translation*).

Messrs. Chhotani,

254, 260, Dontad Street, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your favour, dated the 20th March 1920, and for the readiness to help in our humanity endeavours.

By the same mail we beg to forward a packet of letters addressed to prisoners of war in the provinces of Turkestan and Bokhara and request you to send them on.

We have informed some firms here who may take interest in the contents of your letter and believe that they will get in touch with you very soon.

Looking forward to hear from you soon, we are

Yours sincerely,
Arbeltsausschue z., etc.

Maulana Mahmud Hassan, the released deportee, with three other fellow internees, reached Bombay yesterday. He landed this morning and was taken by the Caliphate Volunteers in procession to the Central Caliphate

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Office. The procession was an impromptu and unimportant affair in spite of handbills issued by Shaukat Ali calling on Muslims to take part in it.

Kidwai left for England on the 8th June by the *S. S. Cap. Polonio,* Fazlal Haq is expected to sail next week. Yakub Hassan of Madras and Gandhi are both in Bombay, and Abdul Bari arrives today. With Kidwai on the Cap. Polonio also goes the Honourable Mr. Muhammadbhoy Hajeebhoy, who at the last moment withdrew his rasignation from the Central Caliphate Committee. The reasons for this step are not stated in the letter announcing it.

Muhammad Ali has recently been communicating with Shaukat Ali through Amna, Moradabad.

Shaukat Ali has wired to Mrs. Besant as follows :—

" Kindly cable England and Europe for helping Muhammad Ali. Have cabled your order to Muhammad Ali. Success expected. ".

(*II*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 9th.*—Extract from the *Kesari,* dated 8th June.—Hindu-Moslem Unity.—K. S. Thatte, Secretary of the Chiplun Branch, Home Rule League, and Patwardhan of the Satyagraha Ashram went to Dabhol and held a meeting of Hindus and Muhuammadans. It was there resolved with the voice and heart on the part of the Muhammadans to stop cow slaughter by the community or individuals and on the part of the Hindus to stop to-toming near Musjids. A Panchayat consisting of prominent Hindu and Moslem leaders was also appointed to settle any disputes that may arise in the execution of the resolutions. These resolutions were forwarded to all the District officers.

(*III*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 11th.*—The following is an extract from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 9th June 1920 :—

NON-CO-OPERATION

Moslems Should Decide First

Mr. TILAK'S VIEWS

Mr. B. G. Tilak, who arrived in Bombay from Benares after the All-India Congress Committee's meeting, was interviewed by a representative of the *Chronicle* yesterday. Our representative, broaching the subject of non-co-operation, asked :

What are your views Mr. Tilak, on the question of non-co-operation ?

Mr. Tilak.—We have deferred the matter for the consideration of the Special Congress. There are no differences of opinion about the policy of non-co-operation, but only as regards the practical methods.

O.—Have you read Mr. Jamnadas's letter in the *Chronicle* of today ? (Non-co-operation : A cry for Halt. In *Bombay Chronicle* of 8th June).

A.—I have read it partially and not thoroughly.

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Q.—As you know, Mr. Jamnadas says that many of the leaders have preferred to keep silence on this matter, instead of speaking out their minds, one way or the other.

A.—It is for this reason we have called a special meeting of the Congress, and it will meet to discuss that question especially. One or two other questions might be taken up, but it is for this question that the special Congress meeting has been called.

Hunter Committee's Report

Q.—What is your opinion, Mr. Tilak, on the Hunter Committee's report ?

A.—So far as the Government of India is concerned, the matter is practically closed ; there are those two despatches of the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy. Now there will be a debate in the House of Commons, and we have to represent the Congress opinion in that debate. We have telegraphed to Mr. Patel to put the opinion of the Congress Committee before the House of Commons and the British public.

Q.—Is the Congress going to undertake on its own account any action against the culprits ?

A.—The Congress is not going itself to take any action against these men ; it is for the Government to do so.

Coming finally to the telegram to Mr. Patel, Mr. Tilak said the Committee have rejected the view of the (Congress) Sub-Committee that no action should be taken against the Punjab Culprits.

The Committee have authorised Mr. Patel and the British Congress to take all steps in the matter with a view to giving effect to their views in the matter.

Q.—May I know the reason for your not attending the Allahabad Khilafat Conference ? Was there any special reason.

A.—My idea is that the Muhammadans themselves should take the initiative in the matter. After full discussion they must come to a definite decision in the matter, and it is for the Hindus to support them in whatever decision they might arrive at. But it is for the Muhammadans to come to a final decision first. I have already sent a telegram to the Khilafat Conference from Benares to that effect—that I am prepared to support them in their decision.

Khilafat Agitation.

(*a*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 19th.*—Government have, with effect from the 9th June, suspended the pension of Abdul Ghafur, a retired Accountant, for grave misconduct

(*b*) *Upper Sind Frontier, June 7th.*—A mad mulla was sent as an emissary by Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrot to Hyat Khan Rind who at the Jacobabad Conference announced his intention of resigning his honours, etc.—and that he came to the village of K. S. Syed Khan Rind and cursed the latter and his mulla. He called Syed Khan a Jew who was going against his own religion and carrying tales to Government. He then beat his breast and face and said that the Holy Places had been taken possession of and polluted by the British. The local Mulla assured him that he was leaving the village as soon as possible and got him out of the way before Syed Khan arrived.

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The name of the mulla is reported to be Jam of Amrote.

Hyat Khan is on bad terms with his uncle Syed Khan, who has earned much abuse for his loyalty and prompt punishment of one of his haris who attended a Caliphate meeting.

It is a pity that K. S. Syed Khan was not present to deal with this impertinent Moulvi who bearded him in his own village having probably ascertained beforehand that he was absent.

Hyat Khan Rind has apparently definitely thrown in his lot with the agitators. He is said to have attended a Caliphate meeting at Hyderabad on the 23rd May, and to have asked that a Conference should be held in his own village in Kandkot taluka, which is most inaccessible.

The Bugti Nawab has strictly warned all the members of his *tuman* by a circular against attending any anti-British meeting and that disobedience will result in severe punishment.

The following villages are so very badly infected that they are still called Ghazi's villages :—

(1) Muhammad Amin Khoso	...	... 25 inhabitants.
(2) Nur Muhammad Khoso	...	... 25 inhabitants.
(3) Abdulla Khan Khoso	...	.. 50 inhabitants.
(4) M. Sirajuddin Khoso	...	... 15 inhabitants.
(5) Fateh Mh. Khan Khoso	...	.. 250 inhabitants.
(6) Taj Mh. Hejwani Bugti	...	... 25 inhabitants.

and contagion has spread all round. But the loyalty of K. S. Syed Khan Rind, the suitable action taken against Hyat Khan Rind and others, and the exercise of authority over his tribe by the Nawab of Bugti, have saved the situation, which is now well in hand.

The proposed Caliphate Conference at the village of Hyat Khan Rind was postponed to the end of the month on account of the Allahabad Conference. But my Sub-Inspector now reports that he learns from both K. S. Syed Khan and from Hyat Khan himself that the letter has seen the error of his ways. Hyat Khan said that no conference would be held at his village and he had informed Moulvi Taj Muhammad accordingly.

I am informed that K. S. Syed Khan and Hyat Khan are descendants of the Rinds who were turned out of the Rind country and were granted an asylum by the Bugti Nawab. They, therefore, belonged to the Bugti Nawab's Raj and as, moreover, they possess land in the Bugti country, the Nawab has authority over them. This authority he has been exercising, and it can reasonably be hoped that Hyat Khan will now retire into his former obscurity.

(*c*) *Upper Sind Frontier, June 7th.*—An individual, who said he was a Doctor, came from Sind or the Punjab to Dero Bugti and put up in the Otak of the Nawab Mehrab Khan. The Nawab, however, turned him out of his country and he is said to have gone to Kahan, the Marri capital.

He may be a Bolshevik emissary or a Caliphate agitator.

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Nawab Mehrab Khan also informed me that he was unable to find out anything about the "Doctor" whom he turned out of his country. He thought he might be (1) a Poly Spy or (2) a Bolshevik or Caliphate emissary ; in any case he ordered his tribesmen not to listen to anything the man might say.

(*d*) *Belgaum, June 14th.*—The undercurrent of public opinion (Muhammadan) is unfavourable to the Turkish Peace Terms.

(*e*) *Larkana, June 8th.*—On the 6th June, at about 10 p.m., Jan Muhammad Junejo, announced by means of beat of drum in the village of Dhamrah, his native place, that he would receive at his house on the 7th morning those people who were desirous of emigrating from India. On the morning of the 7th June about 30 men, Dhamrahas and Junejos, assembled at his house. He told them that a married man would get 8 *jirebs* of agricultural land and a house and an unmarried man 6 *jirebs* and a house in Afghanistan. He further told the men that their property in Sind would remain intact. About 8 men expressed their desire to emigrate subject to the condition that Wadero Sahibkhan Junejo, an uncle of Jan Muhammad and the Collector's Darbari, would lead. Jan Muhammad went to Sahibkhan and had a discussion with him which became rather heated. Sahibkhan is still persisting in his refusal to emigrate. Jan Muhammad Junejo has invited Moulvi Taj Muhammad of Amrote to his village evidently with the object of reinforcing his own efforts, which are failing. The Moulvi is expected to deliver a sermon at Dhamrah on the 11th instant after Friday prayers.

(*f*) *Karachi June 9th.*—It is reported that the Caliphate agitators will begin a vigorous campaign by speeches in mosques on Friday next. It is rumoured that a Memon, probably Haji Abdulla Haroon, is trying to induce some men to go on *hijrat* from Karachi and is offering money.

(*g*) *Karachi, June 9th.*—The District Magistrate writes :—"The Deputy Collector, Tatta, reports as below :—'On the 29th of May came here (Tatta) one Moulvi Fazul Mahomed Sheikh of Naushahro Feroze in the Nawabshah District. The Moulvi has given two sermons on two days, 30th and 31st May, in which he has drawn attention to the following points, quoting in his support verses from the *Koran* :—

(1) That the sacred places of Mussalmans which are now in the possession of the British Government should not be in the possession of non-Moslems, and for this purpose he advises the formation of a Khilafat Committee and union of all sections of the community.

(2) That our religion requires it to make a crusade, but we have not the power to do so, and the only other alternative is to make a common cause and to pray for the success of the Islam.

(3) That no *rasai* whatever be made of any Government servant since that is forbidden by Government.

(4) That the leaders should advise the ignorant not to do any such deeds as might give occasion to Government officials to oppress them."

"I may mention that Mahomed Rajib Shafiani, memon of Tatta, is the person responsible for inviting the Pirs, Moulvis and others to Tatta in this connection. No Khilafat Committee has as yet been constitutionally formed.The fact is that Bachu, the brother of Mahomed Rajib, has wired

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to Pir Mian Agha Ghulam Majid, Barahdi of Matiari, in Hala taluka, to come to Tatta and no reply has yet been received from him. Moulvi Mahomed Hussain Hafiz Abdulalim and Sayad Mahomed Zaman Shah are associated with Moulvi Fazul Ahmed in this affair."

The Deputy Collector, Shahbunder, writes as follows :—

"Haji Abdullah Haroon who had been to Allahabad to attend the Khilafat Conference was returning to Karachi by Quetta mail the day before yesterday. I travelled with him from Jungshahi to Karachi in the same carriage and heard him say that the Khilafat Conference had passed a resolution of non-co-operation. The Conference was attended by all the Hindu and Muhammadan extremists, including Abdul Bari and Gandhi. He said now the Congress leaders will hold their meeting and will decide as the Khilafat Conference has done. Then the local Committees will start their work of carrying out the policy dictated to them from the Central Committee. They will begin slowly at first, making Honorary Magistrates, title holders and others to resign, till their movement is well spread, when it will work more quickly and effectively.

"The meeting fixed at Mirpur Bathoro for 27th of the last and another after it at Bailo, as reported, have both failed. All is quiet everywhere throughout the Sub-division.

The proposed meetings at Choohar Jamali arranged by Dr. Akbar and Moulvi Fatahali Jatoi have been cancelled. The malevolent agitators will find formidable opposition from Rais Khair Muhammadkhan, Khalifo Haji Muhammad and other loyal zamindars, who thoroughly understand that the aim of agitation is no other than to foster unrest and anarchy."

"I have just had a long and interesting interview with Moulvi Haji Fatahali Jatoi who was reported to be a chief Khilafat agitator in the Shahbunder taluka and with whose help Akbar had fixed his money making meeting here. The reason which Moulvi Fatahali gave for his call was that he had heard that I was a good Mussalman and a just '*hakim*' whom he thought necessary to see. Fatahali is undersized, fierce looking with thick, bristling, long dyed beard and glistening eyes. He wears a long flowing shirt of his Baluch race. Talking about decay of religion among people I casually impressed him that the change was largely due to the neglect of duty on the part of the Moulvis themselves. Their place was inside the mosque. Instead of their legitimate, sound and solid work of teaching and preaching religion and keeping people happy and at peace they had taken to politics, of which they were ignorant, and whereby unintentionally they were doing damage to Muhammadans and their interests. I then let him alone for a while to ponder and to draw his own conclusions. He suddenly burst out reciting Arabic and Persian quotations and said he is now sure that the course adopted by the agitators is misleading and the money raised through them (the Moulvis) was really being diverted by the political agitators to unauthorised uses, and even embezzled. He assured me that he for one will never take any part in any meeting held by the agitators nor will he allow his two cousins, who are also Moulvis, to have anything to do with agitators."

"Among several others Haji Khamiso of Daro Mukhi Kundanmal of Sujawal and Moulvi Mahamood of Valhar (Sujawal) have called during my camp here.

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Haji Khamiso informs me that Moulvi Muhammad Suleman of Bano, now residing at Jerruck, and Akbar are exerting their utmost to hold meetings, but the attention they attract is wholly out of proportion to their efforts.

Mukhi Kundanmal expressed his pain at the folly of his Panchayat who during his absence were misguided by the agitators and closed the shops on 19th March because they were told that by so doing the Muhammadans will give up cow-killing. He now assures me that such a thing will never happen again as the Hindus are so very happy under the British Raj and will never join any agitation again.

Moulvi Mahmood has wandered after my camp to Jati, Ladiun and Chuhar Jamali till atlast he has found me here. A month ago he had informed me at Mirzo Laghari that he had withdrawn his *Maktab* from the register of the Educational Department. We had a little informal discussion and I thought he was not convinced as he left me then without expressing any definite opinion on the subject. He now came to inform me that I was right and that he had since withdrawn his application, has had his *Maktab* inspected, and accepted the grant-in-aid. He says whenever he is in doubt or difficulty created by agitators he will run up to me for advice and never decide in a hurry again. He also informed me that Moulvi Suleman is trying to get himself elected as Kazi for the division in place of Moulvi Hamidullah, deceased. But he says Suleman's decision will be ordinary opinions of an ordinary man which will never command an extraordinary respect with them as Moulvi Hamidullah's did."

(*h*) *Bombay, June 7th.*—A leaflet, of which a translation is reproduced below, has been printed by Abu Bukar, son of Haji Muhammad Siddik, a cutlery merchant of Grant Road and is in circulation in the city. It draws attenion to the picture of the Prophet Muhammed in the New Harmsworth Self-Educator, and demands the proscription of the Magazine. The picture, it is added, will be exhibited after night prayers at the Pydhonie Mosque on the 6th and 7th instant.

The publication of this picture was reported to Government.

(*Translation*)

A fresh attack on Islam

An imaginary photo of the Prophet

Oh ! Muhammadans, how long will you have a sleep of negligence ? Lo ! the opponents of Islam have published an imaginary photo. Of the Sacred Prophet on page 1505 of the "New Harmsworth Self-Educator", which is trodden beneath the feet in the bazaars along with the English waste paper and the old novels, and which is sold for pieces. Try to get the pleasure of God and his Prophet by taking recourse to legal proceedings for the confiscation of this magazine. Try, so that the disgrace brought to the Prophet of God by this imaginary photo be removed. This magazine will be open for public inspection in the Hamidia Mosque, situated at Pydhonie, on the 18th and 19th of Ramzan (i.e., the 6th and 7th June 1920) after the night prayer and *Tarawih*.

(*i*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 19th.*—The following is a summary of the proceedings at Allahabad furnished by a Bombay City, C.I.D. Officer who was present :—

(1) The programme of proceedings was as follows :—

1st June.—8 a.m.—Meeting of C. K. Committee.
3 p.m.—Conference of Ulemas.
9-30 p.m.—Meeting of Hindu-Muhammadan Leaders.

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2nd June.—8-30 a.m.—Meeting of Hindu-Muhammadan Leaders.
3 p.m.—Ulemas' Conference.
9 p.m.—C. K. O.

(2) The Public Meeting on 3rd was held to gratify local curiosity and was of no importance.

(3) The Conference of Ulemas was attended by Hakim A. Y. Ispahani of Bombay, four Moulvis of Sind and about 30 others from all parts of India. The agenda and proceedings were rambling and incoherent. One of the resolutions and some of the speeches were seditious, their keynote being "Drive out the British.". The proposal to nominate Abdul Bari as the *Khalifa's Wali* for India was dropped, when some one pointed out that only the Khalifa could make the appointment. *Hijrat* was discussed and pronounced optional, not obligatory.

(4) *The first meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee.*—Chhotani was in the chair. Excited speeches were delivered by the Extremists, and high feeling was displayed on receipt of the news that the Congress Committee had pronounced against non-co-operation. Abdul Bari excitedly held Gandhi to his pledge of support, and accused Hindus of playing with the Muhammadans. Zahur Ahmed, Secretary of the Muslim League, objected to more than the first stage. The Extremists wanted to introduce all stages simultaneously.

(5) *The first meeting of the Hindu-Moslem Leaders.*—Chhotani again in chair. Tilak absent. Although some of the Hindus went the whole hog, people like Mrs. Besant, Motilal Nehru and Malaviya made it clear that they were not convinced of the practicability of non-co-operation or of the need for the whole programme outlined, and that they wanted to consider the question much more fully. Shaukat Ali declared that they had already had enough time to make up their minds, and demanded an immediate decision. He lost his temper, but afterwards tried to explain away his recriminations. Other Mussalmans then urged adoption of restricted non-co-operation. Meeting finally adjourned in order that the Muslims might prepare for the following day a fuller statement of their case in regard to non-co-operation. A decision would then be taken.

(6) *The Second Joint Meeting.*—Representatives of Sind and Madras explained that their provinces were ripe for action, but Fazl-ul-Haq urged that Bengal, where sentiment was still backward, should be left out of the scheme for the present. Hasrat Mohani then made a speech, in the course of which *he promised to join any Afghan Army that might invade India to drive out the British.* The Hindu leaders promptly demanded explanations, whereupon Shaukat Ali, Azad, Sobhani and Zafar Ali Khan made it clear that they heartily agreed with him. This outburst provoked the Hindu leaders to some plainness of speech. Lajpatrai warned the Muslims that at the first sign of any such danger Hindus would not only cease to help, but would actively oppose them. Kidwai indulged in some sophistry in the hope of smoothing over the ruffled surface and Gandhi again assured the Muhammadans of his support so long as they refused to adopt violence or other "insane" methods. The discussion then turned to non-co-operation, on which the more moderate Mussalmans once more asserted themselves. The Conference finally broke up without reaching a decision; but leaving it to be understood that the matter must await the consideration of the Special Congress to be summoned to Calcutta in August.

(7) *The Second Meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee.*—Only 30 members of the C.K.C. attended, together with Gandhi, Malaviya, and a few

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other Hindus. The seven resignations (already reported) from the Committee were considered ; eight resolutions were passed of which the most important are :—

(1) Reaffirmed the adoption of non-co-operation in all four stages ; and appointed a Sub-Committee of Extremists under Gandhi, with Headquarters at Bombay, to give practical effect to that policy ;

(2) Decided to extend all over India the Khilafat Volunteer organization both to collect funds and to prepare the masses for non-co-operation ; and

(3) Established a Sub-Committee under Chhotani to give effect to the Swadeshi movement.

The other resolutions referred to the Nizam's *firman,* the Khilafat prosecutions, and the Turkish terms.

The features of the meeting were Gandhi's astounding assumption of dictatorship and the Muslim leaders' acquiescence therein. Gandhi explained that if the four stages of non-co-operation failed, and the Muhammadans still wished to go further, he would stand aside and watch in silence their progress. The members of his Sub-Committee are Shaukat Ali, Khatri, Hakim A. Y. Ispahani, Mahomed Ali Dharavi (all of Bombay) together with Ahmed Hasan of Gaya, Hasrat Mohani and Dr. Kitchlew. Chhotani's name was in his absence accepted at Shaukat Ali's suggestion, but Chhotani subsequently refused to accept the nomination.

(8) The Extremist Policy was outlined by Shaukat Ali, before the formal conferences began, in conversations with other Mussalman leaders. The main idea appears to be never to give the British any rest ; to foster hatred of them in India and throughout the world ; to take full advantage of their preoccupations in Ireland, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan, and elsewhere ; and ultimately to overthrow their power all, of course, in the interests of Islam. The best ways of achieving these objects are thought to be :—

(*q*) In India, to win over the servants of Government an easy task, as they are already discontented with their lot ; to foment in the labouring classes, through the instrumentality of their unions and otherwise, the spirit of discontent and "self-respect" which has already manifested itself, and

(*b*) Abroad, the *Muhajirin* : a lakh or two of whom could easily be spared from India, where they are useless. Abroad they would be a source of endless trouble and anxiety to the British Power. The real workers would be kept in India. There is to be no *Hijrat en masse.*

(*j*) *Sind C.I.D., June 8th.*—Dr. Choithram P. Gidvani and Shaikh Abdul Majid have returned from Allahabad. As a result of this considerable talk is taking place in Hyderabad as regards non-co-operation and the adoption of it. It is said that the members of the All-India Congress Committee considered the question of the Hunter Committee Report, and as a result of this it is likely that the Hindus of Hyderabad will take up the non-co-operation movement to show their disapproval of this Report, but not necessarily in support of the Caliphate agitation. It is rumoured that a special conference will take place at Hyderabad in the middle of next month when it will be decided as to whether non-co-operation is to be adopted or not as a method of protest against the Hunter Report, the Turkish Peace Terms, and the internment of Bhaga and Ratta. There were signs that the non-co-operation movement would not receive considerable success, but it remains to be seen now what influence the Allahabad Conference will have upon this movement.

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(*k*) *Thar Parkar, June 9th.*—The Sub-Inspector, Phulahdiun, reports that he had some conversation with Ali Akbar of Hyderabad and Waswani of the *New Times* when they were on their way back from the Allahabad Conference and gathered from them that, in their opinion, Gandhi was the main driving force behind the Caliphate agitation, and but for Gandhi's influence and efforts Shaukat Ali and Abdul Bari would have had to confess failure and abandon the agitation.

(1) *Bombay, June 14th.*—Khilafat Situation.—Development up to 5 p.m. Monday, the 14th instant :—

The Allahabad Conferences

(1) Jairamdas Daulatram of Hyderabad, Sind, has addressed to Shaukat Ali a letter which throws further light upon the proceedings at Allahabad. He accuses Shaukat Ali of having issued to the Press a one-sided version of them, of having omitted all mention of the discussion relating to Afghanistan and of ignoring not only Gandhi's claim to dictatorship and his proposal to transpose the third and fourth stages in the scheme of non-co-operation already accepted, but also his threat to abandon the movement if the Moslem response to the second stage were unsatisfactory. Jairamdas himself attended the Allahabad meeting. He has since taken steps to ensure that at least the readers of his own journal shall not be misled by Shaukat Ali's misrepresentations.

(2) Gandhi's journal *Young India* of the 9th instant publishes an article (Appendix A) upon these conferences containing the only reference that has yet appeared in the Bombay papers to the discussion about the feared Afghna invasion of India. Notwithstanding the cautious language he used Gandhi makes it clear that the discussion upon the Afghan invasion was accurately reflected in my report last week.

(3) It appears from letters addressed to Shaukat Ali by Khilafat leaders in Oudh that Chhotani's conduct of the chair gave serious offence to those who are dissatisfied with the rate of progress permitted by Bombay. The writer was especially annoyed at Chhotani's refusal to allow his opponents to speak.

Gandhi's New Sub-Committee

(1) The members of Gandhi's New Sub-Committee, with the exception of Abul Kalam Azad, who is said to be ill, have assembled at Bombay and are said to have authorised Gandhi to draft two letters to the Viceroy on the subject of non-co-operation. The first, signed by Muhammadans along, is said to give notice that non-co-operation is to begin, and to call upon the Viceroy to join the movement. The second will be a personal letter from Gandhi. The letter has not yet been drafted, but signatures are being collected on the former, the terms of which are still uncertain. *The Chronicle* advises the new Committee to take no action pending the decision of the Special Congress to be held a month or two hence.

Propaganda

(1) Kidwai is still in Bombay. He has cabled as follows to Mahomed Ali :—

"What use fresh deputation your expenses too high England hopeless register outlook must I come."

(2) Two thousand copies in English and Urdu of a Pledge to abandon, on a date to be fixed by the Central Khilafat Committee, later on, all titled and other honorary distinctions have been despatched up-country for signature.

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(3) Abdul Bari and Kidwai have wired to Sir Ali Imam a protest against the Nizam's *firman* about the Khilafat agitation in his dominions, ascribing it to Sir Ali Imam's own religious beliefs.

The Central Committee has placarded Bombay with notices to the effect that a special collection of subscriptions for the Khilafat Fund will commence in real earnest on the last Friday in Ramzan and last a fortnight.

Malek Mahomed, the M. T. Lance Naik of Baghdad, has once more written to the Central Committee. His letter is dated from Dehra Dun and was despatched through Abdul Rashid, Assistant Secretary to the Dehra Dun Khilafat Committee, to whom he requests that the reply may be directed. A copy of the letter and of Abdul Rashid's covering communition is attached marked B and C. The terms in which the former is couched make it clear that Malek Mahomed was the centre of a dangerous propaganda among the troops at Baghdad; that his sudden translation to India, which appears to have been the result of a warning from Bombay just averted a seditious meeting of disaffected soldiers; and that he derived his inspiration from Shaukat Ali, a letter from whom was seized among his papers.

Hakim Mahomed Khalil Uddin, Secretary of the Bareilly Khilafat Committee, ends as follows a letter to the Central Committee :—

> "I have met many military men. Everyone with whom I talked seemed to be impressed. There is no reason to believe that they do not feel for the community and for the country, but people in the army are entirely ignorant."

Miscellaneous

(1) *Bhurgri's resignation.*—Chotani has wired Bhurgri assuring him that his resignation is due to a misunderstanding and inviting him to Bombay to clear it up. Bhurgri has accepted the invitation.

(2) Chotani has evidently connections with Prague other than those reported last week. A copy of his latest communication from that city is attached marked D.

(3) During the week Maulana Mahmud Hassan, together with three fellow deportees, arrived from Europe, where he has long been interned. All four have since left for Deoband. Shaukat Ali and other members of the Central Committee tried to organise various functions in the Maulana's honour but without any particular success. Just before his departure however, he was presented with an address urging him to lead the Khilafat agitation and conferring upon him the title of *Shaik-ul-Hind*.

As a means of bringing financial pressure to bear upon the Government of India Abdul Bari is said to have suggested the stoppage of *poppy* cultivation.

Shaukat Ali has gone to Raipur in the Central Provinces to preside over a Khilafat Conference there.

A Police constable from Allahabad has written to the Central Committee offering his services and stating his intention of resigning his present employment.

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Accompaniment A

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 18th.—The following is an extract from *Young India*, dated the 9th June 1920 :—

The Muhammadan Decision

The Khilafat meeting at Allahabad has unanimously reaffirmed the principle of non-co-operation and appointed an executive committee to lay down and enforce a detailed programme. This meeting was preceded by a joint Hindu-Muhammadan meeting at which Hindu leaders were invited to give their views. Mrs. Besant, the Honourable Pandit Malaviyaji, the Honourable Dr. Sapru, Motilal Nehru, Chintamani and others were present at the meeting. It was a wise step on the part of the Khilafat Committee to invite Hindus representing all shades of thought to give them the benefit of their advice. Mrs. Besant and Dr. Sapru strongly dissuaded the Muhammadans present from the policy of non-co-operation. The other Hindu speakers made non-commital speeches. Whilst the other Hindu speakers approved of the principle of non-co-operation in theory, they saw many practical difficulties and they feared also complications arising from Muhammadans welcoming an Afghan invasion of India. The Muhammadan speakers gave the fullest and frankest assurances that they would fight to a man any invader who wanted to conquer India, but they were equally frank in asserting that any invasion from without undertaken to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice would have their full sympathy, if not their actual support. It is easy enough to understand and justify the Hindu caution. It is difficult to resist the Muhammadan position. In my opinion the best way to prevent India from becoming the battle-ground between the force of Islam and those of the English is for Hindus to make non-co-operation a complete and immediate success ; and I have little doubt that if the Muhammadans remain true to their declared intention, and are able to exercise self-restraint and make sacrifices, the Hindus will "play the game" and join them in the campaign of non-co-operation. I feel equally certain that the Hindus will not assist the Muhammadans in promoting an armed conflict between the British Government and their allies and Afghanistan. British forces are too well organised to admit of any successful invasion of the Indian Frontier. The only way, therefore, the Muhammadans can carry on an effective struggle on behalf of the honour of Islam is to take up non-co-operation in real earnest. It will not only be completely effective if it is adopted by the people on an extensive scale, but it will also provide full scope for individual conscience. If I cannot bear an injustice done by an individual or corporation, and if I am directly or indirectly instrumental in upholding that individual or corporation. I must answer for it before my Maker, but I have done all it is humanly possible for me to do consistently with the moral code that refuses to injure even the wrong-doer, if I cease to support the injustice in the manner described above. In applying therefore such a great force there should be no haste, there should be no temper shown. Non-co-operation must be and remain absolutely a voluntary effort. The whole thing, then, depends upon Muhammadan themselves. If they will but help themselves Hindu help will come and the Government, great and mighty though it is, will have to bend before this irresistible force. No Government can possibly withstand the bloodless opposition of a whole nation.

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Accompaniment 'B'

Translation of an Urdu letter from Abdul Rashid, Assistant Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun, dated 5th June 1920, to the Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee.

Greetings : It is only today that I happened to meet Malak Abdul Qadir whose letter is enclosed. I learned from his statement that he arrived here yesterday. As he has been brought here under the orders of the Britisb Government and he fears that under the military regulations he will be awarded some punishment, which will at least be dismissal from service, he desires that if he is only dismissed, it would be better if he were sent again to Mesopotamia in order to preach and propagate the *Shariat* laws about the Khilafat among British (India) troops there because he desires to finish himself the work which he began there while in Government service. His letter is enclosed for such action as you think proper. Kindly reply soon whether the Central Khilafat Committee can make any arrangements for him and, if so, by what time. Further greetings.

Accompaniment 'C'

Translation of Malak Mohomed Abdul Qadir's letter enclosed with the above.

To the President, Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay.

Greeting and blessings : After completing the efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim union I came to know through the *Khalsa* Akbhar Maulana Abdul Bari's *Fatwa* of infidelity (*Kufr*) passed military employees. Then I issued a notice to all the employees in the Army and M.T. at Baghdad to assemble on 23rd May at a particular place and discuss what step we should take in order to escape this *Fatwa* of *Kufr*. It was also said in the notice that the well-wishers of the Government and *ji huzurs* (sycophants) should not polute this sacred meeting by their presence. In other words, only those people who were against the Government and in favour of Turks could join this meeting. On 19th May at 6 p.m. the General called me ordering that I should attend in whatever condition I was. Accordingly a Lieutenant took me to him. The General said that on the recommendation of some big men I was being sent away for ever. He asked if I had written to anybody. I said "No". I had not written to anyone, nor do I desire to go. He said it was my good fortune and I should go. When he compelled me I said that I would go after 23rd May. He replied that there were urgent orders for me to go at once when I had returned they had packed all my things and kept them ready. At last, when I had reached the railway station, one Havaldar, two men and one European Corporal were with me. They purchased and gave me the ticket and remained as sentries on my carriage up to the departure of the train. On the way my copy book in which there were about 250 poems, a note book of subscriptions in which was also placed a letter from Maulana Shaukat Ali (for the loss of which I am extremely sorry), and in fact all what I had collected in Mesopotamia was taken away. All this haste was probably for this search. I am extremely sorry (for the loss of) Mr. Shaukat Ali's letter. May God Almight ruin these scoundrels. Probably they will take some proceedings against me about these papers of which I do not care. Death

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is (really) life and jail is a school which is essential for becoming Mussalmans. If I am discharged then after the above mentioned two objects I wish to dedicate my life for three things: Firstly, that after my discharge that I may go to Mesopotamia to finish the work at Baghdad which has not yet been fully done, because there is no one there after me who will finish the Khilafat work. The idea of this work remaining unfinished is extremely distressing to me and makes me shed tears. After this the second object is *hijrat*. Thirdly, that at home or wherever I may be ordered I may go to stop recruitment for the Army and acquaint the people with my past history. (I will perform) any of the three things about which I am ordered. If I escape jail or death I have dedicated my life for the services of Khilafat. Kindly, inform me through the Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun, as to which resources I should take up in future. Also inform me whether the second hundred, i.e., the second instalment of one hundred rupees, has reached you or not. From Mesopotamia I had sent by registered post a *Faryad* (complaint). Has that also reached or not, and if it had reached whether it has been sent to the papers or it has been considered unfit for that. This letter is being sent through the Dehra Dun Khilafat Committee because it is hard to expect that your letter will reach me at my departmental address. Kindly write my name inside and on the outside that of Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun.—2nd June 1920.

Yours obediently,

(Signed) Malak Mahd. Abdul Kadir,
Lance Naik, M. T.,
Mahajad in the cause of Khilafat,
Baghdad.

Now M. T. Training School, Dehra Dun,
C/o Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Dehra Dun,

Do not fail to reply, and do so very soon.

Accompaniment 'D'

Cechoslovakische.

Cesollschaftfur Aussenhandel G.m.b.H.,

Grunder ;

Bohmische Bank, Bodenbank, Budweiser Bank,
Landwirtschaftl. Kredithank,
Konggratzer Kredit-ul, Vorschuss-Anstait,
Prag, den May 14th, 1920.
Representacnidum.

Mr. M. M. H. J. Chhotani,
Bombay,
254-260, Dontad Street,
Post Box No. 545.

No. R/412

Dear Sir,

We beg to acknowledge receipt of your favour, dated April 15th as well as your cable confirmed therein.

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We had the pleasure of discussing the question of a mutual business connection with your representative, Mr. Oswald Fuchs. However, we could not arrive to a concrete business. We hope to do so soon and in the meantime we remain, dear sir.

Yours faithfully,
CZESCHOSLOVAK COMPANY,
for Foreign Trade, Ltd.,
Karasu.

(*m*) *S. B. Bihar and Orissa.—From Abstract, dated June 5th.*—Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation proposal is being severely criticised, and it seems to be the general opinion of both Hindus and Muhammadans that this Method of opposition is likely to do more harm than good to Indian Muhammadans.

Maulana Shaukat Ali has also written to several leading Muhammadans that the non-co-operation movement will be fully explained and advertised in the weekly English paper *Young India* and that the public should be encouraged to subscribe to it. Enquiries show no great increase in the sale of this paper in the city yet.

(*n*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 16th.*—The following is an extract from the Delhi Press Abstract, dated the 5th June 1920.—M. Gandhi has advised the public to conduct a silent and calm agitation, but it seems probable that ultimately this will develop in a violent disturbance leading to shootings and the loss of life. Participation in the agitation there should be, because even in defeat there is moral victory, but calm must be maintained. Patriotism is still a feeble and frail growth needing to be strengthened by tribulation. Further bloodshed will further increase the patriotism of Indians.—(*The Hindi Samachar.*).

(*o*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 18th.—The Lokasangraha* of the 12th June comments as follows on the attacks recently made of non-co-operation :—

The Moderates are attacking Gandhi and the Muhammadan leaders for passing the non-co-operation resolution at the Allahabad Khilafat Conference.

Some people are laughing at the decision to give one month notice to the Viceroy.

It has been finally decided that the first stage, viz., renunciation of titles, should be introduced.

On the other hand, certain Muhammadans of Hyderabad, Sind, have declared that the Khilafat movement is not supported by their religion as there has been no Khilafat for many years. They also say it is contrary to their religion to deal with such questions in the company of Hindus.

Some wise men are asking why steps should be taken against the Indian Government when the British Government is to blame, but they should remember the old saying that to force open the mouth it is necessary to squeeze the nose and realise that pressure is being indirectly brought to bear on the British Government through the Indian one.

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It concludes by saying that those who sympathise should help and those who don't should at least refrain from mocking those who do and prophesying evil results.

(*p*) *S. B., United Provinces.*—From Abstract, dated, May 22nd, para. 1201.—*C.I.D., United Provinces May 15th.*—Information has been received from the District Magistrate, Aligarh, through the Commissioner, Agra Division, to the effect that Hasrat Mohani has received a wire from Shaukat Ali from Bombay informing him that full non-co-operation has been unanimously determined ; friends to be informed.

Non-co-operation.

(*q*) *C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, June 17th.*—In the *Lokasangraha* of the 14th June Krishnaji Govind Tamhankar of Nagpur writes under date 10th June on the possibilities of non-co-operation. He decides that the only part of the proposals that is feasible is the fourth or non-payment of taxes and Government dues. He then enlarges on the subject saying that pleaders should give up their professions, that cases should not be taken to courts, but settled by village arbitration committees, thus decreasing the revenue from stamps, that the general use of Swadeshi goods should be encouraged, and that liquor drinking should be given up. The New Councils must be boycotted and a welcome refused to the Prince of Wales. Hindus and Muhammadans must combine throughout. He concludes by saying that all must be staunch and be prepared to undergo any hardship, as Government are bound to resist the movement and may even attempt to regard it as Bolshevism which must be stamped out. The leaders in particular must be tenacious of their principles as without their example the masses will not take to the movement.

(*r*) *G.I.P., M. and S. M. Railways, June 15th.*—Shaukat Ali, the ring leader of Muhammadans on the Caliphate movement, passed through Bhusawal by the (1 Down) Nagpur Mail on the 11th June. He had wired here previously and so about 200 persons from the town assembled at the station. The leading Muhammadans of the town gave him *khana* and offered flowers. A Muhammadan Jahagirdar of a village near Jalna in His Exalted Highness the Nizam's State paid Shaukat Ali Rs. 1,800 as his contribution to the Caliphate movement. Shaukat Ali advised all assembled there to collect funds for the Caliphate and appoint committees. Some of the Muhammadan Railway servants, it is said, asked Shaukat Ali whether they would lose their employment if they contributed to the Caliphate Fund. He assured them that he would arrange to take steps if anything happened to them.

Note.—Advance copy sent to the First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad, Deccan. (C.I.D., Bombay Presidency.).

(*s*) *Karachi, June 12.*—Extract from the *Al-Wahid* of the 12th June 1920 :—

Islam required every Muhammadan to believe that God will not accept supplications both mental and physical until he surrender his peace and comfort to preserve the honour of the Caliph and the Caliphate. Is there any one who would consider his comforts rather than God ?

(*t*) *S. B., Central Provinces.*—From Abstract, dated May 29th, para. 458 :—The only further developments are firstly a report by the City Inspector, Nagpur, that Dr. Munje has definitely given out that Shaukat Ali

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is to visit Raipur on June the 8th, and secondly that Munje, G. S. Khaparde, B. G. Tilak and possibly other leading Hindus are shortly to have a Conference with Gandhi. The exact date and place are not yet certain.

(*u*) *S. B., United Provinces.*—From Abstract, dated June 5th, para. 1320-C.I.D., United Porvinces, June 2nd.—The following is a letter recently written by Mr. Gandhi to Shah Hafiz Alam of Allahabad :—

Dear Shah Sahib,—

I have your letter of the 14th instant. I received it only today on my return from Bombay, where I had gone for the Khilafat business.

I wish our friends will understand that the whole struggle consists in suffering imprisonment and all the other hardships that the Government may seek to impose upon us. We must not expect to carry on a stubborn non-co-operation campaign and yet expect not to be arrested, bound over, imprisoned, deported. The whole struggle consists in our ability to undergo all these things without a single muscle being moved. I, for one, therefore, will not only quarrel with the vigour of Government but will prepare the community for much greater. I hope to be in Benares on 30th instant where I will be pleased to meet Allahabad friends. What we now need is not big meetings but a proper grasp of the situation on the part of these who have to lead the movement.

(*v*) *S. B., North-West Frontier Province.*—From Abstract, dated June 5th, para. 465.—C.I.D., N.W.F.P., May 31st.—Following Rules and Regulations have been framed by the Amir of Kabul to be observed by the *Muhajirin.* from the British territory intending to settle in Afghanistan :—

(1) Any individual who thinks of migrating into Afghanistan shall obtain a passport either at Peshawar or Dhakka. He who places his foot on the soil of Afghanistan shall be treated as an Afghan subject enjoying full rights as such. He shall consequently be bound to abide by the Muhammadan Law and the internal laws of the realm.

(2) Any person entering the soil of Afghanistan and swearing allegiance to the Government of Afghanistan shall be given plots of culturable lands as detailed below :—

An unmarried man 6 *jaribs* of land.

A married man 8 *jaribs* of land.

An unmarried girl or any minor shall get no plot of land.

(3) Till before the crops of the lands allotted to them (Muhajirin) are ready to be reaped, these persons shall get the following ration :—

An adult	5 seers (Kabul weight) of wheat flour per month.
A minor (from 6 years of age to the period of puberty).	3 seers (Kabul weight) of wheat flour per month.

(4) Those persons to whom the plots of lands have been allotted shall be advanced, in the first year, by way of *takavi,* 6 seers of wheat and Rs. 5 per *jarib* to enable them to buy ploughs, etc. The cash *takavi* shall be refunded after three years in three yearly instalments.

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(5) The Indian Muhajir shall be exempted from payment of land revenue for a period of three years. This shall, however, be realised in the fourth year in accordance with the State rules.

(6) No political work shall be undertaken without consulting the Afghan Government.

(7) Persons who are educated, or those who know Art and Science, and the Government considers it necessary to engage their services, shall be taken in service if desired by them, and shall get pay according to their qualifications. The rest of the men shall be at liberty to take up service or follow any trade or profession.

(8) The Indian *Muhajirin*, when first entering the soil of Afghanistan, shall stay for a period of one to two months at *Jabal-us-Siraj*, when sites would be selected by the Government, where plots of lands shall be allotted to them and quarters built for them in the event of there being no free quarters.

(Signed) ABDUL RAHMAN,
Sadr-i-Kharijiyya.

The above *Nizamnama* has been approved of by the mighty Ghazi Amir.

(*w*) *Sind, C.I.D., June 14.*—Extract from the *Al-Wahid* of 14th June :—

(1) Emigrants should proceed to Peshawar Cantonment Station, whence they will be escorted by Volunteers with crescent flags to the "Makan *Nimak Mandi*", Peshawar City, where they will be properly looked after.

(2) During the hot weather, caravans will leave Peshawar at 5 p.m. on Fridays.

(3) The British boundary, Landhi Kotal, is 29 miles away from Peshawar.

(4) A tonga accommodating four persons costs Rs. 16 from Peshawar to Landhi Kotal, so that each person will have to pay Rs. 4 as *gharry* hire.

(5) Very little kit can be carried in the gharry, for luggage, camels, horses, mules and donkeys can be hired.

(6) From Landhi Kotal one will have to go on foot to Duki, a distance of 9 miles, in the Amir's territory. The road is very smooth and straight. *Pardha-nashin* ladies and weak and delicate men can go to this place direct from Peshawar in carriage by passing extra fare.

(7) From Duki to Jallalabad arrangements will be made for the journey by "*Khuddan Jumma Dallah Rubania*". Jallalabad is 40 miles from Duki and Kabul 90 miles from Jallalabad.

(8 For passports, each person will have to pay one Kabuli rupee and a family five Kabuli rupees (a family may consist of any number of people). In Peshawar one Kabuli rupee is equal to fourteen annas.

(9) A passport can be had in Peshawar through Haji Jan Muhammad, Secretary of "*Istakabalia Hajra Committee*".

(10) Proper arrangements are made in Peshwar for the residence and onward journey of *Pardha-nashin* ladies.

(11) If any person wishes arrangements to be made for him, he should give intimation to that three days previously and send the expense also.

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(12) Each emigrant should have with himself at least Rs. 35 on arrival at Peshawar. If he has more he can make himself comfortable.

(13) Emigrants should arrive at Peshawar on Wednesday or by Calcutta Mail on Thursday in order to leave on Friday. Failing this they will have to wait until the following Friday.

(14) Emigrants should provide themselves with warm clothes and bedding.

(15) Any person wishing to subscribe to help this cause should send money to Haji Jan Muhammad, Treasurer and Secretary, "*Istakabalia and Intazamia Committee.*".

(*x*) *S. B., Bengal.*—From Abstract, dated June 5th, Para. 969.—24-Parganas, May 22nd.—There is a rumour among the millhands that about 30,00,00 females have become widows in the Punjab owing to their husbands being killed in the war and that their maintenance has become a burden on Government, which is therefore, ready to help youths who are willing to go to Peshawar by giving them in marriage with the widows and enabling them to settle there. This may be a trick of the Calcutta Khilafat Committee to induce youths to go to Peshawar, from where they could be easily sent to Kabul, according to the manifesto issued by the "*Mahajreen*" office, Delhi, as published in the *Statesman* of the 25th instant.

Indian Press

Khilafat address prescribed.

S. B., United Provinces.—From Abstract, dated May, 29th, 490 (Extract United Provinces Police Abstract No. 20, dated the 29th May 1920, paragraph 1259).—C.I.D., United Provinces, May 26th.—The Local Government has declared to be forfeited all copies or portions thereof of the address in Urdu, or of its translation, delivered by Mushir Hussain Kidwai at the Oudh Khilafat Conference held at Fyzabad on May 1st, 1920.

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